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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 205 12 May 1978

It's Official

Spanish CP Goes "Eurocommunist"

Reformist Betrayers by Any Other Name...

UPI

PCE functionaries applaud opening of the 9th Congress in Madrid.

In his three-hour report to the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Spain (PCE), the first to be held inside the country under conditions of legality in 46 years, PCE leader Santiago Carrillo summed up the party's new orientation: "We have opted, with all the consequences, to build an authentic 'Eurocommunist' party." In adopting a series of 15 theses submitted by the central committee, the 1,500 delegates approved Carrillo's policy of a "negotiated breakthrough" with the Suárez government; accepted the monarchy; endorsed the "Pact of Moncloa," a joint economic and political program signed by the cabinet and the "opposition"; and formally renounced Leninism. In his report Carrillo underlined that remaining loyal to the party's origins "does not mean today dependence on any particular socialist state nor acceptance of a specific leading center" (*Mundo Obrero*, 20 April).

The purpose of the congress was threefold: to formalize the party's adherence to Carrillo's Eurocommunist policies, to demonstrate to the bourgeoisie the moderation and commitment to "democracy" of the PCE leadership, and to begin the homogenization of the ranks through allowing a modicum of debate and opposition. Overall the operation must be judged a success, as the theses passed easily, the imperialist media were duly impressed and the extent of tolerated internal debate and opposition easily surpassed anything experienced in a Stalinist party. However, the international projection of the PCE's Ninth Congress is as yet undetermined (with both the Italian and French Communist leaders reacting cooly to Carrillo's initiative), and the level of internal dissidence raises the possibility of large splits to the left.

Burying Leninism

The main axis of the debate during the congress and the preceding discussion was over the question of "Leninism." The term must be placed in quotation marks, for while the leadership was frank in its rejection of every one of Lenin's contributions to Marxism, the opposition was far from presenting an authentic Leninist program. Since the PCE for the last 50 years had known only the anti-Leninist practices and program of Stalinism, the debate was largely symbolic. However, the proposal in thesis no. 15 to abandon the self-description of "Marxist-Leninist" and replace it with "Marxist, revolutionary and democratic," was intended to (and did) represent a formal renunciation of proletarian revolution.

Thus the discussion, taken together with the PCE's earlier renunciation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, confirmed that the party is wholly committed to defending the rule of its "own" bourgeoisie, to the exclusion of any competing loyalties to the Kremlin bureaucracy of the Soviet Union. The merit of Carrillo is the directness with which he has posed the questions. Thus in his speech at the central committee meeting of January 21-22 he specifically rejected the conception of a "centralized international party, ruled by a strong discipline as in the Communist International," and also the idea of "a revolutionary, proletarian party as vanguard of the revolution." He concludes:

> "And it is true that we, and not only we but also other Communist parties of the West, also have not practised Leninism as a global strategy inspiring our strategy
>
> "It is obvious that for many years in a whole series of concrete aspects of our practical political struggle we have dropped concrete Leninist conceptions."

In his summary remarks Carrillo challenged those who opposed the proposed change:

> "If there is opposition in the party to what we are agreeing to today, I only ask one thing of them, that they be consistent and say, 'yes to the dictatorship of the proletariat!'; and that they say, 'yes to the Communist International!', and that they say 'yes, take power through armed insurrection!', and that they say, 'yes, the policy which the party has followed all these long years is wrong!'"
>
> *Mundo Obrero*, 26 January

The general secretary did not find any takers for his challenge. He did, however, run into considerable opposition in some of the main party strongholds. In Asturias, home province of both Carrillo and PCE president Dolores Ibarruri (La Pasionaria of Spanish Civil War fame), the party branches in the three main cities (Oviedo, Gijon and Aviles) opposed dropping the label "Marxist-Leninist." On March 29 the press in the Andalucian city of Málaga printed a statement by 200 party members strongly denouncing the PCE leaders for excessive criticisms of the Soviet Union. Subsequently the provincial congresses of Badajoz and Soria, two peasant regions, also rejected thesis 15.

But the center of opposition was Catalonia, the northeastern industrial region which supplied eight of the Communists' 20 deputies in the Cortes (national parliament). The semi-autonomous PSUC (Socialist Unity Party of Catalonia) has 46,000 members out of a national total of 200,000. Thus the PCE leadership was understandably shocked when the PSUC conference at the end of March reaffirmed its self-designation as Marxist and Leninist, by a vote of 97 to 81 on its central

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committee. This vote led to a mass resignation by PSUC president Gregorio López Raimundo, general secretary Antonio Gutiérrez Díaz and the entire executive committee! Finally, after a week of closed-door meetings, the CC of the Catalan party voted a second motion endorsing thesis 15 and declaring:

> "... there does not exist a basic contradiction between the amendments voted by the First National Conference of the PSUC and the thesis of the PCE ..."
>
> *Mundo Obrero*, 13-19 March 1978

Eurocommunist Congress

Under a huge banner proclaiming, "A Communist Discussion for Democracy and Socialism," the PCE Congress opened on April 19 at the sumptuous Mella-Castilla Hotel in Madrid. Carrillo also played up the democracy theme in his report and grandiloquently offered to step down as general secretary if that is what the delegates wanted. In his own defense, however, he declared that "instead of making this an open, transparent, democratic party the leadership team could have made this a hermetic party, closed, without any possibility of dissent." This did not impress some of the delegates, however, who argued that if the leadership could do all that by itself it could also *undo* it by itself (*Le Monde*, 23-24 April).

Anti-leadership sentiment was reportedly widespread in the regional conferences, although considerably less prominent in the congress itself. In Asturias 115 of the 500 delegates walked out of a meeting in response to the peremptory intervention of Simón Sánchez Montero, a leading Carrillo lieutenant. At the PSUC conference in Barcelona there were even objections to Carrillo's participation in defense of his Eurocommunist theses, seeing as he was formally only a member of a "fraternal party." In the Madrid provincial conference there were protests over the imposition of Sánchez Montero as head of the regional organization.

At the congress itself there was substantial grumbling among the delegates at the political analysis presented by the leadership. Thesis 1, which evaluated the current political situation in Spain, was criticized for its "triumphalism"—i.e., its claim that the regime had achieved the PCE's goal of a "democratic breakthrough," although by different means! Amendments to this thesis insisted on the important role played by mass mobilizations in winning gains such as the legalization of the PCE. Thesis 4, which praised the Pact of Moncloa (and thus the wage-restraint austerity plan endorsed and enforced by the PCE), was revised in commission to delete an entire passage which praised the benefits of the pact. These benefits, said the delegates, had not been realized since the program had only partially been put into effect.

The ostentatious show of democracy at the congress was only partly for the benefit of the press. It was also a symptom of the considerable heterogeneity of the PCE, which has multiplied

severalfold since the death of Franco in late 1975. The party ranks have swelled with younger members not brought up in the school of Stalinism. For now considerable dissension is tolerated (although 23 of the Málaga dissidents were suspended for their anti-leadership declaration), but the PCE bureaucracy under Carrillo is visibly concerned to impose some "order" on their unruly party. This has already begun with the installation of large numbers of union officials of the Workers Commissions (CC OO.) as delegates and provincial-level party officials, often replacing dissident intellectuals.

Another evidence of the party apparatus' shaky control is the upsurge of nationalist sentiment inside the party. In addition to the PSUC and the Galician and Basque sections of the party—each of which have traditionally had their own central committee—in the last year sections have been organized in

Kappa/Liaison

PCE leader Santiago Carrillo

Asturias, Andalucía, the Canary Islands and the Balearic Islands as well. Nationalist sentiment in the Basque region is so strong that the old centralist leadership was removed last year and the "*abertzal*" (Basque national) leaders have been calling for self-determination for the region, in opposition to the official PCE position of autonomy.

Thesis 15

By the time the delegates had been sifted, the strong opposition in the provincial and regional conferences to removing the term "Marxist-Leninist" (averaging well over one third of the delegates) had been considerably reduced in size and vehemence. In addition to the label, said Manuel Azcárate, the head of international relations of the PCE and the second most prominent exponent of the Eurocommunist line next to Carrillo, it is necessary to purify the PCE of other connotations of the word Leninist—taking power through armed struggle, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the worker-peasant alliance, the hegemony of the working class. In the place of these phrases (long since emptied of Leninist content in reformist practice of the Stalinists) the PCE now uses the windy phrase "the alliance of the forces of labor and culture."

The actual debate over "Leninism" was quite short—ten minutes in all—with the party leadership allowing only one speaker against thesis 15, Francisco Frutos of the PSUC. Significantly he argued that Leninism and Eurocommunism are compatible, a clear absurdity since one of the key aspects of Carrillo's line has been to generalize to the level of vulgar social-democratic "theory" the reformist class collaboration long practiced by the Stalinists. The job of responding to this pathetic pseudo-"Leninist" fell to the unpopular Sánchez Montero, who shocked the delegates out of their seats by repeating Lenin's remark at the time the Russian Bolsheviks changed the name of their party from Social Democratic to Communist: "It is necessary to take off a dirty shirt and put on clean clothes."

(This penchant for inappropriate quotes from the Marxist classics seems to be universal among the theoretical midgets of the PCE leadership. In justifying the abandonment of Leninism Carrillo remarked that so much had changed since World War I, in fact, "the earth has risen on new foundations" paraphrasing a line from the *Internationale* referring to the triumph of the revolution!)

In the final vote, 968 delegates voted in favor of thesis 15 and 248 against. In the elections to the 45-member executive committee, however, not one representative of the "Leninist minority" was included.

Significance of the Ninth Congress

The immediate international impact of the Ninth Congress of the Spanish Communist Party has not been great. The two other main West European parties associated with the term "Eurocommunism," the French and Italian, had already cooled to Carrillo's abrasive attitude toward the Soviet Union some time ago. At the "Eurocommunist summit" in Madrid in July 1976, PCF leader Marchais and PCI leader Berlinguer refused to agree to a PCE request for a joint condemnation of the Kremlin's repression of dissidents. And when Carrillo was refused permission to speak at the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution in Moscow, Berlinguer refused to issue a joint protest with the Spanish Communist leader.

At the recent congress the PCI message of greetings referred to "differences, even profound ones,...in the political propositions" of the two parties (*Corriere della Sera*, 21 April). This was interpreted as a criticism of the elimination of the phrase "Marxist-Leninist" from the PCE constitution. Carrillo's relations with the French party have been even more strained, as the PCE blamed Marchais for the defeat of the Union of the Left in the March parliamentary elections. The PCF response came in a commentary on the Madrid congress:

> "Erasing all the specific ideological character of the Spanish CP, proposing to the Socialists to forget about the 1921 split and to construct a common labor party, Carrillo hopes to overcome electoral disadvantages. In substance he undertook the inverse operation from that undertaken by the Communists in France to gain new ground."
>
> *L'Humanité*, 20 April

The key international reaction, however, will come from Moscow, and it appeared that there was a tacit non-aggression pact between Carrillo and Brezhnev during the PCE congress. Thus there was not one direct criticism of the Soviet Union during the proceedings, and only the single objection to subordination to "a particular socialist state" in Carrillo's report. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) sent a generally friendly greeting which, however, stated elliptically:

> "The guarantee for the democratic transformation of the struggle for social progress is the existence of a strong and combative Communist Party which follows the scientific theories of Marxism-Leninism...."

The message couldn't be clearer, but the version of the message published in the PCE's *Mundo Obrero* left out the offending passage!

During the congress itself the leader of the CPSU delegation, *Pravda* editor Viktor Afanasiev, was frequently sought out by the press for commentary which he gave freely. Making it clear that he was no "liberal" by Kremlin standards, Afanasiev remarked baldly, "In the Soviet Union we suffer from an excess of democracy"! Asked what he thought of the discussion during the congress, he replied dryly:

> "Some discussions are useful, others not. I am afraid that a discussion on principles will only weaken the party. The strength of a Communist Party rests on its unity. But I did not find very great unity in the course of the congress."
>
> *Le Monde*, 25 April

The Soviet delegate mentioned in passing that he had given out several hundred Lenin pins to Congress participants who had asked him for them in the corridors!

Carefully using every opportunity to make a positive remark about Carrillo (such as praising the PCF's empty phrase about the "unity of labor and culture"), at the same time Afanasiev was careful to place a question mark at the key points. Asked whether the PCE was becoming a social-democratic party, he replied that "the policies which it has applied up to now do not indicate that it has ceased to be revolutionary. We will see what happens next."

Neither side wished to make this meeting the occasion for a dramatic break. Nevertheless, it is clear that the intention of the PCE leadership was to make this the "Eurocommunist congress." Before the vote on removing the label "Marxist-Leninist," the Soviet chief delegate told the Madrid paper *Informaciones*, "Eurocommunism does not exist." (His arguments were that neither Marchais nor Berlinguer attended—a significant fact—and Carrillo mentioned the term only once in his lengthy report.) After the vote on thesis 15, Carrillo retorted, "We have demonstrated that Eurocommunism exists" (*Corriere della Sera*, 23 April).

While the Ninth Congress marks the formalization of the PCE's shift from Stalinism—which has already provoked small splits by party leaders Enrique Lister and Eduardo García and threatens to produce considerably larger splits as the Carrillo bureaucracy asserts its control—both now and when it first put forward the policy of "national reconciliation" during the late 1950's and during the Spanish Civil War the party has remained true to its heritage: as a sworn enemy of proletarian revolution. The grandmotherly Pasionaria, who today presides over a party which champions "classless" democracy, was the rabid witchhunter of Trotskyists and anarchists during the 1930's. These blood crimes cannot be wiped away. And the role of the PCE in frustrating the powerful surge toward a general strike against the Francoist regime in 1976-77 is neither more nor less counterrevolutionary than its role in smashing the Barcelona uprising of 1937.

The future of Eurocommunism as an international current is not yet decided. In any case, this category—vague as it is, corresponding to a journalistic invention rather than a scientific characterization—is no resting place; it can only be an intermediary position in the process of the social democratization of the Stalinist parties. But while the French and Italian CP's are evidently not prepared to take such a dramatic step as the PCE's flamboyant renunciation of "Leninism," it is clear that in the case of Carrillo's party a definitive break with the Moscow bureaucracy has taken place, so that it can no longer be termed Stalinist. Moreover this is asserted in the controversial thesis 15.

> "...we reject as something alien to Marxism the phenomenon of bureaucratism and Stalinism.
>
> "We Spanish communists, thanks to self-criticism, have surmounted Stalinism and are in the process of recovering the democratic and anti-bureaucratic essence of Marxism."

This is clearly more than a Khrushchevite rejection of a "cult of the personality." Today Trotsky's picture can appear in the pages of the PCE journal *Vuestra Bandera* and Carrillo can even say in his book, *Eurocommunism and the State*, that it was a myth that Trotsky was a Nazi agent and that "It is high time that Trotsky's role in the Revolution was presented in an objective manner." But the evolution of the Spanish Communist Party is in no sense to the left. Santiago Carrillo has made his choice between the "Third Rome" of the Kremlin and his "own" bourgoeisie. As the PCE has made clear throughout the post-Franco period, it seeks to be the most reliable support for the state which has emerged from the Francoist dictatorship, "whatever the consequences." Santiago Carrillo is a Eurocommunist "for king and country"—and *not* for the USSR. ■

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Brittle Pinochet Junta Arrests 600

2,000 Rally on May Day in Santiago

Carabineros lead away anti-junta demonstrators. Vergara/Hoy Magazine

For the first time since the blood-drenched Chilean junta seized power in 1973, May Day was celebrated on the streets of Santiago this year. As hundreds of street demonstrators braved police forays and the near certainty of arrest, over 2,000 opponents of Pinochet's reign of terror crowded into a nearby church to hear speeches by trade-union leaders and defiantly chant "Freedom! Freedom!" Police armed with billy clubs descended upon the street rally (which had been forbidden by the Minister of the Interior, Sergio Fernández), arresting more than 600 workers and union officials, but chose to round up the organizers of the indoor meeting only after it had broken up.

The May Day protests were held in defiance of the official government "celebration" of the traditional day of labor solidarity. The junta had planned to use May Day as a "human rights" media event, granting illusory "collective bargaining rights" for unionized workers and lifting the government straitjacket on the unions "if the economy allows." But the militant working-class protest organized by pre-coup union leaders forced the Pinochet junta to reveal its true face: eyewitnesses reported the vicious clubbing of many demonstrators, and those arrested run the grave risk of police and DINA reprisals.

The police repression was, however, noticeably restrained as compared to the torture and "disappearance" of victims which became standard practice following the massive bloodbath at the time of the 11 September 1973 overthrow of Salvador Allende's Unidad Popular government. Under the impact of international isolation, continued economic chaos and the seething discontent of the Chilean working masses, Pinochet's rule has begun to fray—with widespread talk of dissent reaching into the upper echelons of the junta itself. Without any semblance of mass popular support for the dictatorship, Pinochet has attempted to adapt the junta's rule to satisfy the "human rights" veneer of his American patron, Jimmy Carter. In January there was the much touted plebiscite in which the population was forced to the polls for a rigged "electoral consultation." Last month an American right-winger living in Chile was handed over to U.S. authorities as the Pinochet regime tried to forestall the growing international scandal over its complicity in the Washington murder of Orlando Letelier. Now Pinochet has pledged an "amnesty" for political prisoners and exiles and a new constitution by year's end, while prominent members of the Communist Party (CP) rounded up in the last two years sit in jail. The international Spartacist tendency demands the immediate release of CP leaders Victor Díaz López, Exequiel Ponce, Mario Zamorano, Jorge Muñoz, Jose Weibel, Fernando Ortiz and Carlos Lorca (of the Socialist Youth of Chile)—as well as all victims of junta terror!

General Pinochet. Gamma

In response to the slackening of the junta's iron grip, the Chilean labor movement has slowly begun to revive. Last November copper miners at the huge El Teniente mine went out on strike, and former union leaders have attempted to press the government for collective bargaining rights. The May Day protests were thus an important challenge to the junta's efforts to dress up its image for foreign consumption. The organizers of the protest which included the president of the Maritime Workers Union Eduardo Rios (a long-time associate of the CIA-front AIFLD) the head of the railway workers union Ernesto Vogel and the former leader of the central labor federation (CUT) Clotario Blest—invited visiting Spanish and Scottish trade unionists to participate in the protests and thus forced the image-conscious junta to create an international incident with its repression. Moreover, the police dragnet at

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Virginia Miners Still Out After Five Months

Coal Bosses Try to Crack National Bargaining

More than a month after the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) concluded its nationwide strike, some 250 miners in Lee County, Virginia are still walking the picket lines in a fight to fend off a contract even inferior to the one signed by Arnold Miller. The operators of seven small mining companies near St. Charles, who in the past were signatories to the contract negotiated nationally with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA), are demanding individual agreements from the striking union locals. Currently no negotiations are being conducted and the miners are standing by their militant traditions: no contract, no work.

The key issue in the strike is the refusal of the operators to continue to pay royalties into the UMWA health and retirement funds. The operators are demanding that the miners be enrolled not only in commerical health insurance plans, which Miller accepted in the nationwide contract, but in company-by-company pension plans as well. Under such a policy, service time accumulated would not be transferable were a miner forced to work elsewhere, and pensions would be tied to the fate of the individual companies, thereby dampening militancy. "They say they're going to set up their own pension trust," one miner told *WV*. "Naturally, when you go into that, they can be working today and shut down tomorrow, and there you'd be—out."

The operators are offering slightly higher wages and benefits than are provided under the BCOA contract. Such tactics are common among the numerous scab operators in the coalfields. The miners correctly perceive that if they accept this deal, not only will their health and pension benefits be jeopardized, but the companies would take a major step forward in their campaign to drive the union out of the St. Charles pits altogether. The miners are determined to resist this company assault.

Some already mined coal has been brought out of the struck mines, while coal from scab outfits in Kentucky has been trucked into St. Charles rail depots past the pickets, who are prevented by cops and court order from interfering. At least one striker has been arrested and harassment from cops is common. On Easter Sunday dynamite destroyed the union's subdistrict office, and copies of pending grievances were reported missing after the blast. Despite these provocations the strikers are holding solid, with only a few defectors sneaking into work. The company ordered the workers at one mine to report on May 1 and they did—carrying copies of the 1978 UMWA-BCOA contract. "Go ahead and sign it, and we'll go to work," the strikers told the boss. They left when he refused.

At a meeting of 200 strikers last Friday, UMWA International vice president Sam Church, who is from the St. Charles area, promised the miners the International's "support." But it would be foolhardy for the Virginia miners to place any confidence in the International, whose treacherous conduct of the 110-day national strike was responsible for the sellout contract forced on the UMWA ranks. And it was precisely the union tops' policy of ordering the membership back to work before *all* UMWA-contract companies agreed to settle that has forced the St. Charles mine workers to wage an isolated strike.

This policy, combined with the UMWA's demonstrated willingness to sign similar contracts in the western mines that also eliminate the union's health and pension funds, has acted as a spur to hard-line operators, particularly in areas where the union is weak. Scab operations already abound in Virginia's District 28 where, according to figures published in the March *UMWA Journal*, coal production during the strike was fully two-thirds its normal level. The bosses are clearly determined to further weaken the union here.

The St. Charles miners must take the initiative in winning their battle. Militants in the striking locals must demand that a joint strike committee be elected to insure that no one returns to work until the companies agree to meet the minimum standards of the BCOA contract, including continued payments to the UMWA funds. But they also

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Just Out!

Here is the true story of the Great Coal Strike of 1978—from the miners' side of the barricades. And much more besides: the bankruptcy of Arnold Miller and Miners for Democracy; class war in Harlan and Stearns; wildcats in the coalfields; crisis in the UMWA. Not just reporting but hard analysis...and a program for victory!

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For a Proletarian Perspective in Ireland

The Irish question played an important role in the struggle of the Trotskyist Faction within Alan Thornett's workerist-centrist Workers Socialist League (WSL), which has a characteristically confusionist, semi-nationalist position on this decisive question for the British revolution. After resigning from the WSL the Trotskyist Faction fused with the London Spartacist Group in early March to found the Spartacist League/Britain. This document, originally brought out in the WSL Pre-Conference Discussion Bulletin *No. 13, February 1978, is reprinted from* Spartacist Britain, *April 1978.*

> "The International will not judge the British comrades by the articles that they write in the *Call* and the *Workers Dreadnought*, but by the number of comrades who are thrown into gaol for agitating in the colonial countries. We would point out to the British comrades that it is their duty to help the Irish movement with all their strength, that it is their duty to agitate among the British troops, that it is their duty to use all their resources to block the policy that the British transport and railway unions are at present pursuing of permitting troop transports to be shipped to Ireland. It is very easy at the moment to speak out in Britain against intervention in Russia, since even the bourgeois left is against it. It is harder for the British comrades to take up the cause of Irish independence and of anti-militarist activity. We have a right to demand this difficult work of the British comrades."
>
> Karl Radek, in *The Second Congress of the Communist International*, Vol. 1, New Park, pp. 127-128

Donald McCullin/Magnum

British troops terrorize a Catholic community in Derry, Northern Ireland 1971.

The question of the correct policy to take towards Ireland is a crucial test of the revolutionary fibre of any of the nominally Marxist tendencies on the British left. Clearly the correct and necessary demand for the unconditional removal of British troops from the North is wholly insufficient to deal with the complex national questions which must be addressed.

Nations emerge through social conflict, and their composition, geographical boundaries and cultural makeup are determined by the results of that conflict. The national problems which presently exist in Ireland are the products of previous social conflicts, just as the destiny of the Protestant population of the northeast will be determined by future conflicts the results of which are as yet by no means pre-determined.

The rising of 1798 led by the Protestant Wolfe Tone offered the possibility of a unitary bourgeois Ireland undivided by sectarian strife, with an essentially undifferentiated working class and an indigenous bourgeoisie. The defeat of this uprising represented the failure of the nascent bourgeoisie to wrest independence from England and to assert supremacy over the Irish landlords themselves, an extension of the English aristocracy. This defeat removed for more than a century the possibility of the crystallisation of a single nation from the peoples of Ireland and blocked the achievement of any but the most minimal of bourgeois-democratic gains. The crushing of the Wolfe Tone uprising laid the basis for the development of Loyalism among the Protestants. Contrary to the Green nationalist mythology which is widely accepted by the self-proclaimed "Marxist left" in Britain, Loyalism did not originate as an imperialist plot but is rather a phenomenon rooted in the material development of capitalism in Ireland which essentially *pre-dates* the development of Irish Catholic nationalism.

In the 1870's the more far-sighted Liberal defenders of British imperial interests under Gladstone attempted to institute Home Rule for Ireland, an early experiment in "neo-colonialism," as an alternative to direct military control. This attempt ran up against the intense opposition of the entrenched Protestant interests. While Orange mobs led by reactionary landlords had been the traditional means of disciplining the Catholics, the social weight of the landlords could not have resisted the plans of British imperialism if the Belfast bourgeoisie had not intervened and assumed command of the opposition to Home Rule. Not seventeenth century settlements but very modern considerations inspired the Belfast industrialists who feared that the consequences of Home Rule would be the milking of their industry to sustain a corrupt and indolent state bureaucracy in Dublin under the stultifying influence of the Catholic Church and its counterpart to the Orange Order, the Ancient Order of Hibernians.

The Belfast industrialists took control of the Orange movement and the opposition to Home Rule with the Ulster Convention of 1892 (for which the Organising Committee had prudently ensured an urban preponderance among the delegates). At the Convention the Belfast bourgeoisie succeeded in taking the mass base from the landowner-aristocrats and placing it under the banner of something akin to an Ulster nationalism. To dampen any suggestion of frivolity, women were excluded altogether from the proceedings of the Convention and the floor of the pavilion was sanded in order to make the movement of the delegates absolutely silent. The point was to project an image of the Ulsterman as sober, industrious and tradition-bound, in every way a different species from the feckless, irresponsible rebel that was supposed to populate the rest of Ireland.

The partition of 1920 which produced the Northern Irish statelet was not simply the result of a conspiracy of plutocratic landlords in London supported by backwoods Tory politicians rather it was essentially a compromise worked out between British imperialism (which had no direct economic interest in dividing Ireland) and the Belfast bourgeoisie. Partition had long been a possibility, based on the difference between the industrial development around the Lagan Valley and the rest of Ireland which remained basically agricultural.

In fighting for the unity of the working class James Connolly had vigorously opposed the dismemberment of Ireland, correctly recognising that the nationalist passions unleashed on both sides could lead only to a "carnival of reaction." But, in the absence of a revolutionary party capable of undermining the communal polarisation and leading the struggle along class lines, the bourgeoisie succeeded in severely exacerbating the divisions and so in 1920 the possibility of a single Irish nation was again removed from the agenda. The division in Ireland was achieved at a cost which fully vindicated Connolly's opposition: thousands of anti-unionist workers were driven from their jobs in Belfast and there were bloody pogroms and forced rural population transfers. It is necessary to recognise that the situation which confronts revolutionaries almost sixty years after the formation of the Six County state is very different from the one Connolly faced. Thus, while it was absolutely correct to oppose partition in order to unite Catholic and Protestant workers *before* the division, the achievement of work-

British Troops Out of Northern Ireland!

No to Forced Reunification!

ing class unity today requires us to *oppose the forcible reunification of the six counties with the clericalist bourgeois state in the south.*

The partition resulted in a deformed expression of self-determination for the south and the west of the island with a section of the Catholic nation trapped inside a "white settler state" in the northeast. But unlike Algeria or Rhodesia the "white settlers" (Protestants planted centuries before from England and Scotland) were not only the administrators of the colony and the holders of most of the skilled and prestigious jobs but were also the majority of proletarians and small farmers (and in some areas also farm labourers), as well as a sizeable component of the reservoir of unemployed

The Leninist Position on the National Question

Bolsheviks are the most consistent fighters for democracy and champions of the oppressed. For this reason the democratic right of nations to self-determination is an integral part of our programme. What does this demand mean? For Lenin it meant that:

> "As democrats we are hostile to any, however slight, oppression of any nationality and to any privileges for any nationality. As democrats we demand the right of nations to self-determination *in the political sense* of that term (see the Programme of the RSDLP), i.e., the right to secede. We demand unconditional *equality* for all nations in the state and the unconditional protection of the rights of every national minority. We demand broad self-government and autonomy for regions which must be demarcated among other terms of reference in respect of nationality too."
>
> —"Draft Programme of the Fourth Congress of Latvian Social-Democrats," *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 116

We are in favour of the political equality of nations, concretely the right of national self-determination or the right of each nation to separate and establish its own state. Self-determination means no less and no more than that. The right to self-determination does not imply support to the revisionists' advocacy of the supposed "right" of each nation to completely "determine its own future." When small nations in the imperialist epoch are totally dependent on a world market quite beyond their capacity to manipulate or control we must reject slogans such as "No British Plans for Ireland," "Freedom from all outside interference and control" as expressions of petty-bourgeois romanticism.

Support for the right of self-determination in no way implies that we extend support to any kind of nationalism—in fact our opposition to national oppression is rooted in our desire to remove the question of national oppression from the historical agenda in order to sharpen the fundamental class antagonism and thus hasten the socialist revolution.

Leninists advocate only those democratic demands (such as the right of self-determination) which concretely serve to enlarge the democratic terrain and thereby facilitate the development of the class struggle. If a particular demand fails to do so there is no point in advancing it—indeed in some cases such a demand could retard the development of the class struggle. In the "Discussion of Self-Determination Summed Up" Lenin put it like this:

> "The several demands of democracy, including self-determination, are not an absolute but only a *small part* of the general-democratic (now general socialist) *world* movement. In individual concrete cases the part may contradict the whole; if so, it must be rejected."
>
> *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 341

The Protestant Population

In order to determine whether any application of the call for self-determination could advance the struggle for socialist revolution in Ireland we must first delineate the nature of the national problem there. The Protestant majority in the northeast is distinguished from the oppressed Catholic minority by the fact that they have a different religion, a distinct culture, their own social institutions (the Orange lodges, sporting and drinking clubs, newspapers, etc.) and a self-image based on the rejection of the existence of a single Irish nation. Are the Protestants therefore a separate nation? Are they merely agents of British imperialism? Or are they misguided members of the unitary Irish nation? The answer is that at this point in history the Protestants of the Six Counties do not fit into any of these simple categories. They are a community which has long been distinct although its degree of separation from the Catholics has fluctuated, allowing both episodes of united class struggle, and at the other extreme, the last eight years of intense sectarian polarisation.

Many of the more sophisticated "Marxist" apologists of republicanism—notably the Pabloites of the IMG—cite Connolly as their authority in describing the Protestant workers as simply a labour aristocracy. Lenin defined the labour aristocracy as a narrow upper stratum of the proletariat whose substantial material privileges derived from the imperialist bourgeoisie lead them to identify their interests with those of their own bourgeoisie. The Protestants are not separated from the Catholics in a higher income group by a horizontal line across society, but are *a community represented in all strata*, even if they compose a proportionately smaller fraction at the lower end of the spectrum. The extension of the concept of labour aristocracy to the mass of Protestant workers in Ireland robs it of its Leninist meaning. The Protestant workers in the Six Counties "share" in the lowest wages, highest unemployment and poorest housing in the whole of the UK.

Attempts to ignore or deny the separate identity and interests of the Ulster Protestants through the familiar liberal plea that British or other socialists cannot tell the Irish how to wage their struggles or the argument that only the oppressed have rights should be rejected out of hand as petty-bourgeois moralism. The Protestants are neither a colonial administration (i.e., mere agents of British imperialism) nor simply a colonial extension of the motherland like the whites in Rhodesia, nor even a closed colour caste like the South African whites. Arguments that the Protestants should be accorded no democratic rights because they were originally settlers and/or because the present Six County state is an artificial imperialist creation are based ultimately on notions of nationalist irredentism and historical justice.

Gilles Peress/Magnum

Bloody Sunday, January 30, 1972. Victim of British troop assault on civil rights demonstrators.

The Protestants are clearly not at this time a part of the Irish Catholic nation but a separate people, and any attempt by the Catholic bourgeoisie to forcibly incorporate this large and relatively well-armed community into a common state could only precipitate a bloody communal conflict offering nothing for the proletariat. However, the Protestants have not crystallised into a separate nation of their own either, and it would require considerable class-divisive bloodshed for them to impose their exclusive right to a territory capable of sustaining a nation-state.

The pseudo-Marxist apologists of Green nationalism in the British left attempt to smear those who recognise the existence of a distinct Protestant community in Northern Ireland with the charge of sharing the "two nation" theories and pro-imperialist positions of the British and Irish Communist Organisation (B&ICO). The B&ICO's belief that the Protestants are at this time a nation is not their only error. We completely reject the B&ICO's assertion that the reactionary Orange statelet of the North, created by the imperialist partition of 1920, represents the legitimate "self-determination" of the Protestant population. We furthermore stand in total opposition to the B&ICO's reactionary position of open support to the imperialist occupation of northeast Ireland and its implicit support to the continuing oppression of the Catholic minority of the Six Counties.

The Protestants may yet be incorporated in a reforged Irish nation, which they would at present bitterly reject; they may become a separate nation of their own; or they may find a democratic accommodation with the Catholics outside the framework of strictly national solutions under the rule of the working class. Their destiny is not yet decided. But it is clear that there is a Protestant working class, and that those who turn their backs on it by ignoring its democratic rights have no real perspective for proletarian revolution in Ireland.

We reject the reactionary view that the Protestant workers are irredeemably lost and that only force will persuade them where their true interests lie. By posing as a precondition for their salvation the destruction of the Six County statelet, a stagist conception is advanced which suggests that national unity is a task which must be completed before the socialist tasks can be placed on the agenda. Those who reject the possibility that in future struggles for their common class interests Protestant workers may again unite with their Catholic brothers (as they have in the past) reveal a profoundly anti-revolutionary pessimism about the historic capacity of the proletariat, under revolutionary leadership, to transcend narrow sectional interests.

"Self-Determination for the Irish People as a Whole"?

The northeast of Ireland is one case (Palestine, Lebanon and Cyprus are others) where the right of the nation "as a whole" to self-determination is, taken literally, meaningless precisely because there is no sense in which we can speak of the people as a whole. In reality there are two peoples intermingled in Ireland. The Protestant community comprises 60 per cent of the population of the Six Counties and 25 per cent of the population of the whole island.

In its early years the Communist International addressed analogous situations of intermingled populations. Speaking at the Second Congress of the Third International Comrade Mereshin argued that:

> "The experience of the mutual relations between the majority and minority nationalities in territories with a mixed population (in the Ukraine, in Poland and in White Russia) has shown that the transfer of power from the hands of the big bourgeoisie into the hands of petty-bourgeois groups forming democratic republican states, does not reduce national tensions but on the contrary sharpens them in the extreme. The republican democracy, which is forced, in the struggle against the working class, to confuse the class struggle with national war, is quickly permeated with national exclusiveness and easily adapts itself to the experience of older teachers of national oppression....
>
> "...there are no 'democratic'...forms that can secure the rights and the cultural interests of the national minorities in areas of mixed populations in the republican-democratic order and guarantee true equality and equal influence on the course of the business of state. National personal autonomy based on universal suffrage, leads not only to the division of the proletariat into national groups, but also to the complete cessation of the revolutionary struggle and even to the worsening of the cultural position of the working class in the national minority."
>
> *Second Congress of the Communist International*, Vol. I, New Park, pp. 162-3

In the northeast of Ireland with a Protestant majority amongst workers and small farmers we have to ask in what way does the demand for "self-determination for the Irish people as a whole" advance the struggle for socialism? The answer is that it worsens it. It means driving the Orange workers, whose allegiance to their own bourgeoisie is fueled by legitimate fears of

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"... this will be final message from Saigon Station. It will take us about twenty minutes to destroy equipment.... This experience unique in the history of the United States does not signal necessarily the demise of the United States as a world power. The severity of the defeat and the circumstances of it, however, would seem to call for a reassessment of the policies of niggardly half measures.... Those who fail to learn from history are forced to repeat it.... Saigon signing off."

CIA Young Turk Tells How U.S. Imperialism "Lost" Vietnam

Indecent Interval: The Last Days of Saigon

U.S. official punches Vietnamese trying to board overloaded evacuation plane. UPI

As CIA station head Thomas Polgar tapped out this final communiqué to Washington from his abandoned office, thousands of North Vietnamese tanks and trucks, headlights blazing, were heading toward Saigon from Xuan Loc in the early morning hours of 30 April 1975. Meanwhile, on the U.S. Embassy roof, marines were hehlifting out the last few Americans from among the crush of desperate Vietnamese collaborators surrounding the compound.

A few hours later the last U.S. whirlybird lifted off. Ex-CIA agent Frank Snepp, in his book *Decent Interval* (New York: Random House, 1977), describes America's final farewell to Saigon.

> "At 7:30 A.M., Saigon time, Major Kean's men slammed the Embassy's huge oaken doors, barred them and ran into the stairwells. On the first and fourth floors they threw gas grenades into the elevator shafts and pulled the steel shutters closed behind them on the landings. But even as they leaped up the last few steps to the rooftop pad, the panic-stricken Vietnamese from the courtyard were smashing through the doors on the ground floor and surging up after them.
>
> "At the top of the stairwell the marines managed to lock and bar the small door leading to the pad, buying themselves a few precious moments to clamber aboard the waiting chopper. But by the time the last of them shinnied into the cabin, several Vietnamese were already scrambling up over the edge of the pad. Just as those in the lead dove for the wheels, the helicopter pulled off. It was 7:53 A.M., Saigon time, 30 April."

* * * * *

The sweaty panic of that final American scramble to escape the clutching fingers of their former Vietnamese "partners in democracy" occurred only three years ago. But somehow it seems more distant, as the deep trauma of U.S. imperialism's unprecedented defeat remains a largely unexplored and still touchy subject within the American ruling class and military apparatus.

WV BOOK REVIEW

Decent Interval
by
Frank Snepp

Ex-CIA agent-on-the-make Frank W. Snepp III's *Decent Interval* is a slashing, no-holds-barred assault on his superiors in the CIA and government for their bungling incompetence, deception and the panicky abandonment of thousands of Vietnamese collaborators in the last days of the war. Snepp has kicked up quite a storm, not only because he has gone public with the dirty, embarrassing behind-the-scenes details of those final days, but also because his aggressively unrepentant book could well provide a lightning rod for the many disgruntled elements inside and outside the administration and military who have plenty of their own scores to settle over Vietnam.

In contrast to this hawkish broadside against incompetents who "lost" Vietnam for U.S. imperialism, the French former colonial masters have marked the third anniversary of the North Vietnamese army's triumphant entry into Saigon with the smugness of a defeated imperial power that has lost its empire for good. After their crushing defeat at Dien Bien Phu in 1954 and the debilitating Algerian conflict — a no-win war no matter how dirty they made it — the French have adopted a posture of worldly wise "friends of the Third World." Thus while Paris has stepped up trade with Hanoi, *Le Monde* publishes annual starry-eyed accounts of "socialist reconstruction" in Vietnam.

The American liberal establishment, striving mightily to keep up its position as number-one imperialist power, has taken a rather more hostile attitude. Washington still refuses to recognize Vietnam while the *New York Times* has devoted heavy coverage to the festering, squalid nationalistic border war between Cambodia and Vietnam, smugly implying that both sides are getting what they deserved. Meanwhile both liberals and conservatives are campaigning for the U.S. to bring in tens of thousands of Vietnamese "boat people" it left behind in the precipitous flight from Saigon. Almost all the recent American movies and books about Vietnam have struck a sad and wistful note — a mourning chorus of regret for some supposed American "lost innocence" in the rice paddies and jungles so far from home.

Decent Interval, a heated polemic tearing open still unhealed wounds, cuts through this self-pitying, self-excusing atmosphere of distancing and mythologizing. While aspiring imperialist cadre Snepp's explicit purpose in publicly washing the CIA's dirty linen is to clean up and rearm the bourgeoisie's main spy/assassination agency, his book nonetheless provides a wealth of fascinating detail from which more can be learned than in all the mushy musings of former peaceniks and antiwar Viet vets.

Decent Interval gives an inside story on all those press "leaks," inflated body counts, "ongoing reappraisals," hysterical threats and out-and-out lies which the CIA and U.S. Embassy fed the press and Congress in their last-ditch efforts to prop up the dying Thieu regime. Snepp savages ambassador Graham Martin and Saigon CIA station head Thomas Polgar for their cynical manipulation of information (in which Snepp, of course, participated as long as he thought it would work). He contends that they ended by deceiving themselves as to the North Vietnamese Stalinists' intentions, hence the final panic as they realized — too late — that the game was really up.

As revolutionaries we called for military victory of the NLF-DRV (Viet Cong/North Vietnamese) forces over imperialism, demanding "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" and — as the ARVN (South Vietnamese puppet army) retreat became a headlong rout in March and April 1975 — "Take Saigon!" Thus we naturally take pleasure in Snepp's detailed account of the chaos and panic in the losers' camp as the North Vietnamese army finally closed in.

This question of "self-deception" is, however, more complex than Snepp realizes. As chief analyst of North Vietnamese political affairs in Saigon, Snepp was in a position to know as much as anybody about the inner workings of the Hanoi Stalinist bureaucracy. His reports on the Political Bureau's debates and reluctant approval of the final offensive, which was initially to be only a limited one with the aim of *pressuring* the imperialists, confirm our analysis of the Stalinists' intentions. As *Decent Interval* emphasizes, the Hanoi Stalinists were receptive to striking a last-minute deal with imperialism up until nearly the last week of their smashing military campaign. They finally took power in their own name *only* because they could find no coalition partners in the total vacuum of leadership that was left by the fleeing ARVN and Saigon bourgeoisie in a situation where the U.S. could no longer intervene directly.

Since Snepp cannot accept the fact of the U.S. defeat, the book has a curiously disjointed quality at times as he lashes out wildly in all directions at once, and his prescriptions for how to have avoided the debacle are rather vague. Implicitly, however, Snepp's bias is that of a right-wing "bomb them into the stone age" military hardliner.

The Final Days—Total Chaos

In its rich, raw detail concerning the collapse of the South Vietnamese puppet regime the book tells a good bit of the truth. The U.S. nightmare began in mid-March when, after decisive North Vietnamese victories at Ban Me Thuot, Kontum and Pleiku in the central highlands and Quang Tri and coastal cities in the north, South Vietnamese "president" Nguyen Van Thieu ordered a precipitous retreat of the ARVN, which quickly degenerated into a total rout. Despite the advantage of decades of U.S. training and an arsenal of sophisticated military equipment so huge that it couldn't all be used, the ARVN collapse was reminiscent of the ragtag, warlord-dominated Kuomintang in 1949. In typical mercenary fashion, the ARVN soldiers dissolved into bands of brigands, trampling, terrorizing and robbing civilians along the ever more clogged escape routes,

UPI

Ambassador Martin arrives on board evacuation ship carrying embassy files.

Vietnam News Agency

NLF tank storms through the gate of the presidential palace in Saigon.

shoving aside women and babies to jam themselves, their motorbikes and their war booty aboard trucks heading south and ships waiting offshore to pick up refugees.

The bloody panic in Danang in late March was particularly gruesome, and Snepp adds detail to the reports of the horrible situation which dominated the press at the time—of the last blood-spattered U.S. plane bumping over bodies as it took off with scores of desperate people clinging to (and falling off) the landing gear. One of Snepp's heroes, a CIA officer who spent hours trying to pluck his friends and collaborators out of the marauding hordes of soldiers, told of the hellish scene aboard the U.S. *Pioneer Contender* off Danang:

> "... over 1,500 South Vietnamese troops were sprawled, lounging, fighting among themselves and *practicing their aim* at the hapless Vietnamese civilians in their midst. Less than thirty yards away an ARVN soldier was in the process of raping a Vietnamese woman while another soldier held her male companion at gunpoint. The thirty-five or more American evacuees already on board were cringing by the gangway."

Against this background of abysmal chaos, Snepp's sardonic portrait of Thieu's departure some weeks later is exquisitely revealing. Thieu realized that the time had come to cash in his chips and slip quietly out of town. Snepp, who personally chauffered the impeccably dressed despot to his plane, describes their brief halt in the dead of night to allow Thieu's aides to pull mammoth suitcases (from which clinking metallic sounds emanated) out of the woods bordering the presidential palace, before the suave imperialist lackey was given his goodbye handshake on the tarmac by Ambassador Martin.

Four days later, on April 29, it was Martin's turn to leave in the last-minute U.S. helicopter evacuation. With his puppet (and his puppet's moneybags) long gone, it was left to Martin to play John Wayne. With attaché case and neatly folded American flag packed up, the ambassador was photographed striding firmly from his helicopter, tie neatly knotted, composed to the last, but pale and haggard behind his sunglasses.

He left behind him a scene of murderous chaos, as thousands of desperate Vietnamese besieged the embassy. Snepp recounts one American attaché's memory of that embassy wall "front line":

> "Everything ran smoothly at first. A ninth, then a tenth police official was pulled into the compound ... Several of the police officers suddenly became very agitated and tried to climb up on the wall themselves, and within seconds countless hands and groping fingers were locked over the parapet. Some of the stronger Vietnamese managed to wriggle over by themselves, bumping and jostling the Americans up top. Moorfield himself almost lost his balance. 'Give us a hand here!' he screamed — the marines were at his side in an instant. They went to work with appropriate military precision, cracking heads with rifle butts, stomping on hands and fingers as wave upon wave of humanity broke on the wall below them like a storm tide. It took them less than three or four minutes to restore calm.... 'They were just standing back, staring up at us,' Moorfield recalled. 'I don't know if it was with hostility, disdain, disinterest or what. Their faces were blank, like death masks'."

It was the sight of those thousands of abandoned U.S. collaborators, and the screams into walkie-talkies of others in Saigon buildings where no helicopters would ever arrive, that burned themselves into Snepp's memory and inspired his most bitter polemics against Martin, Polgar and others for their incompetence in the final hours. Snepp lists some of those who were abandoned:

> "... the 400 members of the Special Service branch, whose training the CIA had financed and supervised; 400 working echelon members of the Central Intelligence Organization, also our proteges; a large staff of clerks and computer operators which the Station had set up to keep book on PRG [Provisional Revolutionary Government] personalities; the young Vietnamese who served as our clandestine radio operators at the Embassy; the staff which maintained our special radio links with Vietnamese police headquarters; the hundred or more Vietnamese, including maids, waitresses and agents, who had collected at the Duc Hotel on the final day; several agents from Bien Hoa, the 70 translators whom 'Harry Linden' [a CIA agent] had tried to rescue; literally hundreds of high-level defectors who had worked closely with the Station over the years to pinpoint and hunt down their former Communist comrades; and countless counter-terrorist agents—perhaps numbering as high as 30,000—specially trained to operate with the Phoenix Program."

Thousands of intelligence and personnel dossiers were also left in abandoned offices, providing the victors with detailed evidence on the collaborators with U.S. imperialism. Snepp grinds his teeth over the fact that names of those still under detention, released by Hanoi in June 1976, "...read like a roster of those the CIA Station and Embassy had left behind."

We, of course, find this statement, from one who should certainly know, a vindication of our hope that at least *some* of those traitors, imperialist puppets, torturers and assassins did not walk away scot-free from the scene of their crimes.

Decent Interval's spotlight on the humiliating details of America's first total defeat have ripped through the seemingly selective memory of the U.S. ruling class concerning Vietnam. The uproar over his book would not have surprised that student of the American elite (of an earlier generation), F. Scott Fitzgerald, who commented that "the mature Aryan has never benefitted from a humiliation" (*Tender Is the Night*).

In large part Snepp's book is so upsetting to the U.S. because of its chronicle of the blatant self-interest, naked brutality, and dirty, raw, primitive violence with which the U.S. finally pulled out—marines crushing those clutching Vietnamese fingers with rifle butts were a long way down for those cool, bright, modern technocrats who were going to run the world from their spanking-new, air-conditioned, computerized Pentagon East and mammoth U.S. Embassy. It was a dirty, nasty end, which blunted the self-confidence of these crusaders for American imperialism.

"Moral Casualties"

If the ruling class would prefer to bury the more unpleasant details of its humiliation, though, the liberal anti-war movement of the 1960's seems equally committed to its own brand of amnesia regarding the victors. Thus, by default, the popular American perception of Vietnam is as a peculiar aberration, a tragedy, a quagmire, a place where American boys learned to become mass murderers and monsters; it is a metaphor for insanity. It is almost as if the bourgeoisie were preparing a defense of "temporary insanity" before some ultimate court of proletarian justice for its decades of brutal aggression, vicious terror-bombing, torture, exploitation and cynical manipulation in Indochina. Needless to say, it won't wash.

A more immediate explanation for all this whining, however, is that *the U.S. lost!* If the U.S. had *won*, it would all have made a lot more sense.

Recently a whole series of ahistorical, apolitical treatises about the Vietnam "experience" have come out. The most popular genre centers on the feelings of guilt and victimization of the rank-and-file American soldier in Vietnam, who by all appearances spent more time sullenly smoking pot than actually fighting, listening to Jimi Hendrix tapes while waiting to get blown away in the rice paddies and figuring out how to frag officers. Except, that is, for the murderous maniacs like the Lt. William Calleys who shot down, burned and tortured Vietnamese at random. (An exception to this all-sided craziness was apparently provided by the pilots who flew bombing raids over North Vietnam, who maintained a cool, professional elite *esprit*. A two-part series by a former pilot in the trashy *Soldier of Fortune* magazine for "professional adventurers" is an interesting parallel

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CIA Tries to Gag Ex-Agent

Random House

Frank Snepp

Washington's spies, assassins and torturers are feeling persecuted these days. Various post-Watergate "investigations," harassment and ridicule in the media and embarrassing revelations of some of the CIA's more bizarre ploys (like the plot to defoliate Castro's beard) have been undermining the morale of the spooks in Langley, Virginia. But now, in the midst of a major bourgeois faction fight over reorganization of imperialism's spy agencies (see "New License for FBI," *WV* No. 202, 21 April 1978), a young ex-agent, Frank W. Snepp III, has gone public with a detailed exposé of CIA incompetence in Vietnam, adding fuel to the already heated debate.

It matters little to the CIA tops that such unkind cuts as appear in Snepp's *Decent Interval*—an angry, articulate detailing of U.S. bungling in the last days of the Vietnam war—are aimed at purging incompetency and creating a *better* spy agency. Bureaucratic inertia, the tradition of protecting one's own and, most importantly, the embarrassment of having the colossal Vietnam fiasco examined under a microscope by

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Indecent Interval...

(continued from page 7)

from the military side to Snepp's gung-ho, hard-nosed CIA assault.)

The screwed-up Vietnam vet is now a stock character in the movies—nice-young-man Henry Winkler in *Heroes*, icy killer Robert DeVane in *Rolling Thunder*, up-tight Marine officer Bruce Dern in *Coming Home*. This New Left version of *The War We Were*, awash with 1960's music and golden sun, shows us Jane Fonda finding true love (in its 1970's incarnation as her first orgasm) with the antiwar, Viet vet, good paraplegic, while her pro-war, Marine officer, bad husband goes crazy and commits suicide by marching into the Pacific at dawn (apparently a preferred ending in California melodramas) to the heavily ironic strains of the Rolling Stones' *Out of Time*. This soap opera is the latest rendering of the hoary myth of American "innocents abroad," which, after a good solid 100 years or so of the most blatant, bloody expansionism and imperialist aggression, is wearing just a little hit thin.

So antiwar activist Jane Fonda's major film statement on Vietnam turns out to be how it liberated her from girdles and nylons and hair curlers so she could wear blue jeans and smoke pot and have orgasms i.e., a question of lifestyle But then it always was for a large part of the radicalized petty bourgeoisie of the 1960's. After all, her ex-SDSer husband, Tom Hayden, now an aspiring Democratic Party pol, was reported to have watched the David Frost interviews with Nixon in the company of his flashy, Hitler-loving neighbor, ex-Marshall Ky! Well, times certainly do change.

"I was a moral casualty of Vietnam"-type memoirs are also popping up like weeds these days. A few examples: ex-Marine Philip Caputo's *A Rumor of War*—how all-American would-be hero gets sick to his stomach at war atrocities; Ron Kovic's *Born on the Fourth of July* same story; Ronald Glasser's *365 Days*—recounting his suffering in a burn ward; and, perhaps most characteristic of the genre, Michael Herr's *Dispatches*. Herr, who covered the war for *Esquire*, sums it all up: "I think Vietnam was what we had instead of a happy childhood." *Dispatches*, with its Fritz-the-Cat-Goes-to-Vietnam discovery that "Hell Sucks" (chapter title on the battle for Hue), was described in one glowing review as revealing "how different this war was from any we fought."

Yeah, America lost! That's what's so different, and that's the *real* "moral casualty" in the popular American consciousness.

The antiwar intelligentsia, while hailing such sob stories, has also been busy covering up its former enthusiasm for the "heroic people's liberation fighters" of Vietnam, since (what a surprise!) they turn out, once in power, to be mere Stalinist bureaucrats (as did their brother "liberal agrarian reformers" in China 30 years earlier). Thus the *New York Review of Books* crowd, which used to feature the defeatist polemics of Mary McCarthy, I.F. Stone, et al., has been doing penance by highlighting William Shawcross, Jean LaCouture and others on the suddenly discovered horrors of Stalinist rule. The right wing of the defunct peace movement has also demonstrated its loyalty to "democratic" U.S imperialism via its highly publicized 1976 "confidential" letter to the Vietnamese Stalinists, protesting their "violations of human rights" in holding thousands in "re-education camps" (those same lists which Snepp noted read like a roster of those the CIA left behind!).

"The Spitting Image of What an American Agent Should Be"

Snepp at least doesn't pretend to be some violated virgin. The quality of his book was caught precisely by Kevin Buckley in the *New York Times Book Review* (8 January 1978), who commented. "Brooding over Snepp's brooding, one might imagine a German counterpart of *Is Paris Burning?* that might have reflected the Gestapo's efforts to rescue its French collaborators."

Francolon/Gamma

Barge loaded with refugees and motorbikes leaves Da Nang dock littered with corpses left behind.

This hot-shot imperialist cadre, once described by a Saigon newsman as the spitting image of an American agent, obviously considers himself a very bright young man. His book's dust jacket bio notes he attended Columbia, "following family tradition," where he majored in Elizabethan literature, then took a master's in International Affairs one of the standard routes for promising upper-class young men into the CIA, which he joined in 1968. He spent eight years in the agency, in Saigon in 1969-71 and 1972-75, where he was chief strategy analyst for North Vietnamese political affairs, handled spy networks and interrogation of high-level prisoners and provided lists of likely suspects to the notorious Phoenix Program.

Snepp's heroes (besides himself, of course) are a small band of fellow Young Turks in the CIA, army and government who, concluding that their elders were doddering old idiots, finally decided to take matters into their own hands. Snepp enthusiastically details their running around South Vietnam like a bunch of cowboys with walkie-talkies, rounding up their mistresses, bar buddies, and collaborators and channeling them out of the country, hastily burning incriminating files as the DRV forces closed in.

With the entire ARVN crumbling around them on the eve of the historic victory of the Vietnamese people against imperialism, the image of Snepp's free-lancers picking a few scraps out of the wreckage recalls General Edward Lansdale (then a CIA agent) and his Hanoi crew pouring sugar in Viet Minh gas tanks in 1954 in the last days of French imperialism. Snepp, in fact, refers admiringly to that childish stunt, which David Halberstam, in his excellent description of early U.S. policy in Vietnam (*The Best and the Brightest*) accurately described as "a gesture of no small mindlessness... mosquito bites, they were, at a historic moment."

Vietnamese Stalinism: Decades of Betrayal

Nothing if not self-assured, Snepp calls Vietnamese People's Army Chief of Staff Van Tien Dung his "unsung collaborator" in writing *Decent Interval*. The general's memoirs of the 1975 campaign, *Our Great Spring Victory* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1977), which Snepp utilized extensively, are a testament to the efficiency, good planning and power of the DRV forces, while providing interesting vignettes about the personalities of some of the major Stalinist leaders.

For example, his portrait of Le Duc Tho, Kissinger's debating partner in the Paris Peace Accords, is an appealing one. Just as a meeting of the DRV military leadership in the South was about to begin to plan their final assault on Saigon, Dung tells us, they heard a roar outside the door as "a motorbike came to a stop in the courtyard. The rider was a tall comrade wearing a light-blue shirt, khaki trousers and a stiff troops' hat. He had a big black leather sack slung over his shoulder. We immediately recognized him as comrade Le Duc Tho." Poor Henry the K with his unfulfilled cowboy fantasies.

As a fairly narrowly focused memoir of a military victory hailed by revolutionaries and socialist militants throughout the world, *Our Great Spring Victory* is appealing. But when set against the history of decades of betrayal and holding back from the final military assault, Dung's paeons to the glorious victory have a bitter-sweet, hollow ring.

Particularly noticeable is the absence from Dung's account of *any* mass "uprisings in the South" as the DRV swept through. The Stalinists had for years *suppressed* any independent mobilization of the proletariat (slaughtering the Saigon Trotskyists in 1945 who had fought against the French return, withholding aid for years from the insurgents rounded up, tortured and massacred by Diem in the South). Dung's account strikingly confirms their bureaucratic method of seizing power, giving the lie to such Stalinist propaganda as Wilfred Burchett's *The Grasshopper and the Elephant*, which pretends that "popular uprisings" and not the North Vietnamese army caused the final collapse.

The triumphant entry of the DRV into Saigon came far too late in the day for those millions who suffered and died needlessly in the previous decades, and the responsibility for their deaths lies squarely with the Stalinists.

It is true that during the period of intense direct American military involvement and heavy saturation bombing of the North, the military situation was indeed difficult—but where was the massive Russian and Chinese military assistance which could have made the difference? The Stalinist betrayals go back far beyond the time that the Americans first landed in force. They extend from the 1930's, when the Stalinists under Ho Chi Minh supported the popular front of French imperialism; to 1945, when they welcomed British and French imperialism back into Saigon; to the 1954 Geneva Conference sellout; up to the turbulence surrounding the assassination of Diem in 1963. Throughout this entire period there was no all-out, unrelenting assault on the weak puppet governments and no attempt to organize the working class in the cities.

Even after the American pullout, as Snepp's book makes clear, the Hanoi Stalinists waited and watched, pressured by the Russians to lie low in the interests of détente. Under this pressure the North Vietnamese actually pulled out large sections of their forces from Laos and Cambodia, while the USSR and China cut their (already pathetically inadequate) military assistance to Hanoi by 50 percent in the first year-and-a-half after the accords. The North Vietnamese Political Bureau's initial projections on the military situation

Wheeler/Sipa-Liaison

South Vietnamese storm wall at the U.S. embassy compound, seeking to join in evacuation as marine tries to keep them out.

concluded that total victory could not be expected before 1979 at the very earliest, and that a concentration on northern "reconstruction" should be the main policy. As late as December 1974 when, after much prodding from the military (who sensed that the opportune moment for a big push had arrived), the PB reluctantly authorized plans for a major new offensive, it was only with the proviso that any possible opportunity for a cease-fire and renewed negotiations would be seized. It was not their fault that they encountered not adversaries but only clouds of dust kicked up by the pell-mell flight of Thieu's army.

AP — Borsari/Camera 5

Marshall Nguyen Cao Ky and wife: "Hitler is my hero," he said until he found a friend in the U.S.

Vietnam: The Imperialist Gamble that Failed

With the massacre of hundreds of thousands of workers and communists in Indonesia in 1965 and the consolidation of the Sino-Soviet split propelling Mao's China into the arms of the waiting imperialists, several key U.S. aims in Southeast Asia were accomplished. Consequently key sectors of the American bourgeoisie increasingly came to view direct U.S. involvement in Vietnam as a diversion from more pressing tasks. The Vietnam war was distorting the U.S. domestic economy, weakening the bourgeoisie's competitive position against the other imperialist powers in the face of renewed inter-imperialist economic rivalry and stirring up domestic unrest. Thus the huge growth in the social-patriotic, liberal antiwar movement and the shift of U.S. policy toward negotiations with Hanoi, the outcome of which was the Paris Peace Accords of 1973.

The Nixon regime took the calculated gamble, with assurances from Moscow and Peking, that it could achieve yet another negotiated sellout by the Hanoi Stalinists. That this gamble failed, as the Spartacist League pointed out at the time, is a confirmation of the Trotskyist analysis of the incapacity of weak bourgeoisies of the backward, neocolonial countries to carry out their own bourgeois revolution. They must either cling to the imperialists or be swept away by social revolution, as occured in Indochina. The Vietnamese Stalinists, caught up in this intractable social and historical contradiction, were thus *forced* to take power when the puppets fled.

A Prisoner in a Snow-White Cell

While *Decent Interval* presents some fascinating facts on a searing experience for U.S. imperialism, the interests of historic justice would have been far better served had Snepp not escaped to write his book.

One of his special tasks, which was not discussed in the book but came out in an interview, was providing lists of "targets" to the grisly "counter-terrorists" Phoenix Program. "Now, what they did with that data was something I never got into..." he coolly explained, although he did casually point out that while Phoenix kept killing and killing and killing, somehow their estimates of the total number of "Communist agents" never shrank. While William Colby (then in charge of this huge squad of imperialist hit men) claimed some 20,000 victims for this mammoth torture/assassination bureau, Snepp puts the number closer to 30,000 "one for each member of the program" (*Columbia Daily Spectator*, 26 January 1978).

Another chilling story he relates concerns the fate of a high-level North Vietnamese intelligence officer captured by the U.S. puppets.

Nguyen Van Tai, who was captured in 1970, had been sent south in 1962 to take charge of Communist espionage and organizing in Saigon, where he helped organize the spectacular 1968 attack on the U.S. Embassy. The Americans helped the Thieu regime to organize Tai's long ordeal, constructing a snow-white cell kept thoroughly chilled by heavy-duty air conditioners. (Tai reportedly believed the frigid air would constrict his blood vessels.) Despite years of solitary isolation, with no external sense of time and heavy interrogation, he remained steadfast. So Snepp was finally put in charge of him, spending months insulting and cajoling the highly disciplined cadre, gaining a few details here and there, but never the final break. Snepp then says he lost track of Tai and went on to other things, but provides a laconic postscript.

In the final days of the war, a senior CIA official suggested it would be a good idea if Tai "disappeared," so the South Vietnamese took him up in a helicopter and kicked him out over the South China Sea. Naturally Snepp relates this grisly assassination. But after putting down this revealing and informative book a socialist reader cannot help but think that had Snepp been captured by the victorious Vietnamese, given his criminal responsibility for murder on a massive scale, this fate would have been an infinitely more just ending for him. ■

Snepp...

(continued from page 7)

a well informed insider have impelled the Department of Justice to sue Snepp for "breach of contract" in not submitting his book to CIA censorship before publication.

Although Snepp's book, unlike former agent Philip Agee's *Inside the Company*, is not charged with revealing classified material or blowing an agent's cover (nor would we expect it to do so), its indictment of CIA and government deception, incompetence and abandonment of thousands of Vietnamese collaborators in the final panicky American pullout hit plenty of raw nerves. The agency is presently in the process of releasing some 800 "operatives," and if Snepp gets away scot-free with writing whatever he wants about his CIA days, who knows what damaging revelations may come out from other disgruntled elements? The lawsuit is designed explicitly to discourage any potential authors from writing anything critical about the CIA.

Just this week the head of the CIA's Angolan task force during the 1975-76 fighting, John Stockwell, published his memoirs, *In Search of Enemies*, with damaging revelations. Not only did the agency mislead Congressmen about the scope of its activities ($30 million and CIA-recruited military advisers supplied to anti-communist nationalist groups), but agents in the field sent doctored dispatches to CIA headquarters. Stockwell confirms the obvious (but repeatedly denied) fact that the South African invasion was undertaken "in step" with the escalating U.S. attempts to overthrow the Soviet-backed MPLA.

Decent Interval, subtitled "An Insider's Account of Saigon's Indecent End Told by the CIA's Chief Strategy Analyst in Vietnam," was written by Snepp after he resigned from the CIA in protest over his superiors' refusal to conduct his requested *in-house* evaluation of the CIA's role in Vietnam. It was brought out last November by Random House in deepest secrecy. The CIA knew Snepp was working on the book, but he used the tricks of his trade to meet with his editors in various New York parks, restaurants and "safe houses" far from Random House, prying CIA bugs and possible pre-publication interception. Both he and Random House, whose subsidiary Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. had published Victor Marchetti and John Marks' *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, were aware of the sweeping and arbitrary deletions the CIA had inflicted on that manuscript. (Knopf took revenge by publishing the book with the original CIA deletions later grudgingly allowed in hold-face print, and blank space left for those deletions upheld by the court. This vastly increased the book's titillation value and made the spy-censors look like narrow-minded idiots.)

Since no one in the case contends that "national security" has been violated or "secrets" revealed, the Justice Department is basing the civil suit brought against Snepp on February 15 by Attorney General Griffin Bell on the fact that Snepp had signed a CIA contract stating that employees will submit anything they write after leaving the agency to pre-publication censorship. The government is seeking to recover damages that would include all profits from *Decent Interval* and to restrain Snepp from speaking publicly about the agency *for the rest of his life*!

Civil liberties organizations have pointed out that this is the first time the government has tried to censor speech or publication of material by government employees when "national security" was not at issue; it thus goes even further in its dangerous implications than the Marchetti case. This insidious government and CIA attempt to make an example out of Snepp in order to shut up anyone with knowledge of the crimes committed by U.S. imperialism's organized hoodlums must be opposed!

But Snepp is no innocent victim. Unlike the disillusioned authors of previous CIA exposés, notably primitive leftist radical Agee and naive liberals Marchetti and Marks, or even Daniel Ellsberg of *Pentagon Papers* notoriety, Snepp is an ambitious, arrogant and aspiring cadre of U.S. imperialism. He has explicitly affirmed his "absolute" commitment to the CIA as an institution and dissociated himself from Agee and Marchetti. In a *Penthouse* (May, 1978) interview, Snepp explained: "The thing that makes me different is that I'm not really not antiagency. I'm not in the demolition business.... I have no respect at all for someone like Philip Agee. He simply blew every secret he knew...."

As a committed anti-communist who has chosen to hit his elders on their most tender spot the humiliating debacle of Vietnam—Snepp is in a good position to win influential friends among both cold-war liberals and the embittered Vietnam hawks from General William Westmoreland on down, who have plenty of their own scores to settle. Snepp, who was asked to address the New York Council on Foreign Relations, has correctly pointed out that he is "not entirely anathema to the old establishment" (*Columbia Daily Spectator*, 26 January 1978).

Snepp is not just another "public servant" publishing his memoirs. As a once (and quite possibly future) member of the elite secret gang of terrorists and murderers known as the CIA Snepp, breaking ranks and going public with his angry denunciations, *does* threaten the shadowy world of the spies—if merely by example no matter what his motives.

The great debate over the CIA's "legitimate" problems with "maintaining secrecy" and how to reconcile this with the First Amendment, which such defenders of Snepp as the *New York Times* have editorialized over with ponderous solemnity, is ultimately a grotesque fraud. In the end, the CIA, like any other criminal gang, knows perfectly well how to protect its most vital secrets and it has the advantage of state power besides (although some recent incidents tend to make it look more like the gang that couldn't shoot straight than something the Gallo family would recognize as kindred spirits). Agee, for example, is still being hounded from country to country as punishment for his spilling the beans. The workers movement must be concerned about the safety of those such as Agee and Seymour Hersh of the *New York Times*, who have exposed the CIA's murderous skullduggery and who may become victims of retaliation.

In the short run Snepp's book has opened the door to a closet jammed full with skeletons at a time when U.S. imperialism is still struggling to refurbish its badly tarnished image in the aftermath of Vietnam and Watergate. There are plenty of other "bright young men" around, inside the CIA and out, itching to make their reputations over the bodies of their elders, who still bear the stigma of these disasters for the bourgeoisie. In the process they are bound to kick up quite a storm. Caught in these hazardous crosscurrents, the Carter administration looks increasingly erratic and inept, as Attorney General Bell goes after Snepp to preserve CIA morale, while at the same time stirring up a hornets' nest at the FBI with his indictments of Hooverite agents for getting caught at their dirty work.

The Justice Department has already lost the first round in the Snepp suit. On March 31 Judge Oren R. Lewis rejected the government's plea for a summary judgment and stated that he would rule that the case should go to a jury trial, thus ensuring a long drawn-out process which should provide a perfect forum and focus for even more public argument and recrimination about Vietnam and CIA activities.

While this falling out among thieves has a certain fascination, it is important that the vicious implications of the government suit be recognized. Although Attorney General Bell had to back off his staff lawyers' somewhat too enthusiastic development of the theory that *all* federal employees should be subject to censorship, the obvious desire of the government is to clamp down hard on any and all criticism. Ever since the Ellsberg revelations, the government has been seeking an "official secrets act" to plug up every leak even by those 100 percent loyal to U.S. imperialism. This dangerous Justice Department suit against Snepp must be opposed! ■

Ernest Mandel...

(continued from page 12)

> between wars. Peaceful alliances prepare the ground for wars, and in their turn grow out of wars."

At the New York forum Mandel certainly dotted the "i's" and crossed the "t's" on his modernized Kautskyan theory of super-imperialism. But his assertion of the impossibility of inter-imperialist war goes back to the 1953 split in the Fourth International when the liquidationist current led by Michel Pablo, seeking to justify its position that the Stalinist parties could be pushed to the left, insisted that the Third World War would inevitably be between a "united imperialism" versus the Soviet Union. Although Mandel never before quite so explicitly spelled out its implications, he has been, in one form or another, peddling various versions of the super-imperialism theory for the past 25 years. Thus in his book *Europe vs. America* in discussing the Common Market Mandel wrote:

> "Once private property becomes extensively internationalized it cannot be effectively defended within the framework of a French, German or Italian state. European Capital demands a European bourgeois state as an adequate protector and guarantor of profit ..."

In response to this blatant claim that capitalism can overcome the limits imposed by the nation-state, the Spartacist tendency asserted that a unification of Europe under capitalism could not be realized by gradual, peaceful and bourgeois-democratic means:

> "The creation of a capitalist European super-state can only be achieved through the methods of an Adolph Hitler, not those of a Paul Henri Spaak."
>
> "Britain and the Common Market," *WV* No. 71, 20 June 1975

Throughout the evening Mandel consistently painted an objectivist picture of the world, as if the prospects for socialism were not fundamentally based on the outcome of class battles, on the resolution of the crisis of *proletarian* leadership, but solely on the workings of economic developments. So from Mandel the audience heard that the "long wave" of capitalist development is now turning down for a long time to come, and that the workers' resistance will be greater than ever before because "not a single sector of the world proletariat has suffered any form of important defeat for the past ten years" (tell that to the Chilean workers). Consequently, he concluded, while the perspective for socialism is not positively "rosy," it is very bright indeed. All we need to do is keep up the good work. And so, exhorting the audience "Let's really make a big effort for having socialism" Mandel sat down.

Waffling on Pop Frontism

In its leaflet for the New York meeting the Spartacist League noted that Mandel is once again chasing after the latest fashionable European trends: popular frontism and Eurocommunism. Thus, fearful of "isolation," the French Mandelites refuse to call the Union of the Left a popular front and have followed the masses in voting for its candidates. At the meeting this was confirmed, with Mandel's efforts to deliberately obscure the class character of the Union of the Left so blatant that they several times evoked widespread chuckling, not only from SL supporters but a number of SWPers in the crowd. At one point the room broke into suppressed laughter when, in evaluating the recent French elections, Mandel said:

> "...[It] was a setback for the working class. I don't think you need to deny that, whatever opinion we have of the Union of the Left, call it a popular front coalition, a class-collaborationist coalition, whatever you want."

Bringing more guffaws from the audience, Mandel then lightly skipped over the role of the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) in the elections: "I don't want to go into all the ins and outs of the different candidates." He ended with a perfunctory reference to the USec, the Pabloists' phony "Fourth International," whose "global program" allegedly equipped it to lead the masses.

The first SL speaker challenged Mandel's claim to have a program to lead the working class when the USec has no clear position on the popular front, what Trotsky called the key issue of the epoch. The speaker continued:

> "In Chile, you said in 1971 it was a popular front and after it was overthrown in 1973 you said it wasn't a popular front. In France, the SWP says it is a popular front, your people say it isn't. And you never can decide who to vote for, whether to vote for some of its candidates, all of its candidates — how is that a program for leadership? We say no support to the popular front, we say proletarian opposition to it."

In his reply Mandel tried to trivialize the question by insisting that there was no difference between saying "popular front" or "class-collaborationist formation." In trying to reduce the popular front to just one more example of reformist class-collaborationist policies, Mandel denies that tying the workers to the class enemy in an explicit political alliance has any importance at all.

Demagogically attempting to reduce the dispute to a question of semantics, Mandel, in one of the many distortions to come, implied the SL was soft on the British Labour Party and that, prior to the current Lib/Lab coalition, would have been satisfied for Labour to administer the capitalist state as long as it did it in its own name. Resorting to outright lies, he claimed the SL holds the position that workers parties cease to be workers parties once they enter popular fronts. As Mandel knows quite well, while on several occasions the SL has called for critical electoral support to the British Labour Party, we have always condemned the anti-working-class policies of the Labour tops. And rather than stating that the *bourgeois* workers parties change their class character, we point out that the contradiction in their character is *suppressed* in favor of the bourgeois element when they are part of a popular front. We demand they run independently in their own name *against* the capitalist parties as a minimum condition for critical support.

Leaders of the French Union of the Left. From left: Radical Fabre, Socialist Mitterrand, Communist Marchais.

After Mandel's demagogic diatribe a second SL speaker rose to note that the USec's refusal to characterize the Union of the Left or Allende's Unidad Popular (UP) government as popular fronts was a cover for the Pabloists' support to them. Unlike Mandel, the speaker noted, Trotsky did not believe it was a minor terminological question. A third SL speaker hammered home that the USec's inability to draw the class line was not confined to Chile or France, but that its Italian section entered the Democrazia Proletaria electoral bloc, which called for a "left" popular front à la Allende's UP; and that Mandel's French co-thinker Alain Krivine called for a vote to Portuguese General Otello Carvalho, a leader of the bourgeois officer corps (the MFA).

On the defensive, Mandel asserted, "We don't support coalitions with bourgeois parties, even if we don't call them popular fronts." (A voice from the audience called out: "No, you just vote for them.") Mandel then said the USec called only for votes for workers parties in popular fronts which, he said, was Trotsky's policy, a claim frequently made by the USec and other ex-Trotskyist revisionists but never substantiated. And above all he insisted on the need to vote for popular front candidates as a way to "get the ear" of the Communist masses. While this may sound more orthodox than the actual practice of the Mandelites, in fact in Chile and France the Communist and Socialist candidates constituted 90 to 95 percent of all the candidates for the front. Thus in practice this position amounts to no more than a fig leaf, a barely disguised form of critical support to the popular front.

Moreover Mandel's claim that the USec had "never wavered" in its position on the Union of the Left is blatantly false. In 1973 the USec called it a "global reformist [i.e., working-class] alternative" and called for a vote for the entire Union of the Left. Later the centrists made a mild "self-criticism" and began to talk out of the left side of their mouths about its "class collaborationist" character. However, in the 1977 municipal elections they continued to call for a vote for Union of the Left slates *including* bourgeois members, although trying to hedge by not voting for slates *headed* by bourgeois candidates. And in the 1978 elections, where the USec called for a vote for CP and SP candidates, the LCR participated in Union of the Left election meetings, sharing the same platform with bourgeois dissident Gaullists, even boasting of it and calling for "victory to the candidates of the whole left" on the decisive second round of voting (see "French Popular Front Breaks Up," *WV* No. 201, 14 April 1978). Of course Mandel conveniently forgot to mention these incidents, just as he thought it wiser not to comment on his bloc-partner Krivine's call for a vote for Carvalho in Portugal.

In insisting on the need to "get the ear" of the working masses, Mandel constantly confused the question of Leninist electoral policy toward united fronts and popular fronts. For Leninists, the united front is not a question of sidling up to the reformist-led workers through opportunist capitulation; it is a principled tactic only when a particular bloc with a reformist party can advance the class struggle. That is why the guiding slogan for the united front adopted by the Communist International in 1921 was *class against class*. But how can Mandel claim that a vote for the Union of the Left, or even for the CP and SP candidates within it, is a tactic to pit class against class? A vote for Union of the Left candidates is a vote for a bourgeois popular front against the bourgeois right wing. The only way in which it is "class against class" is that this is a vote for the bourgeoisie against the working class! Mandel would like to ignore the existence of the popular front by defining it out of existence as simply one more example of class collaboration, or by an electoral sleight of hand through token abstention in a few isolated cases!

The three Spartacist League speakers posed the question to Mandel in the sharpest terms: "How can you say you have a program for the proletariat when you can't make up your mind on what Trotsky said was the key issue of this epoch?" "What about Trotsky's position that in periods of social crises, fascism on the one hand and popular frontism on the other are the last refuge of bourgeois rule?" "Where do you draw the class line?" Through spreading smokescreens and confusion, Mandel avoided an answer (and significantly the several dozen SWPers in the audience did not rise to help him out of his dilemma). Thus on the key questions of popular frontism and the economic crisis Mandel proved once again he is a thoroughbred revisionist. As the SL leaflet said, "*Ernest Mandel is not a Trotskyist but an impostor. Anybody who came to hear a genuine Bolshevik-Leninist should ask for his money back.*" ■

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Solidarity with Louisville!

UAW Local Calls for IH Strike

MELROSE PARK, ILLINOIS, May 7—At a well attended meeting today of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 6, International Harvester (IH) workers passed a resolution demanding a company-wide strike in solidarity with striking Harvester workers in Louisville and against the company's concerted campaign of harassment and speed-up aimed at reversing hard-won union gains.

Three weeks ago, Louisville IH workers walked out in protest against layoffs out of line of seniority, cutbacks in incentive rates and accumulated health and safety grievances. Management's attempt to keep production going by importing hundreds of scabs was repulsed by mass picketing.

In response to the strike at the key Louisville parts plant, Harvester has laid off thousands of workers out of line of seniority, without short workweek benefits or SUB pay. This arrogant company violation of union-won rights, coming on top of the speed-up campaign, has sparked real bitterness among IH workers.

The resolution printed below was presented by Marc Freedman, editor of *Labor's Struggle* newsletter and currently a candidate for Local 6 executive board. It was passed by the membership, although the Local bureaucracy—anxious to avoid militant action like the mass picketing at Louisville—succeeded in having points 2 and 3 amended out.

Six months ago, the Local 6 membership overwhelmingly voted for strike action against the same sort of provocations that sparked the present Louisville walkout. But the bureaucracy has done nothing but drag its feet. IH militants must intensify their struggle against the obstructionist labor fakers to insure the victory of the embattled Louisville IH workers against the arrogant company offensive.

1. That the International organize an immediate *company-wide strike* for the following demands
   a. Victory to the Louisville strike;
   b. An end to all speed-up throughout the chain;
   c. Full pay for all laid-off due to the Louisville strike;
   d. Removal of all discipline and full back pay for all disciplined during the current harassment campaign (including alternate committeeman Harry Putnam).
   e. No discipline for E. Moline strikers and removal of discipline for those who walked out at Melrose Park last fall;
2. That we elect a strike committee, made up of people from each department, to run the strike at our Local;
3. That mass picket lines be organized at all Harvester plants to keep anyone from entering the plant, as the Louisville strikers did two weeks ago

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Chile...

(continued from page 3)

the street demonstration netted *Newsweek's* Latin American correspondent and photographer.

The sizeable May Day protests in Santiago are an important indicator of the resurgence of the Chilean labor movement. They show that despite the tens of thousands of deaths and the severe repression and economic victimization of the working class, the Chilean working class was not decisively crushed by the junta's terror. As the Political Bureau of the Spartacist League noted in the aftermath of the coup:

> "In Chile the possibility now exists, more intensely and better than at any time one can think of in Latin America, for the building of a Bolshevik party and a straightforward, virtually linear perspective of proletarian revolution. The working class is still there. It is seething with bitterness; it is down now, but in a few months the first economist tendrils will rise up, testing out the situation perhaps a little strike at first."
>
> quoted in "Perspective of Proletarian Revolution in Chile," *WV* No. 41, 29 March 1974

During the almost five years that Chile has suffered under the junta's iron heel, Stalinists, social democrats and their diverse and sundry apologists have hidden behind the mythical "Anti-Fascist Resistance." Every political attack on the popular-front UP coalition which paved the way for Pinochet is demagogically denounced as "undermining the Resistance." Chilean workers must be warned that under the slogan of "anti-fascist unity" the Stalinist and social-democratic betrayers whose faith in the armed forces opened the road to the September 11 coup are preparing for class collaboration on an even grander scale—notably with the Christian Democratic leaders who played a key role in preparing the generals' bloody takeover. Do not allow the budding working-class struggles to once again be beheaded as the sacrificial victim of a new popular front! ■

Miners...

(continued from page 3)

urgently need the support of the entire union and the rest of the labor movement.

The miners are holding a rally in St. Charles this weekend. Strikers should demand that the leaders of District 28 and the other eastern UMWA districts fully mobilize their membership for this event. An assembly of thousands of miners would demonstrate to the operators the union's determination to win this fight. UMWA members must repudiate the sellout policies by which isolated groups of miners, as in St. Charles and Stearns, Kentucky are forced to fight alone, and are picked off one by one. The rally must be utilized as a launching pad to initiate the organized mass pickets, drawn from miners throughout the area and from neighboring states, which are necessary to shut the struck mines down tight. ■

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WL Thug Gets Lesson in Workers Democracy

SAN FRANCISCO, May 2—In another of its many unsuccessful attempts to stifle workers democracy through physical intimidation, the Healyite Workers League (WL) launched an unprovoked goon assault on a Spartacist League (SL) sales team here tonight. The attack occurred in front of the Avenue Theater, where a pro-PLO film—*The Palestinian*, promoted by Healyite Vanessa Redgrave—opened yesterday. The Healyite provocation was doubly dangerous because of the possibility of attack by right-wing Zionists (like the terroristic Jewish Defense League, which has threatened to close the film down) or the cops on left-wing paper salesmen and Palestinians attending the movie.

The previous evening two *Workers Vanguard* salesmen had been harassed and threatened by WL goons, who resorted to cop-baiting, slandering the SLers as "Zionists" and finally to physical violence. WL Central Committee member David Neita had threatened the salesmen—two young women: "If you are around when the movie lets out, I wouldn't answer for your safety."

When an SL sales team arrived at the theater tonight, they were greeted with the same harassment and intimidation. Neita attempted to provoke a fight by poking and shoving three SL supporters. Ripping a newspaper out of one comrade's hands, Neita boasted he would "kill" the three of them. Refusing to be provoked, the salesmen stood their ground and continued selling *WV*.

About ten minutes later, Neita began his provocative routine again, pushing and poking an SL comrade who was standing on the sidewalk. When another comrade intervened to separate them, Neita shoved him too, then started throwing punches. In the brief scuffle that followed, the SLers defended themselves effectively and left when the cops arrived.

The WL must resort to thug attacks to suppress revolutionary criticism of its anti-Leninist tailism of Arab nationalists. Above all, they are desperate to prevent exposure of their corrupt fronting for the reactionary Muslim fanatic, Muammar Qaddafi. But even before the Healy tendency became the publicity agents for the Libyan dictator, these political bandits were notorious for their chronic recourse to gangsterism to suppress political debate. In his 1932 *Writings*, Leon Trotsky denounced gangsterism as fundamentally alien to the revolutionary movement and identified its source:

> "The history of the Russian revolutionary movement is particularly rich in bitter factional struggles. For thirty-five years I have observed very closely and participated in this struggle. I can't recall a single instance in which differences of opinion, not only among the Marxists but between the Marxists and Narodniks, and the anarchists, were settled by organized rule of the fist ...
>
> "Lenin saw in hooliganism indications and symptoms of a whole school and an entire system: the school and system of Stalin." ■

Ireland...

(continued from page 5)

submergence in the clerical-reactionary bourgeois republic of the south, even more securely into the arms of imperialism and reaction. It means creating the conditions for a conflict not along class lines but along communal lines. For proletarian internationalists this is a course that must be strenuously opposed.

Those who would advocate "self-determination for the Irish people as a whole" or who would give rights solely to the Catholics must squarely face up to the implications of such a programme. It is in effect a call for the forcible unification of the whole island by the Irish bourgeoisie irrespective of the wishes of the Protestant community, i.e., a call for the Irish Catholics to self-determine at the expense of the Protestants. It is a call whose logic is simply to reverse the terms of oppression, and which necessarily implies inter-communal slaughter, forced population transfers and ultimately genocide. This is not the way forward to the Irish revolution. We are *against the forced unification of Ireland under bourgeois rule.*

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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WORKERS VANGUARD

SL Confronts USec Leader on U.S. Tour

Mandel Weasels on Pop Front

Last week Ernest Mandel, the well-known economist and chief theoretician of Pablo-ist revisionism, arrived in the U.S. to begin a speaking tour. This was the first time in ten years the leading spokesman of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec) has been allowed to enter the country. Thus the lifting of the ban and the presence in the U.S. of the figure most widely associated by the media with Trotskyism has made the Mandel tour sponsored by various university economics departments a political event in itself. More than 600 people turned out to hear him at New York's New School for Social Research May 4, and Mandel's speech was followed by a series of sharp polemical exchanges between the European ex-Trotskyist and the Spartacist League (SL).

Mandel last visited the U.S. in 1968, since that time the State Department has repeatedly barred him from the country under the provisions of the reactionary McCarran-Walter Immigration Act. In October 1969 the government's refusal to grant him a visa provoked a legal battle by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) which lasted until June 1972 when the Supreme Court upheld the ban against him. Then in 1976 Mandel was again denied a visa to accept a teaching position at Stanford University. Each time the SL vigorously protested his exclusion.

If the first leg of his tour is any indication, the witchhunting State Department should not have been so worried all these years. Not only has Mandel had nothing very revolutionary to say; his talks on Eurocommunism, the world economic crisis, and France 1968 have been vacuous in the extreme. Where he went beyond platitudes it was to attack the Leninist theory of imperialism. In his New School talk Mandel raised the old Kautskyan social-democratic shibboleth of a united "ultra-imperialism," stating outright that a new outbreak of inter-imperialist war is "impossible." He also assiduously sought to confuse the issue of popular frontism in order to justify capitulation to it, all in the name of "gaining the ears" of the workers.

The New York speech was a bizarre affair with the jet-set professor delivering a condescending "Introduction to Economics" lecture where he uttered such inanities as New York banks have substantial foreign holdings (do tell). This scene was particularly comical considering the audience was almost exclusively composed of SWP members masquerading as economics students, a large number of SL supporters and the pitiful leftovers of every abandoned Mandelite operation in the U.S.

In one part of the hall could be found a clot of dog-faced former members of the SWP's expelled Internationalist Tendency, over there a couple of homeless die-hards of the stillborn Revolutionary Marxist Organizing Committee, and lurking in the back were the products of yet another abortion, the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party. The plight of these comrades was truly touching: on the rare occasions when they get to commune with their international mentor, they can look on only from a distance, separated from their idol by an SWP goon squad. But they could hardly have expected better, for every attempt to set up a U.S. Mandelite organization has been stabbed in the back by Mandel himself in the interests of his bloc with the ultra-reformist, cringing legalists of the SWP.

WV Photo

Ernest Mandel replies to Spartacist League speakers at forum in NYC, May 4.

Capitalist Economic Crisis Without Inter-Imperialist War?

At the New York forum the Spartacist League distributed a lengthy leaflet entitled "The Many Faces of Ernest Mandel," listing among them "pseudo-Marxist academic, gutless adventurer and betrayer of Trotskyism." The leaflet attacked the political coward who knows Marxist orthodoxy but uses his "agile mind and his impressive erudition to dream up revisionist 'theoretical' cover for every petty-bourgeois radical craze," from student power and guerrillaism to popular frontism. Mandel's statements at the forum confirmed the SL's characterizations at every point.

Thus the leaflet referred to Mandel's mid-1960's theory of "neocapitalism," used to write off the working class in the imperialist countries as a revolutionary force in justification of the USec view that the "epicenter" had shifted to the "Third World" and the student youth. Then after the mammoth working-class outburst of the 1968 French May events Mandel quietly dropped this theory, reinterpreting the alleged 1945-66 "boom" as simply the upward cycle of a "Kondratiev long wave" which since then has been conveniently turning down. In his talk, while dismissing the "post-war boom" as a "not very correct" formulation (although it had been the centerpiece of his own economic writings for a decade), Mandel highlighted another aspect of his old "neocapitalist" theory, namely the assertion that capital has been effectively internationalized.

This was most glaringly obvious on the question of inter-imperialist war. When Mandel stated in an off-hand remark that the outbreak of a new inter-imperialist war was "impossible," gasps were heard. The first questioner from the floor asked Mandel if that was what he really meant to say. Not only did Mandel vehemently confirm his position but he drew out its political conclusions:

> "I did not say that the third world war is impossible. I said that an inter-imperialist war is impossible. For me the third world war would be a war between imperialism and the bureaucratized workers states which are not imperialist. What I think is impossible is a war between the imperialist powers, a war of America against Britain, or Germany against France."

In his speech Mandel went on to say that the reason for this was the internationalization of capital of which he gave as examples the limited industrialization of Brazil, Mexico, Hong Kong and Singapore, and the importance of "multinational corporations." This assertion is truly astounding coming from a self-proclaimed Marxist and Leninist. Mandel may be taken in by the linguistic obfuscation of imperialist public relations experts (analogous to the discovery of the "oligopoly" in order to mask the power of the monopolies), but Chilean workers were made quite aware that ITT, for instance, was a U.S. corporation. And European governments dependent on oil from the Near East well know that Exxon, Mobil, etc. are no "multinationals."

Mandel treated the audience to his traditional repertoire of *marxisant* Keynesianism, arguing in his talk that full employment could be reached if the budget deficit were increased from the present $150 billion to $300-400 billion, but only at the cost of doubling the rate of inflation. This concept of an unemployment-inflation trade-off ignores the negative effect on private investment of the government deficit, is utterly un-Marxian and maintains the Keynesian illusion that capitalist business cycles can be managed by fiscal policy. But all this is old hat for Mandel.

The new idea he is now pushing is that of a "crisis of stable leadership of the bourgeoisie" on a world scale. This implies that normally the imperialist world order is subject to some kind of central political direction. In reality, capitalist society is intrinsically atomized and anarchic in both its economic and international political relations. The hegemony exercised over the capitalist world by the United States from 1945 through the late 1960's was exceptional in the history of capitalism. But the rationalist/impressionist Mandel regards the dominance of a single imperialist power, which "lays down the law" to the rest of the capitalist world, as the normal state of affairs.

Thus "before the First World War," he said in his talk, "Britannia ruled the waves." Britain may have ruled the waves, but it was not the dominant capitalist power in the sense that the U.S. was in the 1950's. Throughout most of the nineteenth century Russia, not Britain, was the pivotal military power in Europe. Marx, in fact, denounced British foreign policy for appeasing the rulers in St. Petersburg. Not only did Lenin completely disregard the notion of a hegemonic British imperialism, but in his 1917 "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," he ridiculed the notion of a stable imperialism which implies that the nation-state system can be overcome under capitalism.

Mandel's rationalist notions sound like nothing so much as Kautsky's concept of a period when imperialist wars would cease and there would be "the joint exploitation of the world by internationally united finance capital." Attacking what he called either "ultra-imperialism" or "ultra-nonsense," Lenin polemicized against this theory which built pacifist illusions and politically disarmed the proletariat

> " 'inter-imperialist' or 'ultra-imperialist' alliances no matter what form they may assume, whether of one imperialist coalition against another, or of a general alliance embracing *all* the imperialist powers are *inevitably* nothing more than a 'truce' in periods

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 206 19 May 1978

CP Hardliners for Capitalist "Law and Order"

"Historic Compromise" Sealed Over Moro's Body

UPI

Body of Christian Democratic leader Aldo Moro found in Rome. PCI refused negotiations with Red Brigades.

l'Unità

Communist and Christian Democratic flags mingle in reactionary "anti-terrorist" demonstrations following Moro kidnapping.

The spectacular kidnapping of former Italian prime minister Aldo Moro came to its grim conclusion as the anarcho-terrorist Red Brigades (BR) carried out their death "sentence" last week. On May 9 Moro's body turned up in a parked car abandoned on a small street near the headquarters of the ruling Christian Democrats (DC) and the offices of the Communist Party (PCI). After 54 days of adamantly refusing to strike any bargain with Moro's captors, the Italian government could now display the bullet-riddled corpse as proof of its commitment to the "authority of the state."

Yet the universally recognized reality is that the Italian state has no authority whatever. Unable to protect the top capitalist politician in the country—the president of the Christian Democracy and leading candidate for the presidency of the republic—it was also unable to come up with a single clue as to Moro's whereabouts after March 16. And it refused to negotiate for his release not out of strength but the opposite—fear that the impotence of the state would be bared, quickly leading to a total collapse of its already chaotic "law and order." Moro's death was due to "reasons of state"—of a state which has become the object of derision of everyone from the still numerous fascists to a band of leftist "urban guerrillas."

In his letters from captivity Moro himself pointed to the cowardice of his "friends" in the Christian Democratic leadership, long accustomed to cynically praising the "majesty" of the state which they treated as a private domain for looting. In a 21 April message to DC secretary Benigno Zaccagnini the abandoned party president wrote:

> "We are almost at zero hour... How many dialogues over years and years with the friends in the party leadership and of the parliamentary groups?... But now in this affair—the greatest ever experienced by the DC, one heavy with consequences—we know nothing or next to nothing.... I said nothing. Sitting nightly, anguished, impatient, I appealed to the judgment of the party and the state....
>
> "...with what sense of justice, with what fearful retreat behind these laws of retribution, does the state with its inertia, its lassitude, its lack of a sense of history, consent to a denial of liberty, agreeing and giving in to the most serious and irreversible penalty of death?...
>
> "In this way the death penalty is reintroduced, which a civilized country such as ours had eliminated...from the legal statutes in the postwar period as a first sign of real democratization....
>
> "...having said this, I repeat that I do not accept the unjust and ungrateful verdict of the DC. I repeat: I will excuse and justify no one ..
>
> "The DC must not believe it can solve its problems by liquidating Moro.... For this reason, because of this obvious incompatibility, I request that neither state officials nor party leaders participate at my funeral. I ask to be attended by those few who truly cared for me and are therefore worthy of accompanying me with their prayers and their love."
>
> *Corriere della Sera*, 25 April

True to Moro's wishes, no DC officials were present at the funeral. As one friend of the family put it, "You didn't want him alive, so we won't let you manage his death." Instead the ruling circles were left to pontificate at a state funeral without the body.

But the bitter hostility of the Moro family did not stop bourgeois politicians throughout the West from pontificating about "defense of democracy." Washington praised the Italian government's "firmness"; Bonn called for a stepped-up war on international terrorism. Even Yasir Arafat sent a wreath of mourning, showing that he has more sympathy for this imperialist statesman than for the innocent Israeli civilians regularly killed in the random terror of PLO commandos. Most shameless of all was the statement by Italian president Giovanne Leone, praising the state as "one of the freest democracies in the world" and saying that the affair showed "the strength of our freedom." Such self-congratulatory piety about civic virtues is positively ludicrous coming from the man widely alleged to be "Antelope" of the multi-million-dollar Lockheed scandal.

As to the consequences of the Moro affair, the verdict of the politicians differed according to the policy of their party toward negotiating with the Red Brigades. Former head of state Social Democrat Giuseppi Saragat declared that "the body of the First Republic was lying near Moro's." The Christian Democratic mouthpiece *Corriere della Sera* (10 May), on the other hand, headlined a front-page analysis, "He is Dead Because This Republic Lives." But the obvious first result of the kidnapping-slaying of the man who has been the linchpin of every Italian

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WV to Go Biweekly

Beginning in June *Workers Vanguard* will become a regular biweekly with weekly supplements as needed. This step is but one of a number of cuts and adjustments to bring the Spartacist League of the U.S. and the Trotskyist League of Canada into line with current North American political, social and financial realities and to assist in the work of the international Spartacist tendency elsewhere, particularly in Britain.

We do not lightly shift *WV* back to biweekly frequency. We do so because we must and because what we hoped the weekly would be has, in its 33 months, not come to pass. From its beginning as a monthly in October 1971 through its 29 months as a biweekly and then as a weekly, *WV* has been a powerful and sometimes brilliant propagandist newspaper. Its work on the Chilean coup, Portuguese revolution, domestic labor and social struggles, in exposing and polemicizing with opponents, expounding Marxism, is notable. But as the *weekly WV* it did not and could not serve its central intended purpose—as an agitational organ of intervention into major and continuing social upheavals in America in order to help shape and direct elemental and partial class struggles in accordance with the historic aims and

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Guy Corry

Demonstrators in San Francisco protest overturn of Wichita rights bill.

Anti-Homosexual Bigots Defeat Rights Bills

Within the last three weeks voters in two Midwestern cities heavily defeated local ordinances for equal rights for homosexuals. On April 25 "traditionally liberal" St. Paul, Minnesota repealed a four-year-old ordinance by 54,096 to 31,694 almost a two-to-one rejection of democratic rights for homosexuals. Two weeks later voters in the conservative, bible-belt city of Wichita, Kansas smashed a city ordinance prohibiting discrimination on the basis of "sexual or affectional preference" in housing, employment and public accommodations. The vote was more than 46,000 against and barely 9,600 supporting the ordinance—a *five*-to-one margin!

This surge of anti-homosexual prejudice is hardly surprising in the climate of rigid repression and hypocrisy which still prevails in "America's heartland"—those thousands of small towns and ugly industrial cities with their vulgar "downtown" boosterism and wretched tucked-away slums; their pious Sunday church services after Saturday night drunken brawling and shootings; the tattered old "Impeach Earl Warren" billboards in weedy farm fields outside town; and all the hate and fear and frustration seething within these little bastions of "God, Home and Country." What should perhaps be surprising is that there are as many as 36 municipalities which still have some kind of statements of democratic rights for homosexuals on the books. But these are being picked off one by one, as happened in Wichita and St. Paul, in a well organized, well financed national assault by a coalition of religious and conservative organizations.

The recent anti-homosexual "backlash" is more than rampant rural idiocy. Even in "cosmopolitan" New York the City Council sits paralyzed with indecision in the face of this right-wing campaign. A proposed homosexual civil rights bill, "Intro 384," has been debated for months now, but the Council is split and reluctant to pass such a basic democratic rights bill. Although Mayor Koch has given the measure limp support, his campaign for office last fall centered on a call for the death penalty, thereby whipping up the reactionary frenzy which is now targeting homosexuals.

And in California, with large homosexual communities in both San Francisco and Los Angeles, right-wing Senator John Briggs claims he now has the half million signatures necessary to place an initiative on the ballot this fall allowing the firing of teachers for homosexuality.

The tactics employed by this nationwide network of bible-thumping bigots are the same everywhere—start a local "citizens committee" and raise a ruckus over the menace to children, pulling in such "pillars of the community" as fundamentalist ministers, local police and right-wing politicians. Eugene, Oregon is next on their list, and already another defeat for democratic rights is predicted in a May 23 referendum. Meanwhile gay activists blithely maintain that their defeats are really victories, since at least they're "publicizing" the issue!

It is not simply a question of that latent conservatism and primitive fundamentalist religion which have always been characteristic of Main Street, U.S.A. What has particularly emboldened Birchite right-wingers is the demonstrated contempt of the entire government apparatus, from Jimmy ("Life Is Not Fair") Carter and the Supreme Court on down, for the democratic rights of *any* oppressed group. Supreme Court decisions reinstating the death penalty; attacking desegregation, busing and abortions for the poor; and its refusal to hear the case of two teachers fired for being homosexuals have in effect declared open season on the poor, minorities and any kind of "deviant."

The other factor giving a green light to bigotry is the continued apathy and indifference of the American labor movement—enforced by its bureaucratic, conservative leaders—to these vicious assaults on democratic rights. In singling out homosexuality the right

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No. 206 **19 May 1978**

Latrobe, Pullman Workers Forced Back After Months on Strike

McBride, Sadlowski United in "No Strike" Sellout

WV Photo

USWA president McBride speaking at Latrobe strike rally in March.

"They got the same job efficiency as Hitler got when he took over Germany." That's how Bill Ehman, vice-president of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 1537, described the terms of a contract imposed on 1,100 workers at Latrobe Steel Company near Pittsburgh. On April 30, after nine months on the picket lines, isolated and stabbed in the back by USWA president Lloyd McBride, the steel workers bitterly accepted virtually the same terms they had rejected by a vote of 1,068-to-1 three months earlier. "They didn't vote to accept a contract," Ehman told *WV*, "they voted for their jobs."

Latrobe had issued an ultimatum threatening to close the plant if its last offer were not accepted. The ball-and-chain contract gives management the right to eliminate coffee breaks and wash-up time, to schedule lunch periods whenever it pleases and to ignore seniority in job assignments, shift preference and temporary overtime. The company also won a host of other work-rule changes aimed at boosting productivity at the steel workers' expense.

The walkout at Latrobe is the second prolonged USWA strike to end in disaster during the last month. In late April, workers at Pullman-Standard, the largest manufacturer of railroad cars in the nation, ended a 187-day strike with similar setbacks. This was the first national strike against Pullman since socialist Eugene Debs led the American Railway Union out in 1894 in one of the most famous labor battles in U.S. history.

However, the USWA leadership was concerned only with protecting their hated no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) in basic steel. As a result, Pullman workers lost their right to strike over incentive pay rates for the first half of their three-year contract. In addition, the Pullman workers were forced to accept a retiming of incentive-covered jobs that will mean steeper workloads for less pay.

Both the Pullman and Latrobe battles were among a series of strikes provoked over last year by companies breaking with their tradition of signing "me-too" contracts based on the major industry agreement covering basic steel. The precipitous decline in world steel demand has emboldened employers to hardline it against the USWA ranks. With the extension of the sellout ENA in the 1977 contract, followed by massive layoffs claiming tens of thousands of steel worker jobs, a number of smaller companies dug in their heels and demanded sweeping "takeaways."

That the bosses could roll back hard-won union gains at Latrobe and Pullman is due to bureaucratic treachery not only by McBride, but also by the Ed Sadlowski-led wing of the USWA bureaucracy. In last year's Steelworkers presidential election, the Spartacist League maintained that Sadlowski's "militant" posturing against I.W. Abel's handpicked successor, McBride, was a fraud. The conduct of the two bureaucrats in the defeated strikes confirms our warning. Both labor fakers turned their heads from isolated strikes whose success desperately required throwing the strength of the district and International behind them.

Sadlowski Ditches Pullman Workers...

Pullman's main plant at Hammond, Indiana is in the Steelworkers' giant District 31, where Sadlowski is executive assistant to Jim Balanoff, whom he picked to succeed him when he ran for USWA president. Sadlowski already had something of a bad name with Pullman workers even before their strike started last October. During a week-long wildcat against wage-cuts and speedup at the Hammond plant last summer, Sadlowski put in a personal appearance, ordering the workers back on the job! The "rebel" bureaucrat was reportedly booed off the picket line by angry Pullman workers but earned the praise of a local judge, who issued a back-to-work injunction and cited Sadlowski's "good faith to end the strike."

When the national strike against Pullman began, the company imported over 500 scabs from as far away as North Carolina and Connecticut to

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No Capitulation to Nationalism!

For a Proletarian Perspective in Ireland

The Irish question played an important role in the struggle of the Trotskyist Faction within Alan Thornett's workerist-centrist Workers Socialist League (WSL), which has a characteristically confusionist, semi-nationalist position on this decisive question for the British revolution. After resigning from the WSL the Trotskyist Faction fused with the London Spartacist Group in early March to found the Spartacist League/Britain. This document, originally brought out in the WSL Pre-Conference Discussion Bulletin *No. 13, February 1978, is reprinted from* Spartacist Britain, *April 1978. The first part of this document was published in* WV *No. 205, 12 May 1978.*

* * * * *

The limited, partial and deformed achievement of the tasks of the bourgeois revolution in Ireland is demonstrated by the clerical-reactionary regime in the south. We stand for the building of a Trotskyist party in southern Ireland which, based on the full Transitional Programme, must seek to lead the working class in the fight against the power of the Church, the oppression of women and the tying up of the land, a fight which can achieve victory only through the smashing of the bourgeois order.

While opposing on principle any possible future oppression of the Protestant population of northern Ireland, revolutionaries stand against the pervasive oppression of the Catholic minority in the Six Counties today. The Catholics of the Northern Ireland statelet have been systematically discriminated against in housing, employment and education, and, since the intervention of the British Army in 1968, have additionally been subjected to the brutalities of an occupying imperialist army. The response of the Catholics has largely taken the form of Republicanism, Catholic nationalism. Our unambiguous hostility as communists to all forms of nationalism does not diminish in the slightest our struggle against the oppression of the Catholics and against the institutionalised discrimination of the Orange statelet. But it is our job to take the struggle against oppression out of the hands of the Republican misleaders, and this requires unremitting exposure of nationalism as an ideology.

Part 2 of 2

There is no justification whatsoever for the claim (put forward by Maoists, Pablo-ites and various other revisionists) that the nationalism of the oppressed is somehow inherently progressive. Lenin's hostility to nationalism is quite unambiguous:

> "The class conscious workers fight hard against *every kind* of nationalism, both the crude, violent, Black-Hundred nationalism and that most refined nationalism which preaches the equality of nations *together* with the splitting up of the workers' cause, the workers' organisations and the working-class movement *according* to nationality. Unlike all the varieties of the nationalist bourgeoisie, the class-conscious workers, carrying out the decisions of the recent (summer 1913) conference of the Marxists stand, not only for the complete, consistent and fully applied *equality* of nations and languages but also for the *amalgamation* of the workers of the different nationalities in *united* proletarian organisations of every kind.
>
> "Herein lies the difference between the national programme of marxism and that of the bourgeoisie be it the most advanced. ..
>
> "To the bourgeoisie however the demand for national equality very often amounts in practice to advocating national exclusiveness and chauvinism; they very often couple it with *advocacy* of the division and estrangement of nations. This is *absolutely* incompatible with proletarian *internationalism* which advocates not only *closer relations* between nations but the *amalgamation* of the workers of all nationalities in a given state, in *united* proletarian organisations."
>
> —"Corrupting the Workers with Refined Nationalism," *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, pp. 289-90 [Lenin's emphasis]

No nationalist ideology can be progressive in an epoch when the crisis of mankind demands a socialist solution that can only be realised on a world scale. One of the main accomplishments of capitalism is that by the creation of a world market it has laid the basis for a world economy and therefore eventually for a universal culture. As an ideology the nationalism of the oppressed is a protest against this historically progressive and necessary development. To the extent that nationalist resistance movements have a progressive role to play it is despite their ideology and not because of it. For, while the imperialists' subjection of backward territories brings them into the world market and holds up the mirror of their own future, the internal contradictions of imperialism operate as a fetter on the expansion of the forces of production. In fighting against their own national oppression nationalist movements aim blows against an imperialist system that is blocking society's further advance. In this sense the national movements of the various oppressed peoples of the world contribute to the forces fighting for socialism. That they do so however has nothing to do with their ideology, which is clearly counterposed to socialism.

The Leninist position on the national question recognises *both* the objectively anti-imperialist character of certain struggles led by petty-bourgeois nationalists and the inevitable attempts at some point of these same nationalists to seek an accommodation with imperialism at the expense of other nationalities, their own popular base or both. As Trotskyists we stand on the perspective of the Permanent Revolution—and hold that only the proletariat (led by its vanguard party) and standing at the head of the peasantry and other toiling masses is capable of giving the progressive content of the national liberation movements a consistent expression through the achievement of the socialist revolution.

IRA checkpoint in the Bogside. Gilles Peress/Magnum

British troops pass UDA men in Belfast. Colman Doyle

The Trotskyist Programme for Ireland

Finally convinced that the "Republican"-talking politicians in the South had neither plans for nor intentions of unifying the "nation," the Catholics in 1968 ended their fifty-year refusal to recognise the legitimacy of the Stormont government with a campaign for civil rights. The Protestants, whose conditions of existence are virtually as bleak and insecure, responded with an orgy of communal violence directed against beleaguered Catholic communities in Belfast and Derry.

There would no doubt have been many opportunities for principled united fronts between a revolutionary Leninist vanguard and the Civil Rights movement of the 1960's in its campaign to END DISCRIMINATION IN JOBS AND HOUSING AGAINST THE CATHOLICS. While revolutionaries OPPOSE ALL FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST THE CATHOLICS in the North, the reformist demands of the Civil Rights movement, which were all posed within the framework of capitalist rationality, in effect amounted to demanding that the Protestants accept more unemployment and less housing. Without such demands as A SLIDING SCALE OF HOURS and A PROGRAMME OF PUBLIC WORKS the call to end discrimination can only imply levelling in an already economically depressed situation. In situations such as Northern Ireland the only prospect of transcending the vicious logic of national and communal antagonisms is through posing democratic demands against privilege and oppression within the framework of the FULL TRANSITIONAL PROGRAMME.

We are resolutely opposed to the Protestant and Catholic churches as reactionary bulwarks of divisive obscurantism. The demand for UNIVERSAL, FREE, HIGH-QUALITY, SECULAR EDUCATION FOR ALL is essential to undermine the inculcation of communalism and demonstrate to the Protestants that we are as implacably opposed to the Catholic Church as we are to theirs. AGAINST RELIGIOUS OBSCURANTISM!

In 1969 British imperialism dispatched troops to Northern Ireland. It did so to prevent a massive outbreak of inter-communal warfare and so block the development of a social upheaval which might quickly have spread across the borders of the Six Counties to the Republic and into the metropolitan centres of British imperialism itself.

The British troops have no place in Ireland. Our programme starts from the

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For UAW Solidarity with Romeo Ford Strikers

Mass Wildcat Shuts Down Michigan Tractor Plant

ROMEO, Michigan, May 15—This morning over 300 chanting pickets kept Ford's Romeo Tractor plant closed down for the fourth straight day. Although the plant gates were kept open by a mob of 70 Macomb County sheriffs deputies in full riot gear, the strikers' shouts of "No Work Today!" and "Don't Go In!" kept all but one lone production worker from entering the plant.

The strike at Ford's only North American tractor assembly plant, located 30 miles north of Detroit, began last Thursday when 1,800 members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 400 walked out despite their leadership's bleating objections that the action was "unauthorized." Strikers told *WV* that the walkout was preceded by a slowdown in the welding department, protesting the harassment of a worker threatened with firing unless he sped up production. When the company repeatedly refused to guarantee no reprisals against the workers, the welders walked off the job and were quickly followed by hundreds of other production workers.

Picket lines were thrown up at all four entrances to the plant, and cars were parked end-to-end blocking the gates. Only one truck carrying tractors has left the plant since, the driver brandishing a pistol against the pickets. The truck managed to get out, but only with all its windows smashed and the driver was later arrested for carrying a concealed weapon.

Ford, historically the most viciously anti-union of the Big Three auto giants, is refusing to negotiate until the strike is over and is threatening to fire up to 52 workers. The strikers reponded to the company's hardline stance at a meeting Sunday, adopting as official demands no disciplinary action for the walkout and an end to company harassment.

Though the strike has the support of nearly 100 percent of the Local 400 membership, Solidarity House refuses to sanction it, and Local officers are ordering the strikers back on the job. Tony Piezana, Local 400 recording secretary, told 200 strikers at the meeting last weekend, "It is my duty as a Local officer to tell you it's an illegal strike and that you must return to work." Last Friday, Local and International officials crossed the picket lines to "negotiate" with Ford and returned mouthing management's message. The International representative told the angry strikers that the union would not be able to get a guarantee of no dismissals for the walkout and, yelling to be heard over the pickets' jeers and hoots, said, "Our job is to tell you to get back to work."

Strikers say that the refusal of the union leadership to stand up to Ford's attacks throughout the plant's five-year history has allowed the steady build-up of arbitrary harassment, unsafe working conditions and a mountain of unsettled grievances that finally sparked the current wildcat. Though without seasoned leaders and abandoned by the International UAW hierarchy, the Romeo workers took a stand against Ford's abuse.

The impact of the courageous coal miners' strike has also been felt here. One strike leader drew heavy applause at Sunday's meeting when he said, "Everybody knows that there will be a court order for us to go back to work. But the coal miners turned down a statement from the President.... Now I think we can turn down an order from some judge sitting in some office here."

The Romeo strike is the first major wildcat in the UAW-organized plants heavily concentrated in southeastern Michigan since last summer's massive heat walkouts. UAW president Doug Fraser, with a left-of-center reputation masking his slavishly pro-company policies, has managed to keep local UAW leaderships whipped into line during one of the most intensive speed-up campaigns in the auto industry's history. He is also well versed in suppressing wildcats. After the heat walkout at the Trenton Engine Plant last summer, UAW officialdom stood aside as seven workers were fired and sentenced to jail for violating a court injunction ordering them back to work. Likewise, Fraser and his flunkies ordered an end to the Elwood, Indiana strike against the Essex Incorporated conglomerate on union-busting terms that the strikers had rejected nearly nine months earlier.

In the absence of an authoritative, class-struggle opposition to the labor traitors, wildcat strikes are always a risky business, confronting the determined opposition of the companies, union bureaucrats, courts and cops. They are often easily isolated, beheaded and ground down. Effective leadership and militant solidarity are the keys to victory in such walkouts—almost always an elemental response of self-defense against outrageous management provocations—preventing them from being ground to bits in isolation.

As one strike leader pointed out at the mass meeting this weekend, for the Romeo workers to overcome these obstacles, they must set up a delegated committee to organize the strike and appeal to other UAW locals for support, for mass picketing to shut the Ford plant down tight. UAW militants must demand that the strike be authorized, that no discipline be inflicted on the strikers and that the workers' demands be met. Victory to the Romeo strike! ■

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Italy...

(continued from page 1)

government since the first center-left coalition in 1960 is a rise of popular clamor for "order," a hysteria which grips even large sectors of the working class.

Whether the large jump in Christian Democratic votes (up from 36 percent to 44 percent) in the May 14-15 administrative (local) elections, at the expense of the Communists (down from 33 to 28 percent), represents a lasting shift to the right or a temporary sympathy vote, the *dopo-moro* (post-Moro period) will see a drive to strengthen the repressive apparatus and moves toward a semi-bonapartist "strong state." Already the *Corriere* editorialist demands: "First, that the government, beginning tomorrow, act and that the Interior Ministry, the police and the security services show some signs of life." As the events of the Moro kidnapping reached a crescendo, we wrote that "it seems that the Italian Christian Democratic Communist-backed government wants Aldo Moro dead more than the Red Brigades do...." And we drew the evident conclusion:

> "If the Italian ruling class forces the Red Brigades' hand by refusing to negotiate, thus challenging them to kill Moro, the political climate will be prepared for massive repression of the 'far left.'. The only people who today have an interest in opposing the exchange proposed by the Red Brigades are those who expect to gain by murder and continued imprisonment, like the Communists and Christian Democrats who are seeking to build up the capitalist repressive forces for a crackdown on the 'far left'."
>
> "Make the Deal!" (*WV* No. 204, 5 May 1978)

The stated aim of the BR in kidnapping Moro was to strike a blow against the so-called "historic compromise"—the PCI's class-collaborationist bloc with the DC, the main party of the Italian bourgeoisie. Yet the consequences of their particularly stupid and dangerously counterproductive terrorist action have been quite the opposite. The historic compromise, whose marriage vows were exchanged in the senate at the very moment Moro was captured, was consummated over the DC leader's still warm corpse. It is the working class and the oppressed who will pay the price.

PCI as Gendarme for Capitalist "Law and Order"

For the PCI the Moro abduction was a made-to-order opportunity to prove to the bourgeoisie that it was needed to give backbone to a "government of national emergency" whose primary task was combatting terrorism. As soon as news of the kidnapping was broadcast, the party leadership issued a communiqué which declared:

> "The criminal and barbarous act of kidnapping the honorable Aldo Moro is part of the destructive assault against Italian democracy. It is a conspiracy of broad dimensions developed by Nazi/fascist methods.
>
> "All communists, all communist organizations are in the front line, as always, in a mobilization of united vigilance to isolate enemies of every type, to identify and insure that justice will be brought to terrorists, in order to defend and strengthen the Republic."
>
> *l'Unità*, 17 March

By distorting the BR action as an ultra-rightist plot and declaring solidarity with the "democrats" of the DC, Communist leaders tried to hoodwink the workers with references to "the spirit of the Resistance." Their reactionary "anti-terrorist general strike," for example, was addressed by spokesmen of the moribund "anti-fascist committees," as were mass demonstrations on April 25, the anniversary of liberation in northern Italy from the Mussolini/German rule.

Although the PCI held off supporting the introduction of the death penalty (insistently demanded by frothing Republican Party leader Ugo La Malfa), they were in the forefront of the parliamentary forces clamoring for new repressive legislation. The fact that the clear target of this mobilization was the "far left" was spelled out by Ugo Pecchioli, the PCI's "shadow minister" of the interior:

> "The danger points of explicit complicity and connivance with terrorism are entrenched in the entire sector of autonomous unions, above all in the public services: railroads, ENEL [electricity], SIP [telephones], hospitals and certain sectors of state employees."
>
> *l'Europeo*, 7 April

While the Communist leadership was demanding a hard line, the DC government headed by Prime Minister Giuglio Andreotti was trying to make a show of force with a state machinery shot through with corruption and intrigue. Although it unleashed 50,000 troops to scour Rome and inaugurated a series of draconian decrees, its main purpose seemed to be to save face in light of the humiliating kidnapping. Not only had five body guards been shot and Moro whisked off without a trace, but the Red Brigades (with a flair for drama) repeatedly embarrassed the authorities.

Rastelli/Epoca

PCI called rallies with Christian Democrats demanding suppression of Red Brigades.

Moro's kidnappers returned the getaway cars to the vicinity of the abduction—an area presumed to have been sealed off—and placed the Alitalia uniforms worn during the operation in garbage cans at the home of the senior police official investigating the case! Red Brigades' communiqués, all written with the same machine, were distributed simultaneously in Rome, Milano, Torino and Genova (a feat the notoriously incompetent Italian post office would be hard pressed to duplicate). In a final deliberate affront, Moro's body was left almost equidistant between DC and PCI offices—a "martyr" for the "historic compromise."

When the captors of the former prime minister proposed an exchange of "political prisoners"—Moro for 13 jailed terrorists—pressures mounted sharply on the government to make a gesture or accept the deal. Bruno Craxi, head of the Socialist Party (PSI), proposed an amnesty for certain categories of prisoners. However, the Communist Party remained adamant, ranting about the need to preserve respect for the state in almost authoritarian tones. At a May Day demonstration in the

industrial center of Torino, PCI leader Luciano Lama (the secretary of the CGIL labor federation) declared from the podium: "We must not humiliate the state by accepting an impossible exchange" (*Corriere della Sera*, 3 May). A few days later Craxi angrily attacked the "triumphalism of the saviors of the Republic."

Having had its control of key proletarian sectors challenged by the syndicalist *autonomos* in recent years, the PCI made special efforts to regain dominance in key factories such as Fiat Mirafiore in Torino and Alfa Romeo's Arese plant outside Milano. This has been done through setting up trade-union "vigilance committees" in the factories for the purpose of discovering BR sympathizers. Thus the PCI is turning the union apparatuses into adjuncts of the capitalist police! No better example could be imagined of the tendency of the labor bureaucracy to coalesce with the state in the imperialist epoch. But the efforts have not been altogether successful. BR leaflets were found on several occasions in key plants, and two days before Moro's body was found an Alfa Romeo manager's car was burned inside the factory grounds.

The main target of the reformist bureaucracy is not the Red Brigades but the substantial sectors of the workforce who sympathize with the *autonomia operaia* (workers autonomy) syndicalist movement and "far left" organizations. Italy is the country in West Europe where groups to the left of the Communist Party have the largest impact in the organized working class. This is a very concrete threat to the ability of the PCI to ensure labor peace and hold down wage demands in the next period—one of its principal jobs in the framework of the "historic compromise" and the present "programmatic coalition" government of the "constitutional arc."

Thus the Communist Party has called repeated political strikes and demonstrations "against terrorism" during the last eight weeks (March 16, April 25, May 1, May 9) in an attempt to isolate the "far left." These class-collaborationist mobilizations, in which the white flag of the Christian Democracy with its sword and shield flutters next to the red flag of the PCI and its hammer and sickle, are reactionary appeals for increased capitalist repression, giving the Andreotti regime a carte blanche to unleash the armed fist of the state. While the demonstrations have frequently not been as large as the PCI would have liked, they have involved many hundreds of thousands of proletarians in this "anti-terrorist" hysteria.

Il Mondo

L'Europeo

Left, PCI leader Berlinguer with Giorgio Amendola. Right, Red Brigades leader Renato Curcio.

Revolutionists must vehemently oppose these reactionary demonstrations for government terror! Trotskyist militants in the factories would seek to win the support of the masses of workers to *break* these strikes against left-wing terrorists *from within*, i.e., to organize departments and large groups of workers to refuse to join in the marches and if necessary remove pickets from in front of the factories. (Ironically, to "protect the workers" forced to work overtime on Saturdays at Alfa Romeo the CGIL-CISL-UIL confederation organized a mammoth 3,000-strong "counter-picket"—i.e., goon squad—following a wave of attacks on management personnel.) In a similar fashion, class-conscious unionists in the U.S. would seek to break from within the unions a racist strike against school integration, for example.

From Flirtation to Betrothal

In recent months the PCI has let out all the stops in trying to convince the Italian (and international) bourgeoisie of their usefulness—indeed, their indispensability—in restoring capitalist order in the chaotic Italian situation. After 30 years of DC rule and 40 governments, Italy is today in total disarray. An act of political terrorism occurs on the average of every four hours, and over $45 million was paid out last year in ransoms. The Red Brigades is continuing its foolhardy "war" of *gambizzazioni* ("knee-cappings") of individual terror directed against judges, prison officials, police inspectors, management personnel, newspaper directors and capitalist politicians. Unemployment and inflation continue to wrack the workers and poor. As hundreds of leftists are rounded up for "questioning" and new austerity measures are prepared to reduce the workers' standard of living, the PCI engages in endless parliamentary hairsplitting with the major bourgeois parties and the social democrats to put together a thinly disguised coalition government, the antechamber of the historic compromise.

It is a revealing commentary on the extent of social decay in that the bourgeois figure instrumental in negotiating the parliamentary deal with the PCI had to be sacrified because giving in to the demand for an exchange threatened to bring down the entire shaky edifice. So while whipping up the anti-terror hysteria, the party of Enrico Berlinguer in effect condemned Aldo Moro to death and tied the working class hand and foot to the class enemy through its "programmatic coalition of the constitutional arc."

Following the June 1976 elections the PCI could point to its control of the municipal governments in virtually every major urban center in Italy as proof of its "responsibility." Even the bourgeoisie was forced to take notice of the stark contrast between the PCI's "clean government" and the corrupt municipal administrations of the DC. For example, in Bologna the PCI's showpiece, the vicious suppression of student protests in the spring of 1977 was upheld by the "Communist" city government as confirmation of the fact that, as the PCI expressed it, "the duty of the democratic forces of order is prevention and repression" (see "Student Strikes Rock Italy, *Young Spartacus* No. 53, April 1977). As Umberto Agnelli, the DC senator from FIAT, commented, "I cannot but admit that good administration is guaranteed in those localities where the PCI is in power."

The PCI also tried to raise its profile as the leading party of economic order. Luciano Barca, the party's leading economist, gave the following thumbnail sketch of the "remedies" for Italy's economic and political ills: cut pensions for older workers, hold down exorbitant wage demands, reduce imports to improve the balance of trade, curb student "violence" at the universities and allow Italian towns and cities to impose higher taxes (*Wall Street Journal*, 15 February). PCI trade-union leaders have also settled on a policy of wage reductions and, like their Chilean counterparts before the 1973 coup, the "battle for production."

But the Berlinguer bureaucracy in the PCI could only expect to retain control of the party's restive ranks if they delivered with some sort of government of "national unity" in which the austerity measures could be passed off as a "national sacrifice." When Berlinguer failed to come up with the promised ministerial portfolios, rumors abounded of dissent reaching into the upper echelons of the party. The rumors were given credence by Berlinguer's address to the January meeting of the Central Committee in which he reportedly called for mopping up "radical-extremist" pockets in the rank and file. Moreover, PCI chairman Luigi Longo (Berlinguer's predecessor as general secretary) spoke out in defense of "Leninism" and against excessive concessions to the Christian Democrats.

Five months ago, when the PCI began the latest round of its gentleman's joust with the DC, all parties understood it to be just so much staged gamesmanship. Both the PCI and the "pro-historic compromise" wing of the DC were holding off on any official lash-ups until the French parliamentary elections—which were expected to be the watershed of resurgent popular frontism in Mediterranean Europe. But internal pressures within the PCI, growing working-class unrest over the worsening economic crisis and the ensuing collapse of the thirty-ninth government since the war brought about the first formal paliamentary accords between the DC and PCI since 1947.

The parliamentary intrigues surged to the fore when the PCI formally withdrew its support to the ruling DC coalition on January 12. Andreotti's government, which came close to toppling last summer, had previously been resuscitated by the "pact of the six"—an agreement reached last July in which the major parliamentary forces, including the PCI, would have "consultation" rights in exchange for not bringing down the government. No sooner had this pact come into being than the bloc partners began to chomp at the bit over Andreotti's noted ineffectuality—even by the standards of Italian Christian Democracy.

Beginning last November the pact of the six began to falter. Ugo La Malfa, president of the small Radical party, demanded that the PCI be "put to the test" by bringing it into the government in exchange for a "rigorous and severe program along the lines of a social pact worthy of the name" (*la Repubblica*, 24 January). The Radicals were quickly joined by the PSI which refused to take any responsibility for a government without PCI participation.

The collapse of the Andreotti government brought on a spate of intricate negotiations. In early December, the PCI demanded an emergency government to deal with the "social crisis." However, right-wing Christian Democrats balked at direct PCI partici-

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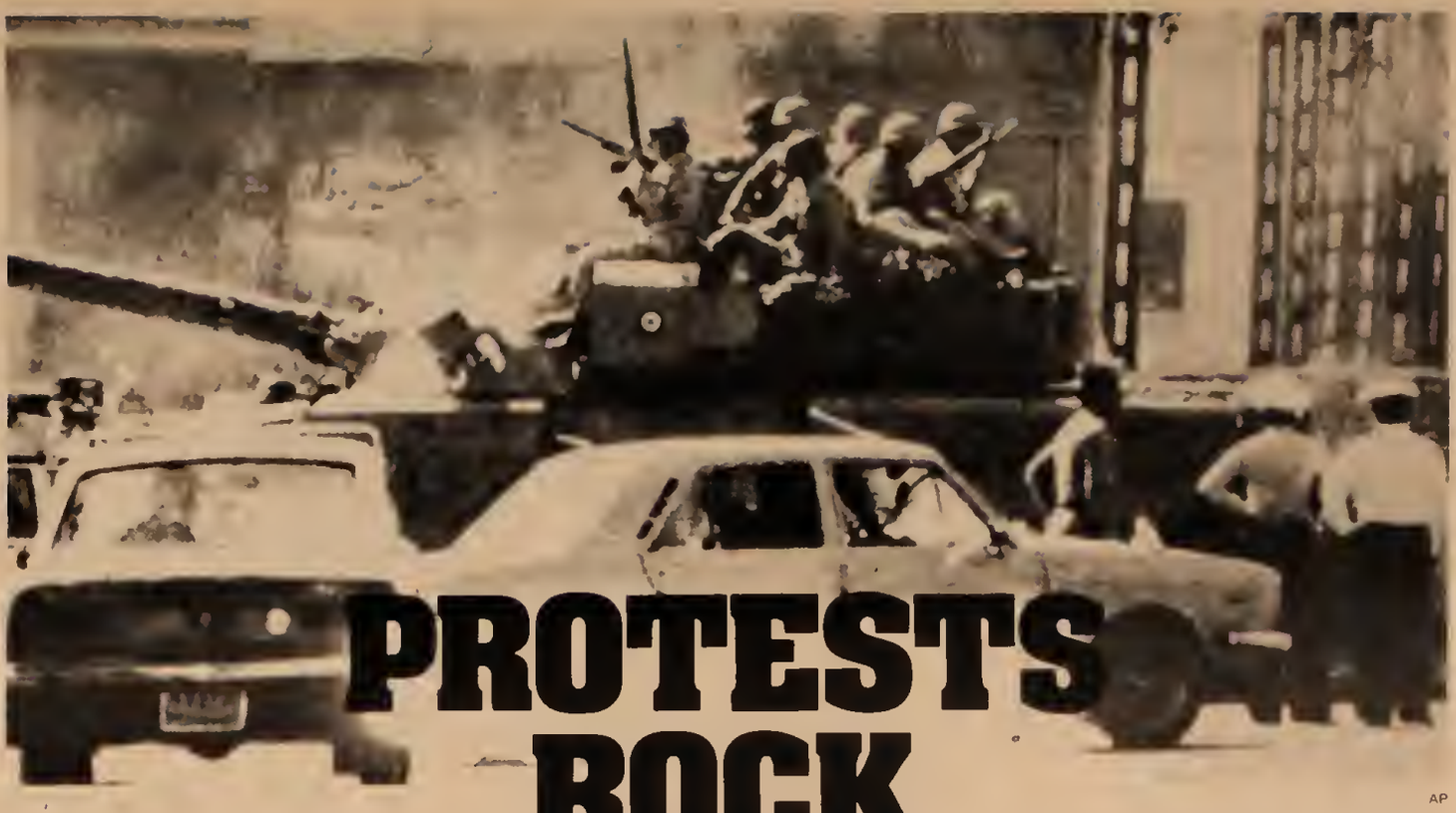
Cambio 16

Cops line up suspects in search for terrorists.



AP

PROTESTS ROCK TEHERAN

The greatest revolt of the Iranian masses against the Pahlavi dictatorship since 1963 continues to rage unchecked as demonstrations and street fighting erupted across the country in the second week of May. The fragility of the regime and the extent of the upsurge can be gauged by the Shah's postponement of a scheduled trip to Eastern Europe on May 11 to take personal command of the army.

Shi'ite Muslim leaders had decreed May 10 as a day of mourning for the victims of the Shah's white terror killed in April, following the traditional practice of praying for the dead 40 days after their death. In the days preceding the commemoration, plainclothes SAVAK (secret police) goon squads repeatedly clashed with student protesters at universities in Teheran and Tabriz. Street fighting began in the southern city of Shiraz on May 8, while the universities of Kerman and Isfahan were closed down. On the 9th, students took to the streets of Qom and battled police for ten hours, halting buses and trains, burning shops and erecting barricades. In the course of the fighting, which continued into the night, the demonstrators reportedly assaulted a police station.

Wednesday, May 10 saw religious ceremonies take place across the country, often in the largest mosques, while bazaars throughout Iran were closed by striking artisans and merchants. Attacks on bars, movie theaters and banks were reported from Shiraz, Babol, Isfahan and Tabriz, and there was renewed fighting at Qom. On Thursday, May 11, troops tear gassed then fired on protesters chanting "Down with the Shah!" when they marched on Teheran's telecommunications center. The shutdown of Teheran's central bazaar continued for several days afterward.

The regime has blamed this massive popular upheaval on a "minority consisting of a few thousand" and claims that nationally a total of no more than a dozen protesters have been killed. The real figures are undoubtedly many, many times higher, since the dictatorship has continually attempted to conceal the true number of victims of its vicious repression. After the revolt at Qom in January, for example, many corpses were simply dumped into a nearby salt lake. Similarly, although Amnesty International estimates that tens of thousands of prisoners languish in the Shah's dungeons, the regime claims that only a few thousand "terrorists" have been jailed.

The current upsurge is now almost a year old, beginning with the struggles of shanty dwellers outside the capital against eviction last summer. The student protests of November and December increasingly gathered popular support and participation until the police gunned down hundreds at the holy city of Qom on January 9. The bazaars of Teheran, Isfahan, Abadan, Mashad and Rasht were closed down in protest January 19-20.

Forty days after the Qom massacre, the most massive revolt so far erupted at the northwestern city of Tabriz, in which thousands of protesters moved through the city in four columns, wrecking police motorcycles and cars, banks, movie theaters and government offices. According to several accounts, some troops refused to carry out orders to fire upon the protesters and even shot their officers. On-the-spot executions were necessary to restore discipline.

The savage repression at Tabriz did not prevent renewed protests at the end of March when strikes and demonstrations once again took place across Iran. At Khomain, south of Teheran, crowds reportedly attacked the governor-general's office, while at Yazd demonstrators fought the police with stones and knives.

The targets of the protesters indicate the heterogeneous nature of the movement. Attacks on government buildings and offices of the Rastakhiz party, the regime's mouthpiece and Iran's sole legal party, indicate a current of popular hatred for the Shah's despotism. Also hit were shops which did not honor the bazaar strikes and banks, such as those of the Saderat firm, which have particularly close ties to the government.

The bars, movie theaters and Pepsi Cola trucks also attacked by the demonstrators, however, testify to a confused mixture of anti-Americanism and Muslim fundamentalist puritanism. Politically the nearest analogy to this spontaneous mass upheaval is the 1900 Boxer Rebellion in China, which similarly combined traditionalism with a primitive anti-imperialism.

The Shah's propagandists have claimed that the regime is under the assault of a reactionary "Islamic Marxist" conspiracy opposed to the alleged gains of his "White Revolution." In reality, decades of Pahlavi rule have brought only increased oppression and misery for the peasants and workers of Iran (see "Anti-Shah Protests Erupt in Iran," *WV* No. 200, 7 April). But the reactionary strains present in the opposition are not merely an invention of the Shah's propagandists.

It is certainly true that the leadership of the current revolt is a religious one. One of the dominant forces involved appears to be the Movement for the Liberation of Iran (MLI), followers of the exiled *ayatollah* (Shi'ite religious leader) Khomeini. Khomeini's reputation is derived not only from the traditional religious prestige of such figures, but from his outspoken criticism of the Shah's methods of rule, for which he was jailed in 1963. Khomeini stands in the tradition of religious support for a parliament and a constitution, and of *ulema* (scholars, teachers and jurists of the Islamic hierarchy) support for the bourgeois revolution of 1906. Furthermore, Khomeini embodies the current movement's anti-American sentiments, for he was exiled from Iran in 1964 for criticizing a bill which exempted all U.S. citizens in the country from the jurisdiction of Iranian law courts.

According to UPI, red flags and placards reading "Workers Unite" were carried by some of the demonstrators, and the Iranian left has undoubtedly entered the movement. Revolutionary Marxists would seek to use the turmoil to overthrow the Shah, advancing democratic demands aimed at splitting the Muslim traditionalist-led movement, rallying sections of the petty bourgeoisie to the side of the proletariat on the basis of the call for the abolition of the monarchy and a constituent assembly based on universal suffrage. At the same time, they would seek to combat Islamic fundamentalism and populism, which could only lead to an oppressive regime of the type of Pakistan or Libya. Even the most "radical" among the various Muslim oppositionists, for example, remain committed to traditional Islamic society's hideous oppression of women, indicating their essentially reactionary politics.

Supporters of the Khomeini in the U.S. have reprinted a statement of the Organization of the Mojahedin [Combatants] of the People of Iran (OMPI) from the period when the OMPI still considered itself Muslim, stating that Reza Shah, the father of the current Shah, "went so far as to assault our mothers and sisters by his barbaric action of tearing off their modest apparel..." (*The Statement of the Organization of the Mujahedin Khalgh-e Iran*, October 1972, reprinted March 1977). This attack on Reza Shah's attempt to end the medieval practice of wearing the veil among Iranian women exposes these self-styled "Islamic revolutionaries" as sharing the most backward prejudices of the *ulema* and their petty-bourgeois followers.

Marxists, by contrast, criticize nationalist bonapartes like Kemal Atatürk or Westernizing monarchs like Reza Shah, not for their attempts to carry out such secularizing bourgeois-democratic measures, but for their pitiful inadequacy in doing so. Only proletarian dictatorship can carry out revolutionary-democratic tasks in the imperialist epoch.

The 1975 split between Muslim populist supporters of Khomeini (now organized as the MLI) and ostensible "Marxist-Leninists" within the OMPI testifies to the incompatibility of Marx and Muhammad (In *WV* No. 200 we incorrectly identified the Islamic side of this split as continuing to claim the label "Islamic Marxists." As supporters of the MLI have vehemently asserted to us, they now want nothing at all to do with Marxism and simply hark back to the teachings of Shi'ite fundamentalism.) However, the split will not deter misguided or demagogic attempts to fuse the two, for "Islamic socialism" has been a frequent strain of Middle Eastern nationalism.

Furthermore, "Islamic Marxism" lives on today, insofar as the Iranian left capitulates to the religious illusions of the masses. Thus the "Marxist-Leninist" OMPI wrote:

> "In fact, we believe that Islam, and in particular *Shiism*, will contain those progressive and fighting elements which can provide the explanation for the struggle of these groups and strata against the dominant imperialist oppression. The historical revolutionary traditions in a religion that since its inception in the 7th century A.D. was, in the form of an underground party, a gathering place of fighters and rebels

against the oppressive regimes of the time. . .are the backings which have still maintained their anti-oppression and progressive political-social concepts within this ideology."

Manifesto of the Ideological Positions of the OMPI, November 1975

Because the struggles of the Iranian masses were waged under the banner of Shi'ism in the Middle Ages is no justification for conciliation of religion in the 20th century. As Lenin wrote in a letter to Gorky:

"There was a time in history when, in spite of such an origin and such a real meaning of the idea of God, the struggle of democracy and of the proletariat went on in the form of the struggle of one religious idea against another. But that time too, is past. Nowadays in both Europe and Russia, *any*, even the most refined and best-intentioned defence of the idea of God is a justification of reaction."

–*Collected Works*, Vol. 35

Those who tout Khomeini as a "progressive," taking as good coin his declarations of support for land reform, the emancipation of women and "anti-imperialism," should note his statement in an interview with *Le Monde* (6 May) that no alliance between Muslims and communists against the Shah could be permitted. He announced that he has always "forbidden all on-going collaboration with communist elements," and "we will not collaborate with Marxists, even to overthrow the Shah." When asked about land reform he replied vaguely, referring only to "penalizing landowners who have gone against Islamic law" and confiscating "ill-gotten wealth."

They should further note the career of an earlier "progressive" *ayatollah*, Kashani, whom Khomeini resembles in many ways. Kashani came to prominence by campaigning against the establishment of the Zionist state and for the nationalization of Iranian oil. His Mujahedin of Islam became an important component of Mossadeq's National Front. Yet this "anti-imperialist," together with others of the *ulema* broke with Mossadeq in 1953 because they feared this bourgeois nationalist was fostering "irreligion" and the growth of the Tudeh (pro-Moscow Stalinist) party. In fact, Kashani supported the CIA-engineered coup which overthrew Mossadeq in August 1953. In any class polarization, today's "progressive" Muslim leaders will soon discover that their true allegiance is to the Shah as a bulwark against communism.

Down the Road of Mossadeq?

The current upsurge directly challenges the previous assumptions of much of the Iranian left, who believed that the traditional opposition to the Shah had been discredited after the failure of the revolt of 1963. While the National Front and the Tudeh party have indeed stagnated, the fact that leadership of the movement has fallen to Muslim religious leaders calling for the overthrow of the Shah, rather than to the guerrillaist and Maoist groups has led to new debates within the Iranian left concerning the nature of the Iranian revolution and reconsiderations of the guerrilla strategy.

The debate has been largely focused on the proponents of the classical Menshevik/Stalinist alliance with the "national bourgeoisie" (including both the pro-Moscow and pro-Peking Stalinists) on the one hand, and Guevarist-inspired guerrillaists on the other. While the Revolutionary Organization of the Tudeh Party Abroad (ROTPA) and other hard-line Maoists initially criticized the Tudeh party's position of a "united front against the dictatorship," which meant the reform rather than the overthrow of the Pahlavi regime, China's alliance with the Shah has led them to take political positions paralleling those of the Tudeh party. They now argue that toppling the Shah is secondary to supporting the regime as a bulwark against "Soviet social imperialism."

The Organization of Communist Revolutionaries (OCR) and Iranian Maoists in the U.S. who are aligned with Avakian's Revolutionary Communist Party have balked at following every aspect of Chinese support to the Shah and continue to call for the overthrow of the dictator. But they also justify their strategy in the very same terms of alliance with the "national bourgeoisie." All three tendencies (Brezhnevite Tudeh, Peking-loyal ROTPA et al. and "critical Maoist" OCR) stand counterposed to the guerrillaist organizations' formal denial of such an alliance, albeit in favor of a more militant version of the "two-stage" revolution strategy.

Shah Reza Pahlavi seated on Peacock Throne. PMA

Troops of the butcher Shah.

Yet the consequences of the Stalinists' program are starkly illustrated by the fate of the Mossadeq government. Mossadeq was lifted to power by a mass movement demanding the nationalization of Iranian oil. Yet this "anti-imperialist" did not expel the American military mission. The Mossadeq nationalizations, like Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal, should have been defended from imperialist attack by revolutionary Marxists, but represented only an attempt to improve the Iranian bourgeoisie's bargaining position vis-à-vis its imperialist overlords, rather than a fundamental break from imperialism.

Above all, Mossadeq, a typical representative of the colonial bourgeoisie, feared the mobilization and arming of the masses, necessary to the defense of the nationalizations. He opposed the call for a republic until the last days of his rule, when the Shah attempted to overthrow him, and unleashed the police on mass demonstrations against the visit of U.S. special envoy Averell Harriman. The Mossadeq government not only passed in October 1952 the law of "social stability" forbidding strikes on penalty of imprisonment, but in the days before the August 1953 coup sought to use the army against the Tudeh party. Instead, at the behest of U.S. imperialism, the generals turned on Mossadeq.

Those who seek an alliance with the "national bourgeoisie," the Mossadeq and Chiang Kai-sheks, must also seek to strangle the proletarian mass movement, for the colonial bourgeoisie is well aware that any serious struggle against imperialism requires an upheaval of the revolutionary masses that would rapidly become a menace to itself. Such a course not only derails the proletariat's struggle for power, but opens the door for the victory of reaction, dooming any successful implementation of the bourgeois-democratic tasks. The strategy of coalition with the "anti-imperialist" bourgeoisie is thus a recipe for bloody disaster, from China in 1927 to Iran in 1953 to Indonesia in 1965.

"Peoples Democracy" or Permanent Revolution?

The superficially more leftist formulas of the guerrillaists actually represent no alternative to Stalinist popular frontism. The Organization of the Iranian People's Fedayeen (Self-Sacrificing) Guerrillas (OIPFG) was formed in the late 1960's by militants who consciously rejected both the Tudeh party and the Maoist groups in favor of a perspective of guerrillaism based in large part on Regis Debray-style Guevarism. The OIPFG's founders also contested the ROTPA's analysis of Iran as a "semi-feudal, semi-colonial country" necessitating a bloc with the bourgeoisie against feudalism. After studying the "White Revolution," which introduced capitalist relations into Iranian agriculture, the OIPFG concluded:

"With the establishment and expansion of imperialist domination. . the national bourgeoisie, not yet developed and weakened by the pressure of foreign capital, loses the possibility of organizing as a class and in the end gradually dies out. The struggle against imperialist domination (i.e. international capital) contains some elements of the struggle against capital itself."

Armed Struggle: Both a Strategy and a Tactic, 1970 (reprinted August 1977)

Thus, the OIPFG "avoided" the question of blocking with the bourgeoisie by declaring that they had disappeared! Yet Jazani of the OIPFG wrote, "We regret the weakness of the forces and groups connected with the national and petit bourgeoisie more than their power" (*Armed Struggle in Iran*), indicating that the OIPFG opposed the strategy of coalition on an empirical rather than a principled basis.

The now "Marxist-Leninist" OMPI, which due to its Muslim origins was not politically formed through debates with the Tudeh party and the Maoists and thus lacks the theoretical sophistication of the OIPFG, nevertheless arrived at a similar position, although it believes that the liberal bourgeoisie exists. The OMPI calls for a "democratic revolution" under the "hegemony of the proletariat." That such calls for the "growing over" of the democratic into the socialist revolution are only a left cover for Menshevism was demonstrated in Trotsky's critique of the Comintern's defense of its disastrous course in China in 1927:

"The Stalinists say that the democratic dictatorship, as the next stage of the revolution, will grow into a proletarian dictatorship at a later stage. This is the current doctrine of the Comintern, not only for China, but for all the Eastern countries. It is a complete departure from the teachings of Marx on the state and the conclusions of Lenin on the function of a state in a revolution. The democratic dictatorship differs from the proletarian in that it is a *bourgeois*-democratic dictatorship. The transition from a bourgeois to a proletarian dictatorship cannot occur as a peaceful process of 'growing over' from one to the other. A dictatorship of the proletariat can replace a democratic, or a fascist, dictatorship of the bourgeoisie only through armed insurrection.

"The peaceful 'growing over' of a democratic revolution into a socialist revolution is possible only under the dictatorship of one class the proletariat."

"Manifesto on China of the International Left Opposition," September 1930

The conceptions of the OIPFG and OMPI are thus counterposed to the Bolshevik strategy of Lenin and Trotsky. The Kerensky government demonstrated that no such separate "democratic" stage was possible. The same was shown in China, where after years of seeking a "united front" with the butcher Chiang, Mao's armies were finally forced by the intransigence and decay of the Kuomintang to take power in 1949. What resulted was not a "democratic dictatorship" but a bureaucratically deformed workers state. In both Russia and China only the proletarian conquest of state power could ensure the granting of land to the

continued on page 8

Iran...

(continued from page 7)

peasants and the other tasks of the democratic revolution.

Guerrillaism and the Working Class

In recent years the two groups have increasingly moved away from the guerrilla road, and the OMPI now claims to be "devoting all the organization's forces and capabilities to political consciousness raising work among the working class, work among the laboring classes and participation in their daily struggles" (*Message of the Organization of the Mojahedeen of the People of Iran to the Militant Students Abroad*, March 1978).

An examination of the OMPI's and OIPFG's guerrillaism, however, exposes the reformism behind their advocacy of "armed struggle" as opposed to parliamentarism. Without a revolutionary program firmly based on a proletarian perspective, the "mass work" undertaken by the OMPI or OIPFG will in no way differ from the reformism of the Tudeh party or the Maoist circles.

In 1973 the OMPI attempted to "sink roots" in the working class by a "series of armed actions that could specifically support the daily struggles of the workers and contribute to a closer association between the vanguard armed movement and the spontaneous movement of the working class." However,

> "We decided that these actions, while maintaining their armed agitational character, should specifically not be at a level too much higher than the content of the specific demands of the workers."
>
> *Ghiam-e-Kargar* [Workers Insurrection], December 1975

Although in its documents the OMPI paid lip service to the need to avoid reducing its politics to the level of the spontaneous economic struggles of the workers, it is clear that its only talisman against such economism was "vanguard armed agitation." But such "exposures" cannot organize the proletariat around a revolutionary *program*.

As for the OIPFG, the guerrilla strategy was explicitly seen as a means of submerging the proletariat among the petty bourgeoisie in an "anti-imperialist" struggle.

> "The extreme strain and repression, on the one hand, and the fact that the secondary contradictions of our society, such as the specific contradiction between labor and capital, have, on the other hand, been overshadowed by the principal contradiction between the people and imperialism have caused any movement to assume a political and mass character from the very onset; thus the independent movement of the proletariat has fewer manifestations.... The armed struggle, initiated today by the groups, must set itself the goal of mobilizing the masses and not the proletariat. It must rely on the whole people and express their general demands."
>
> *Armed Struggle: Both a Strategy and a Tactic*

ISAUS

Overturned car burning in Tabriz during anti-Shah protest demonstrations in February.

In fact, in order to arrive at a revolutionary alliance with the peasantry and other strata of the petty bourgeoisie, it is first of all necessary to separate the proletarian vanguard, and the proletariat as a whole, from the petty-bourgeois masses. The struggle of the Bolsheviks was precisely to avoid dissolving itself among the amorphous petty bourgeoisie, through the medium of the Social Revolutionaries or some other "democratic" party, which in turn would have meant the subjection of the proletariat to bourgeois leadership.

The heroism of the militants of the OMPI and OIPFG in the face of the vicious repression of the Shah's regime cannot be questioned. But the example of a similar formation, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP), should be carefully studied by Iranian revolutionaries. Like the OMPI and OIPFG, the EPRP maintained a Guevarist "left" version of the two-stage revolution, calling for a "new democratic revolution" and a "people's democratic republic" neither proletarian nor bourgeois.

In pursuit of a bloc with "all anti-feudalist, anti-imperialist parties" (EPRP Program, August 1975) the EPRP initially hailed at least part of the Derg (the military junta) as "progressive" and capitulated to the Derg's bourgeois nationalism by refusing to call for independence for Eritrea. However, the Derg spurned these offers of support, since it was hostile to any independent organization of the masses which might threaten its bonapartist rule and began a savage attack on the EPRP and the leftist-led trade unions. In similar fashion to the Chinese Communists' treatment by Chiang Kai-shek in 1927, the EPRP's class collaboration brought only a murderous campaign of extermination against them.

It is possible to betray a revolution "gun in hand." The road forward for Iranian revolutionaries is the construction of a Leninist vanguard party based on the principles of Lenin and Trotsky, which would mercilessly expose the class collaborationism of the Tudeh party, the Maoists, the dead-end of OMPI and OIPFG Narodnism and the populist/fundamentalist "radicalism" of the Islamic oppositionists. The proletarian cadres of such a party would be forged through intervention in the

WV Photo

Demonstrators protesting repression in Iran during the Shah's Washington visit last year.

struggles of the growing Iranian proletariat, who are forced to confront the dictatorship in demanding the simplest wage demands and the most basic democratic rights.

Above all, a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard would raise the transitional program necessary to connect the immediate democratic aspirations of the masses with the struggle for workers dictatorship. Acting as a tribune of the people, the party must struggle for full legal equality for women, for the right of self-determination for the national minorities, and most importantly, for land to the tiller to draw the peasantry to the side of the proletariat. Against the white terror it must struggle for the abolition of SAVAK and the overthrow of the Shah and for a constituent assembly based on universal suffrage, while simultaneously fighting for organs of proletarian rule (soviets), which alone can guarantee the victory of the democratic revolution. Only such a program, conducted with the methods of the class struggle, can steel the proletariat in action on the road to the workers and peasants government. ■

Ireland...

(continued from page 3)

demands FOR THE IMMEDIATE, UNCONDITIONAL WITHDRAWAL OF ALL BRITISH TROOPS FROM IRELAND! FOR TRADE-UNION BLACKING OF TROOP TRANSPORT AND ALL GOODS AND SERVICES TO THE BRITISH ARMY IN IRELAND! Failure to emphasise these demands in our real work in the mass organisations of the British working class would constitute a major betrayal of revolutionary politics. The removal of the troops, unless a class-conscious proletariat led by a revolutionary party is able to intervene, may well be the occasion for enormous sectarian slaughter (as occurred in India after independence) but as Marxists we must reject out of hand the reformist proposition that imperialist troops can ever be a fundamental guarantee against barbarism. The continuation of British imperialism's military occupation of the North is even more inimical to the prospect for socialism than the slaughter which might follow its departure. We reject the right that petty-bourgeois nationalism (Provisional Sinn Fein) grants to imperialism to set its own time for a phased withdrawal. No less do we oppose calls to restrict the troops to barracks or to leave the working class areas. While a Red Army that is the product of a successful proletarian insurrection in Britain might well turn out to be the only force capable of resolving the communal conflict in the northeast of Ireland in an historically progressive fashion, we deny the right of the British imperialist army to be in any part of Ireland. Revolutionaries place no prior conditions on the demand for BRITISH TROOPS OUT NOW!

In line with our position to the British troops' presence in Ireland, we call for the smashing of the Prevention of Terrorism Act and stand FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF THE BRITISH IMPERIALISM'S APPARATUS OF POLITICAL REPRESSION IN NORTHERN IRELAND—THE COURTS, THE GAOLS AND THE BOURGEOISIE'S ARMED BODIES OF MEN: THE ROYAL ULSTER CONSTABULARY, AND THE ULSTER DEFENCE REGIMENT.

We support the actions of the IRA directed against British imperialism without in any way supporting their programme, which in application would violate the democratic rights of the Protestants. Only programmatic independence from the political bankruptcy of petty-bourgeois nationalism and terrorism allows Bolsheviks to uncompromisingly solidarize with their struggles against imperialism and to defend them against imperialist repression.

The fact that sectarian terror stalks the northeast of Ireland, "checked" only by brutal and illegitimate imperialist might, means that the call for INTEGRATED, ANTI-SECTARIAN, ANTI-IMPERIALIST, WORKERS MILITIAS, which could exist only under the leadership of a revolutionary party, can be extremely powerful. While organised initially for the purpose of defending the oppressed from the violence of imperialism and its agents, these militias will provide the nucleus of the Red Army of the Workers Republic.

The situation of mixed peoples can only be resolved in a thoroughly democratic way within the perspective of Permanent Revolution. It is not possible to say in advance what role the Protestants will play— so that while the call for a "united socialist republic" may *seem* to be the best solution to the problem, in fact its objective effect would be to exacerbate the existing tensions between the Protestants and their Catholic class brothers. In advancing the fight for the revolutionary programme it is our duty as communists to seek to address the national question in such a way as to neutralise national or communal antagonisms in order to bring to the fore the fundamental class conflicts in society. Thus, developing a revolutionary programme for the Irish revolution, we must take account of the Protestants' deeply felt alienation from the Catholic nation and raise the more flexible call for A WORKERS REPUBLIC AS PART OF A SOCIALIST FEDERATION OF THE BRITISH ISLES, IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE.

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Paul Lannigan (West London Branch; Irish Commission; Trotskyist Faction)
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Protest the Esmeralda! Don't Handle Chilean Cargo!

CDPPC

—From "Longshore Militant" No. 38, 12 May 1978

The Chilean junta's torture ship *Esmeralda* will be docking at Treasure Island starting May 16 to help "celebrate" Armed Forces Week. The U.S. government's invitation to the *Esmeralda* shows again the vicious anti-working-class nature of Carter's "human rights" campaign and is a provocation aimed at the U.S. labor movement. The ship's presence must be met with massive protest and demonstrations of labor solidarity with the Chilean workers.

The ILWU International has been on record for over three years for a boycott of Chilean cargo. The time to implement it is now! Should any cargo for the *Esmeralda* pass through civilian hands, the ILWU and all maritime transport unions must refuse to move it.

To give real teeth to the action, for the duration of the *Esmeralda*'s stay on the West Coast, the ILWU must refuse to handle any Chilean cargo at all. The *Río Abaucan* is scheduled to leave Pier 27 on the 18th with Chilean cargo while the Prudential Lines' *Santa Mercedes* is scheduled to leave Pier 30 the same day. Longshoremen coastwise should refuse to work both ships!

("Longshore Militant" is a class-struggle opposition newsletter, published by Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, in Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.)

"No Strike" Sellout...

(continued from page 12)

situation mutual strike support between the two dockers unions has become even more important in view of the importance of the newly developed "land bridge" transportation system (expedited transcontinental freight shipment by rail and truck), which has diminished the strategic value of the Panama Canal for the American bourgeoisie. The objective basis for a single dockers union in the U.S. has been reinforced by this "land bridge," but a class-struggle leadership in the two existing unions is required to point the way.

More of the Same vs. Class Struggle

The class-struggle program of the "Longshore Militant" group in Local 10 contrasts sharply with the no-strike, no-jobs program which emerged from the top-heavy Coast Caucus of April 10-19. According to the latest "Longshore Militant" (12 May), the new Negotiating Committee has *no* demands designated as bottom-line strike demands, and the Caucus abandoned some of its paper positions even before negotiations began on May 8! The Caucus went along with the Officers Report for a beefed-up PGP as the "cornerstone of our job security program." As another gimmick to create jobs, the Caucus will fight for a Container Royalty Tax—a variation of the give-away-jobs-for-money idea, with the new twist that the union will actually return money to the PMA to subsidize fringe benefits!

As the "Longshore Militant" correctly notes, what is needed is preparation to strike for a shorter workshift at no loss in pay, combined with a serious joint effort with the Teamsters to organize unorganized container stuffing operations in California, Nevada and Utah. But at the Local 6 (Bay Area warehouse) convention in April, which was supposed to take up the question of organizing, Herman spent his time attacking the Militant Caucus for publicizing an International Executive Board motion for a one-day work stoppage in solidarity with striking coal miners against Taft-Hartley. Despite this pressure from militants in the union, the International officers were able to turn the motion into a dead letter.

The Coast Caucus also dropped militant positions taken by various locals. For instance, the Seattle Local's call to eliminate arbitration entirely was abandoned with the help of the Seattle leadership; instead, the Caucus will let stand the contract-writing powers of the arbitrator. While the Caucus felt enough pressure from the ranks to demand elimination of all steady men (workers who are not hired through the hiring hall), it abandoned Local 10's demand to make this a non-negotiable issue and a strike issue, thereby making clear it was only a paper position.

Local 10 secretary-treasurer Herb Mills emerged at the Caucus as one of Herman's slicker toadies. Coming to the defense of his master, Mills attacked the "Longshore Militant" by noting:

> "Jimmy Herman is rightfully pissed off at people detecting the stakes by hindsight Hindsight should be introduced in a brotherly fashion and with humility. It is shameless to look back, detect a mistake, and then assign disloyalty to the rank and file to those who made mistakes."

Mills is in no position to lecture about "humility." As the "Longshore Militant" correctly pointed out, the "mistakes" of Bridges, Herman and Mills are not accidental, but are the consequences of their program of class collaboration.

Recently, the local bourgeois press printed a long story about Mills and his academic writings on the "effects of mechanization on men working the Bay Area docks" (*Sunday Examiner/Chronicle*, 19 March). According to this very friendly article, Mills—who graduated Phi Beta Kappa from the University of Michigan, got a Ph.D. at the University of California at Davis and taught at UC Berkeley—is now writing a series of articles on the above topic, occasionally soliciting the opinion of Harry Bridges. So while helping to engineer the latest sellout, Mills is simultaneously feathering his future academic nest by writing about this sellout's disastrous consequences!

But while Mills wins his Ph.D. in class collaboration hands down, there is no escape for the longshore ranks. To prevent another betrayal in the upcoming contract battle, the ILWU membership must implement the "Longshore Militant's" call to elect rank-and-file strike committees up and down the coast to conduct the necessary strike action and prevent a sellout at the bargaining tables. In broader terms the ILWU membership must be united behind a fighting leadership to oust the sellout bureaucracy, which is tied to the strikebreaking Democratic Party, and instead take up the fight for a workers party and a workers government. ■

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WV to Go Biweekly...

(continued from page 1)

possibilities of the working class. The problem is not some *absolute* overextension of our capacities, but rather one *relative* to the quiescent period through which we are passing. Given evident urgent need, any rational group half our size could produce a weekly (and others a quarter our size do so). The inner capacity of the weekly *WV* to do its job has been well shown by its work in the recently ended miners' strike. However, our appetites as revolutionary Marxists have run too far ahead of recent objective possibilities and for too long. Valuable as the weekly has been in other ways, the continuing discrepancy between intention and realization brought the few hundreds of the SL/U.S. right to the brink of a major breakdown.

Excessive Pressures Threaten Breakdown

Though centered and most grinding on the press, the excessive pressures have been across the board in the organization. It has been felt in all the undermanned Central Office departments, not just the press. Our cadres—typified by the executive committees of too small local committees, the heads of inadequate trade union fractions, those going in spirals trying to forge a black cadre component, the incomplete leadership of the Spartacus Youth League—have been repetitively faced with urgent tasks often hopelessly beyond the means and forces available. Our membership as a whole has responded to our needs and priorities superbly, not least in the relentless sales of the weekly *WV* and in our highly successful subscription drives. But the members too find themselves in an increasingly untenable situation. While the size of our membership has as yet remained stable, it has been ground down doubly by the impact of continuing inflation. The SL's schedule of minimum sustaining pledges for members is rightly highly progressive and new schedules over the years have been heavier and steeper (largely to finance international work). So as wage rates rise, but lag behind the cost of living, the portion of our members' wages going to the party has automatically risen very steeply and to the point where an auto or steel worker must have a very high communist consciousness indeed to stay in the SL. But to inadvertently create an organization of peacetime martyrs is very likely the road to extinction, not revolution.

For a Limited and Orderly Retreat!

The central party leadership and senior cadre generally were hardly immune to these component disintegrative processes. For a couple of years as first human resources then financial ones were exhausted, it had to impotently witness weaknesses as the organization slowly ulcerated. Individual responses drifted toward frenzy or passivity, depending. What requires explanation is why we were not then faced with some kind of self-serving revisionist factional upheaval, akin to that of Cochran-Clarke in the SWP of the early 1950's. Two observations may suffice: ours is a rather young senior cadre, mainly in the 25-35 age range. If it were ten years older an explosive exodus would have been more likely. Objectively, too, this period is not one of deep, witchhunting reaction as then, and today many of the truths of Marxism are visible in America for all to see.

So instead and after a precipitous break in the *WV* Editorial Board, there followed several months of discussion also involving the leaderships of other sections internationally. With the approval of the international organization as a whole, several measures are being taken to try to rectify the situation. As stressed here, *WV* is to go biweekly. We expect our subscription base to be weakened and correspondingly aim to increase single copy sales, especially bundle placements. Moreover, the frequency of the English language theoretical organ of the international Spartacist tendency, *Spartacist*, will be increased. We are cutting back our work in a couple of localities in North America. And we have instituted sustaining pledge reductions centered in the range that most affects our industrial workers.

Successful Emergency Fund Drive Concluded

In the midst of grappling with these problems and other difficult and even sinister threats to our organized existence, we found ourselves in an immediate and desperate cash crunch in which the underlying weakening of our position through constant increase in fixed expenses intersected very heavy temporary expenses, partly around the miners' strike and the processes of international consultation, but especially over the breakthrough in Britain and the launching of *Spartacist/Britain*.

We turned to our U.S. members, sympathizers and comrades in other sections with a non-public four week fund drive, noting in the PB circular (of 4 April) announcing the drive:

> "Since we have never undertaken such an emergency (or any) fund drive before, we do not know how much to expect from it. Five thousand dollars would be poor; twenty thousand dollars would be good. Your leadership has let us drift into this mess; maybe the membership can help us get out."

This fund drive is now being completed. At the same time that Sustaining Pledge donations held firm and windfalls increased, the comrades paid in on the fund drive, not $5,000 or $20,000, but more than $57,000! We can only agree with the FBI investigation summary on the SL of 25 August 1976, the most recent in our file secured through "Freedom of Information" channels:

> "As noted earlier, the SPL, though small, is determined to ultimately carry out its revolutionary objectives. It has a hard core of educated, disciplined, articulate, and highly motivated individuals. They are deeply involved in the world-wide communist-Trotskyist movement."

And we will come back to a weekly *Workers Vanguard* when either continuing sharp class struggle demands it or simple bulk growth of the SL/U.S. readily permits it. But beyond that stands our perspective, involving communist daily papers, in this country too; of a revolutionary workers party, section of the reforged Fourth International.

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Anti-Homosexual Bigots...

(continued from page 2)

wing has chosen a target most susceptible to inflaming deep passions. Former Nixon speechwriter Patrick Buchanan, a nationally syndicated conservative columnist, recently put forward a "program" on homosexuality that suggests Hitler's "final solution" for the Jews: "In a healthy society, it [homosexuality] will be contained, segregated, controlled and stigmatized, carrying both a legal and a social sanction" (quoted in *National Review*, 17 March 1978).

More explicitly, Buchanan argued that the defeats of democratic rights for homosexuals in St. Paul and Wichita proved that "the traditional prerogative of school officials, landlords and employers should be maintained" ([New York] *Daily News*, 30 April 1978). It is precisely those traditional prerogatives"—the "right" to exclude, to oppress, to exploit—which are at issue. Consensual sexual behavior should be none of the government's business, but for the bourgeoisie defending the interests of private property certainly *is*—indeed, it is at the very heart of the capitalist state. And tied to private property is the institution of the family, as well as religion which glorifies and upholds it and the state authority. These are the roots of the backward prejudices being whipped up by ex-orange-juice salesman Anita Bryant and other anti-homosexual crusaders.

The reactionary religious bigotry directed against homosexuals will be finally overcome only with the replacement of the family under socialism. But it is imperative that the labor movement and all those who defend democratic rights understand the very real threat which this reactionary anti-homosexual campaign poses *now*. If the "prerogative" of the landlord and employer to pick off and isolate "deviants" is not smashed in this case, where will it end? The next targets are not hard to guess—racial minorities, union organizers, socialist militants.

The social power to stop this vicious assault lies with the labor movement. In the past liberals have traditionally looked to Washington to defend the rights of minorities from attack by local reactionaries. But now the federal government has demonstrated its open complicity in reversing many of the limited gains won over the last decade by the civil rights movement (e.g., the defeat of busing), as well as anti-discrimination measures for women, protections against judicial/cop frame-ups, etc. The working class must defend itself, and the rights of all the oppressed and exploited, by smashing the anti-homosexual crusade, an opening salvo in a general assault on democratic rights! ■

USWA...

(continued from page 2)

keep production going in Hammond. When mass picketing was attempted in the first week of the strike, 60 scab-herding cops showed up. In the face of this strikebreaking attack, neither Sadlowski nor Balanoff did anything to bring the thousands of District 31 steel workers onto the picket lines to keep Pullman shut down. Balanoff's only "contribution" was to jump into the negotiations at the eleventh hour, agree to the sellout and order the Pullman workers back on the job without even a ratification vote or having seen a copy of the new terms! So much for Sadlowski/Balanoff-style "union democracy."

...while McBride covers Latrobe

As Balanoff and Sadlowski were allowing the Pullman workers to languish on the picket lines, McBride was taking care of the Latrobe strikers. With over $100 million in the USWA strike fund, McBride *refused* Local 1537's desperate plea for a $750,000 loan to enable the strikers to hold out longer. The pitifully meager $30-a-week strike benefits made available by the International were entirely consumed in paying the strikers' life and health insurance premiums. No cash payments were made during the entire nine-month strike. Though McBride hinted at a March 19 rally that drew nearly 3,000 strike supporters that financial help would be forthcoming, no money was ever received.

The Latrobe strike was also undermined by the refusal of the USWA bureaucracy to mobilize the union's ranks to refuse to do Latrobe work contracted out to neighboring firms during the strike. "Brother and sister unions within our district were doing our work," vice-president Ehman told *WV*. "The International accepted the situation. It was more inaction than action. Our International made no policy statements to their staff or to union officers to tell their people to refuse our work. You can't win that way."

Ehman told *WV* that all steel workers should have contracts with the same expiration date with basic steel. "It's the same as the mine workers," he said. "You have to put them all out at the same time to have any clout."

For real labor solidarity to prevail in the Steelworkers, however, the McBrides and Sadlowskis must be replaced with a class-struggle leadership. These misleaders fence with each other at election time only to join hands in strangling the workers' struggles during the next three years. There will be more Latrobes and Pullmans as long as the McBride and Sadlowski look-alikes are at the helm of the USWA. ■

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Italy...

(continued from page 5)

pation. For one thing it threatened a wholesale revamping of the patronage system, the lifeblood of the DC. The DC rightwingers also evidently went to their godfather in Washington, for soon a State Department statement against direct PCI participation in the cabinet was forthcoming: "We do not favor such [Communist] participation [in the government] and would like to see Communist influence in any Western European government reduced." (*New York Times*, 13 January).

Given the powerful U.S. role in Italian politics ever since it bought the Christian Democrats' 1948 election victory, this set an upper limit to the bargaining which could not be exceeded without splitting the DC: no direct Communist participation. Then, with negotiations stalled and the caretaker government withering on the vine, the PCI decided to up the ante. On January 27 Berlinguer offhandedly announced his alternative "hypothesis": if the Christian Democrats did not like a government of national emergency there was always the possibility of a "government made up of the parties which stand for a change in the political framework"—toward which the DC should adopt "a responsible attitude analagous to the one we had adopted." However, this was only a feint to set a fire under the immobile DC.

A few days later PCI leader Napolitano presented the party's fallback position: an "explicit, recognized and contracted majority." Given his cue, Andreotti thereupon declared that the DC was "amenable to a political majority in which the PCI would be a member." The PCI promptly labeled this an "emergency pact," and despite reservations about its "ambiguity" prepared for: "an agreed programme which expresses a common undertaking and the joint responsibility of the parties that adhere to it, and which shall be guaranteed by a clear and recognized majority" (*Economist*, 11 February).

Everything seemed set when the DC right wing insurrected against any "political majority" with the PCI. Thereupon Moro went into action and after several weeks of political haggling all parties finally agreed to drop the "political majority" in favor of a "programmatic majority" in which the PCI would, for the first time since the beginning of the cold war, vote as part of the governmental bloc. In exchange for downgrading the PCI from "political" to "programmatic" partner (!), the Andreotti government also agreed to bring pro-PCI "technicians" into the Cabinet.

Corriere della Sera (12 March) wrote, "Only Moro can hold together his party.... He is the only guarantee against early elections. For the Communists he is their only interlocutor.... At times, Aldo Moro, more than president of the Christian Democrats, seems to have become the supreme moderator of all Italian parties." Four days later, shortly after learning that Moro had been kidnapped on his way to the investiture ceremony, the new PCI-supported Andreotti government was sworn in with a genuine "national emergency" on its hands.

Delivering the Trade Unions

The key question facing the PCI as it made its move for greater governmental participation was whether it could clamp down on the restive ranks of the unions. Despite the double-digit inflation which has wracked Italy over the past years (it currently stands at 20 percent), the militant working class has fought tooth and nail against every DC attempt to undermine their wage rates. In fact, real wages have consistently risen in part as a result of the improved cost-of-living escalator won in the past three years. But for the PCI the slashing of wages as part of government-backed austerity programs is a touchstone for proving the merits of the "historic compromise" in action.

Thus in 1976, after the PCI had amassed over one-third of the total votes in the June elections, the party tried to mobilize working-class support for the vicious Andreotti austerity plan (the *stangata*). Despite PCI declarations that "the gravest danger is inflation" which "threatens the democratic regime itself," the party's mass base bolted. Even before the terms of the *stangata* were announced, 8 million workers walked out on a two-hour protest strike (see "Revolt in Italian Communist Party," *WV* No. 131, 29 October 1976). Sensing that the austerity line could not be shoved down the throats of union militants, PCI leaders responsible for

Der Spiegel

Giorgio Napolitano

maintaining control over the trade unions backed off. In an article in the PCI organ *Rinascita* (17 November 1976) Lama, the head of the Communist-led CGIL union federation, wrote in defense of the cost-of-living allowance:

> "What is at stake is not only the workers' living condition and consumptive levels.... There are forces in Italy that intend to use the crisis to push us back to take back at least part of the power that the workers have succeeded in wrenching out of their [the bosses'] hands with great struggles...."
>
> —reprinted in *Italian Communists*, November-December, 1976

This year, however, the PCI leadership has brooked no opposition from the unions. On the contrary it has gone out of its way to underline the "sacrifices" the workers will be forced to make in exchange for a PCI role in setting government policy. In the midst of the governmental crisis CGIL leader Lama dropped a bombshell when he announced his program for "labor peace" over the next three years. In an interview with *la Repubblica*, Lama aired the following "proposals":

- "When labor makes unemployment the No. 1 point on its program all other goals must be sacrificed to this problem. For instance the goal of improving the conditions of the employed must move down to second spot. Our wage policy in the next few years must be very restrained."
- "Workers' sacrifices should not be marginal but substantial."
- "Firms in a state of economic crisis should have the right to fire workers."

—quoted in *Corriere della Sera*, 25 January

Lama, of course, wanted in return a government with direct PCI participation.

Publication of the Lama interview immediately touched off an uproar in the joint CGIL-CISL-UIL labor confederation. While the heads of the other federations bitterly complained of not having been consulted and worried about controlling their ranks, loud opposition was heard even within the highly bureaucratized CGIL. At a February CGIL meeting one quarter of the delegates from the Milano region voted against Lama's report to the assembly. PCI trade unionists busied themselves denouncing the "conserva-

tism" and "sectoralism" of workers who refused to accept unemployment and wage cuts. But union leaders from the traditionally militant metal workers reacted as if they understood that they had little chance of pulling the "Lama line" over on their membership.

Lama's control over the trade union is expected to be put to the test in the fall when the next three-year contract is scheduled to be negotiated. The PCI/CGIL tops have profited extensively from the anti-terrorist hysteria which has been whipped up by the killing of Moro and the isolation of the "far left." Nonetheless, come next spring the three-year contract will have to be presented to the union ranks. Even the *Economist* (1 April) is openly predicting, "Communist leaders are unlikely to be able to contain the restlessness of their rank and file much beyond this year.

Demise of the "Far Left"

Italy today is overripe for the building of a revolutionary Trotskyist party capable of breaking the combative proletariat away from the chains of PCI misleadership. During the last decade the Italian workforce has been in constant ferment with strike actions and mass meetings often going well beyond the confines of the Berlinguer straitjacket. The standard of living has been defended against the ravishes of stagnating Italian capitalism, and what the union heads were too cowardly or corrupted to fight for the workers themselves have often taken care of through wildcat strikes.

Since 1969 there have been a number of major splits to the left from the PCI creating large Maoist/syndicalist groups. By the time of the 1976 elections these centrist and left-reformist formations—Lotta Comunista, Avanguardia Operaia (AO) and PdUP/

L'Espresso

CGIL leader Luciano Lama

Manifesto—numbered in the tens of thousands. On the central question facing the Italian proletariat, the Communist Party's popular-front "historic compromise" with the DC, these parties proved themselves to be no more than the left appendages of PCI class collaboration. While Berlinguer hoped to rope in the largest of Italy's bourgeois parties, the three centrist groups together with the fake-Trotskyist Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari (GCR) created the Democrazia Proletaria (DP) slate to urge the PCI to "compromise" a little less historically and establish a popular front with lesser bourgeois parties (á la Allende's Unidad Popular).

These "far left" formations, including the GCR, failed to take the revolutionary position of proletarian opposition to the popular front. Only the international Spartacist tendency upheld the Trotskyist position that the PCI's incipient coalition with the DC precluded any electoral support, and that as a basic precondition for critical support in the elections the PCI must break not only with the "historic compromise" but with popular frontism.

In the aftermath of the June 1976 elections the three large "far left" groups entered into a period of rapid organizational decomposition -reflecting the inability to present a consistent line against the PCI. AO suffered large splits; PdUP/Manifesto lost many of its key cadre and was reduced to an organizational shell for a newspaper; Lotta Continua disintegrated completely into a myriad of feminist, high school, gay liberationist and syndicalist circles. In the current wave of anti-terrorist hysteria, the remaining shells of these organizations have been completely overwhelmed by the right-wing political climate and the PCI's efforts to police the Italian bourgeois state.

When the PCI led thousands of demonstrators at the traditional April 25 celebration of the Resistance's victory over the fascists in "law and order" demonstrations, the "far left" marched in Milano under the slogan "Against the state, against the BR, for mass democracy" (*Corriere della Sera*, 26 April). While the "far left" kept its demonstrations separate, the slogans of "against the terrorist provocations of the reactionary forces" were well in keeping with the reactionary spirit of the larger protests. Lotta Continua, which maintains the position of "Neither with the state nor with the Red Brigades," has voiced its fear of being submerged by having "everything overshadowed by the obligation to be for or against the Red Brigades" (quoted in *Rouge*, 22-23 April).

Gamma

Soldiers at roadblock outside Rome during fruitless search for Moro kidnappers.

Livio Maitan's GCR, the Italian section of the United Secretariat, took on its familiar role as left-wing cover for the PCI during the governmental crisis. While the PCI was preparing itself for government as the only force capable of imposing the austerity measures, the GCR swallowed the Berlinguer "hypothesis," declaring that "we should fight for a government of the workers parties, of the PCI and PSI" (*Bandiera Rossa*, 15 February). The GCR declares that the DC is incapable "of fulfilling its talk of order" and describes a parliamentary lash-up of the PCI and PSI (what it terms a "workers government") as a "PCI-PSI government to satisfy the needs of the workers"! (Presumably such a government *would* be able to impose capitalist "order" just as Berlinguer promises.) And as soon as the PCI began whipping up the "anti-terrorist" hysteria over the Moro kidnapping, the inveterate, disgustingly tailist GCR declared the BR attack "bears the stamp of the right." As we wrote in "Anti-Terrorist Hysteria in Italy":

> "The GCR, which for years recruited on the basis of unadulterated Guevarism...now unveils its true political appetites. Enthusiastic advocates of terror elsewhere, when it occurs closer to home they rush headlong into the arms of their 'own' bourgeoisie as soon as the predictable 'anti-terrorist' demagogy begins."
>
> – *WV* No. 200, 7 April

Politics of Decay

Italian life today shows rampant social decay in every aspect. Inflation roars at 20 percent yearly; 1,700,000 are officially unemployed out of a total workforce of 20 million; schools are vastly overcrowded as university graduates with their diplomas find only unemployment lines waiting. While terrorism increases astronomically, non-political crime (particularly robberies and kidnappings) is also rising dramatically. In the major cities urban planners studiously designate areas for parks, hospitals and new housing only to find that "abusive housing" has occupied the site—"abusive housing" being the term given to apartment complexes built illegally on state-owned land by private speculators assured that the state won't catch on for years. Television stations find themselves competing with uncontrolled small "pirate" stations which defy the Vatican-conscious networks with their showings of "Deep Throat" and amateur strip tease contests.

Over the last thirty years there has been a massive migration from the poor, rural South to the major cities. But for the new migrants there is often little work. Instead those with connections find a way to the patronage system which provides the backbone for the DC. To give just one example, there are an estimated *5 million* state-supported invalids in Italy—more than the number of old age pensioners. And yet there have been no wars in over 30 years. And for 30 years the massive bureaucracy of redundant officials and pensioners has kept in office the equally corrupt and ineffectual Christian Democrats.

The DC's sordid rule seemed manageable only so long as the "Italian miracle" of the 1960's economy withstood inflation and plant inefficiency. But by the 1970's the Italy which the postwar *Economist* described as a capitalist's dream for its cheap labor and rebuilt industry was in the throes of an economic crisis. The end of "the miracle" was sealed during the OPEC oil boycott and the ensuing quadrupling of petroleum prices.

The Italian bourgeoisie is gripped with a sense of resignation, seeing no clear-cut avenues for ameliorating the situation. Amid repeated rumors of coups in the offing, Italian capitalists try to siphon their funds off to numbered Swiss bank accounts as they await word of whether the latest West German loans required to avoid insolvency will be forthcoming. In the words of popular author Luigi Barzini, "What is the solution? There isn't any. It is like interviewing a Byzantine commander as the Turks are swarming over the walls and asking him 'What is the solution?' I think that we all must accept that there are not always happy endings in life" (*Newsweek*, 22 May).

Forty years ago Trotsky, in the Transitional Program, wrote of the options available to the bourgeoisie:

> "'People's Fronts' on the one hand—fascism on the other; these are the last political resources of imperialism in the struggle against the proletarian revolution. From the historical point of view, however, both these resources are stopgaps. The decay of capitalism continues . ."

In the current crisis, the Italian bourgeoisie has accepted the PCI's offer to act as its gendarme in the name of the "historic compromise." The activity of the Communist Party around the Moro case ominously points to a popular front coalition dedicated not only to anti-working-class austerity but to increased police repression. From every leader of the new governing "programmatic majority" has come the clear indication that increased bonapartist powers are to be accorded to the bourgeois state.

The PCI has already run up against the utter failure of "clean government" and "emergency pacts" to remedy basic social ills. In Naples, for example, after three years of running the city PCI administrators talk of "the slide into savagery" (*New York Times*, 5 April). One third of the labor force is unemployed while 40,000 people are believed to earn their livelihoods from smuggling. With the PCI entrenched as the administrators of the scarce social services, protests by workers and the poor immediately go beyond any party control.

Not only in Naples but throughout Italy, the PCI stranglehold on the working class could be severely shaken by restive proletarian ranks confronting the hat-in-hand party leadership. But the Italian "far left" and the "Trotskyists" of the GCR have shown their abdication of any pretension of speaking for the interests of the working masses. Unable to confront the treachery of the PCI, they have left the field open to the *autonomos*, the Red Brigades and even the lumpen rage tapped by the Metropolitan Indians. And as the "social order" rapidly disintegrates, the stage could be set for a bonapartist "solution" or the resurgence of fascism promising "to make the trains run on time."

Yet Barzini is wrong. There is no solution to the "Italian problem" *under capitalism*, but the militant working class holds the potential for economic rationality and social order under proletarian state power in a Socialist United States of Europe. A genuinely internationalist Trotskyist party must be forged in Italy to lead the proletariat away from the hellhole of capitalist rot to the proletarian revolution—the only path of salvation. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Grape Growers Get What They Want

Chavez Sells Out UFW Hiring Hall

LOS ANGELES—The contract signed on May 8 by Cesar Chavez' United Farm Workers of America (UFW) and seven Delano, California table grape growers has thrown away the most important gain won by the farm workers and the one factor which had made the UFW contracts clearly superior to the rotten sellouts negotiated by the Teamsters—the union hiring hall. The new contract, which covers about 20 percent of the 8,000 grape field workers in the area, establishes a precedent for future contracts and opens the door to the return of the hated labor contractor system.

Particularly in agriculture, where employers have been notorious for dividing workers by playing off ethnic and national groups against one another, union control of hiring is a key demand. Such hiring halls, combined with demands for pay increases and a shorter workweek to create more jobs, can cut through the divisions fostered by the growers among agricultural workers and raise their standard of living. The hiring hall had been a central plank in the UFW platform in its initial battles against the Delano growers in 1965. With the 1970 grape contract, the union hiring hall replaced the often slave-like conditions of the labor contractor system with union control of hiring based on seniority, under which workers were sent out to available jobs on an equitable basis.

In 1973 it was the issue of the hiring hall which prompted the growers to refuse to renew the three-year grape contract and which led them to call in Teamster goons in an attempt to break the UFW. The Teamster contracts obligingly restored the labor contractor system. But Chavez, while not yet formally abandoning the hiring hall, indicated his willingness to be obliging too. He suggested a "compromise"—a hiring hall administered *jointly* by growers and workers. To which the Spartacist League responded:

> "A UFW which exists on the tolerance of the Teamsters and has abandoned the gains of the early UFW contracts (especially the union hiring hall) is just as thoroughly defeated—and just as acceptable to the growers—as if it had been completely smashed."
>
> "Defend the Farmworkers!" *WV* No. 27, 31 August 1973

Always wedded to liberalism, pacifism and class collaboration, the Chavez regime's organizing strategy is now focused exclusively on pressuring the capitalist state through its Agricultural Labor Relations Board, its courts and its Democratic Party. After a purge of critics from the union staff last year and the calling off of the moribund grape, wine and lettuce boycotts (at which a spokesman for the Western Growers Association commented: "We're glad they announced it was over—otherwise we wouldn't have known they'd stopped"), the present UFW-grower deal reaffirms Chavez' determination to allow nothing to stand between him and an expanded dues base—certainly nothing as dispensable as a union hiring hall.

The new contracts, he says, "put the burden of hiring workers directly on them [the employers] where it really belonged in the first place." He explained to an interviewer that this "saves the union the time and the resources and money we were using to operate the hiring halls" and that "the employers are much happier now."

Farm workers marching in Fresno last year. WV Photo

No doubt they are. It has cost them a meager 25-cent-per-hour wage increase (to $3.50 per hour) to enforce the control over hiring which the farm workers had sought to wrest from them through years of bitter struggle. The contract also allows them "limited subcontracting." The only difference from the labor contractor system is that now the ranch operators will do the hiring...and firing.

Chavez, the darling of liberals and fake-leftists of every stripe, has bargained away the most precious gain of the UFW. The farm workers have been defeated by their own leadership—forced to fight gagged and bound by the pacifism, clericalism, anti-communism and legalism which the Chavez bureaucracy imposed. From its abandonment of the 1973 strikes to its reliance on the impotent consumer boycott "strategy" and its subordination to George Meany's AFL-CIO, the Chavez leadership of the UFW has been the main barrier to victory for the farm workers. What is needed is a leadership capable of organizing an all-out struggle *to mobilize the entire labor movement* in militant solidarity with the UFW against the growers and the capitalist state. ■

Longshore Contract Due As Job Threat Grows

Herman Continues ILWU No-Strike Policy

SAN FRANCISCO—As the 12,000 West Coast longshoremen of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) approach the July 1 contract expiration date, it becomes increasingly obvious that union president Jimmy Herman is doing everything possible to avoid calling a strike against the bosses of the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA). Just before the elected Coast Caucus met to draw up contract demands on April 10, Herman openly declared his continuity with the previous regime of Harry Bridges, who traded away thousands of union jobs and the right to strike for a paltry Pay Guarantee Plan (PGP):

> "We have every hope of negotiating a new contract without having to hit the bricks. The historical record—one strike in the last thirty years—shows that collective bargaining in the West Coast longshore industry works."
>
> —*The Dispatcher*, 7 April

Indeed the no-strike giveaway strategy of Bridges/Herman *does* work—for the bosses! As Herman himself noted in regard to the impact of containerization on the docks: "Since the mid-1960's total tonnage has about doubled while longshore man-hours have been cut in half." Instead of a struggle for a shorter workshift at no loss in pay, which would maintain the strength of the union, Herman proposes to allow the union to be further undermined in exchange for "greater pay guarantees" and maintaining jurisdiction over the steadily shrinking number of jobs remaining on the docks.

As is usual at contract time, Herman went through a fake unity ritual in April with Teddy Gleason, president of the East Coast International Longshoremen's Association (ILA). Gleason promised "all out total support." But longshoremen remember the infamous 1971 "strike alliance" between Gleason and Bridges. With the help of government-imposed Taft-Hartley injunctions, these sellout artists engineered a game of musical chairs, so that the East Coast ILA strike and the West Coast ILWU strike did not overlap for any lengthy period. In the recent period both Gleason and Herman have made noises about seeking a "common expiration date" for their contracts—but even this sop was abandoned at the Coast Caucus, where Herman defeated a Local 10 (Bay Area longshore) resolution for it even though guest speaker Gleason supported it!

The "mutual aid" talk is clearly just a lot of hot air to fool the ranks—Herman's quick retreat from supporting the ILA strike last October was a telling example of how much working-class "solidarity" there is between the two bureaucracies. (Herman's failure to seek an alliance with the West Coast seamen's unions, and the National Maritime Union, whose contracts expire June 15, is further evidence of his hypocrisy.) But clearly, in a strike

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WV Photo
ILA picketed Oakland terminal last October.

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 207 26 May 1978

West Props Up Zaire Despot

UPI

Colonialists: Live like Pigs–Die like Pigs!

As *colon* refugees from the contested Shaba (ex-Katanga) Province of the central African state of Zaire (the former Belgian Congo) stream into Paris and Brussels, the imperialist press has been filled with lurid tales of indiscriminate slaughter of whites by anti-European rebels. The scenario is a neo-colonialist classic. As allegedly Soviet (in this case, Cuban) backed insurgents threaten a "friendly"—albeit corrupt and despotic—government, European paratroopers are dispatched to the "battle" scene to rescue missionaries and nuns. In the course of carrying out their "humanitarian mission," these intrepid defenders of the "Free World" manage to rout the infidel at the gates of Khartoum (Kolwezi) and stay on to guarantee the reestablishment of order.

In this case, while most of the Belgian paras flown into the copper-mining region on May 18 have since been pulled back, some 600 commandos of the French Foreign Legion are tracking down scattered bands of the National Liberation Front of the Congo (FLNC) in the bush outside Kolwezi. The French, who in recent months have rescued pro-Western regimes in Mauritania and Chad, declare they will remain for several months. The whole production brings to mind the 1964 "rescue" of whites in Stanleyville. On the pretext of "saving" hostages being held by leftist nationalist rebels Belgian paratroopers, ferried in American planes with CIA pilots, spearheaded an assault by government troops.

From the moment the official Zaire press agency reported on the night of May 11 that FLNC forces had infiltrated across the Zambian border and seized the copper town, the fate of the European *colons* has dominated Western newspaper coverage. At present it is claimed that 70 or more whites have been killed, although no tally has been made of the number of black Africans dead in the shooting. It may well be that a number of those whites slaughtered were the victims of popular hatred of the Belgian colonialists, the product of nearly a century of enslavement and exploitation by the colonial masters. Nevertheless, a number of reports also blame troops of Zairean strongman Mobutu, whose rule the imperialist intervention was designed to prop up. Furthermore it was reported that drunken legionnaires had shot and killed five Rhodesian whites and one Belgian.

Certainly there has been no love lost between the Belgians and the French. The Belgians complained that France had denied the right to cross its airspace in order to transport paratroopers to Shaba and that the French also denied their planes permission to land at runways at Kolwezi after the recapture of the town. The squabbling between the European imperialists exposes the real motives behind this "paratrooper diplomacy." The indignant Belgians announced that the French effort was "entirely different" from the Belgian "effort to save lives," hinting that the French were only interested in Shaba's copper and cobalt. Last year's warning by Belgian prime minister Leo Tindemans to the French not to infringe on Belgium's "privileged links" with its former colony indicates, however, the true nature of the Belgian "humanitarian effort."

Meanwhile the U.S. has intervened by providing C-141 troop transports and speeding the delivery of weapons and ammunition to the Mobutu regime. To complete the scene an American destroyer was stationed off the Zairean coast—a mainly theatrical gesture since the coastline of this largely landlocked country is only a few miles wide! And on May 17 U.S. president Carter complained to Congressional leaders that he was constrained by legislation left over from the squabble in the American ruling class over proposals for large-scale intervention in Angola in 1975-76. At present Washington is barred from supplying military aid to Zaire unless Carter formally declares it is in the interests of U.S. security, and any clandestine operations must be communicated to Congress. The administration wants to use the present incident to reverse this "constricting" legislation.

1960, 1964 and 1977

The London *Economist* has called the latest fighting "the déjà vu invasion." But it is not merely the return of the FLNC, once again trying to capitalize on the regionalist and tribal sentiments of the Shaba population that gives it its rerun quality. Last year's "war" was virtually non-existent. Although France

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"Free" Trade Unions in USSR?

Last November a group of dissident Soviet workers held a press conference before foreign journalists in Moscow. The following month the group, claiming some 200 members, announced the formation of the Free Trade Union Association of Workers in the Soviet Union and has since managed to smuggle several documents out of the country to Amnesty International. Subsequently, according to Western press reports, a Committee for the Free Trade Union of Workers of the USSR was formed in mid-April (*Los Angeles Times*, 29 April).

The first appearance in years of an organized grouping of Soviet dissident workers has created an international stir far out of proportion to the group's limited impact in the USSR. Widely disparate elements, ranging from the conservative bourgeois press and the reactionary Meany bureaucracy of U.S. unions to left-wing Labour MP's in Britain and the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat," have all rushed forward to uncritically embrace the cause of the rebellious workers. But what is this "free trade union" movement and what does it stand for?

The materials made public so far, prepared from the group's documents by Amnesty International's research department, shed little light on their ideological predisposition. Almost all the material made public is of a descriptive character, detailing the persecutions and abuses suffered by individual members of the group at the hands of the Soviet bureaucracy. According to Amnesty International, the "group began its existence through the accidental meetings of unemployed workers who had come to Moscow to press their complaints in person at the offices of the highest party government and legal authorities."

The first written public appeal to arrive outside the Soviet Union was issued 20 May 1977, signed by eight workers. The May "open letter" cited 35 workers in different cities who had been thrown into prisons and psychiatric hospitals for "exercising their right to complain." Since then the group has issued an appeal to the Belgrade conference concerning application of the 1975 Helsinki accords; a "collective complaint," issued on the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution; and an appeal to the International Labor Organization (ILO). The appeal charges that between the time of its first press conference in late November and the end of February ten workers who signed various of the documents were detained by police. Seven of the arrested members were either missing or known to be in psychiatric hospitals as of 27 February 1978.

Vladimir Klebanov, the principal spokesman of the group, worked for 16 years as a foreman at a coal mine in the Donetsk region of the Ukraine. The documents assert that Klebanov unsuccessfully attempted to organize an independent trade union at the mine in 1960; in 1968 he was dismissed from his job for refusing to assign overtime to his workers or send them onto jobs where he believed safety standards were not being observed. When he protested his dismissal, Klebanov was ruled mentally ill and confined to a maximum security special psychiatric hospital from 1968 to 1973. Since his release he has been prevented from working, as well as being detained in hospitals several more times. Klebanov was reportedly being held in a psychiatric hospital in Donetsk as of February 28 where, according to the group, he had been diagnosed during an earlier incarceration as suffering from "paranoid development of the personality" with a mania for "struggling for justice."

Wide World

Founders of "Free Trade Union" in Moscow. Left, Vladimir Klebanov.

Other accounts provided by the group outline roughly similar stories of individuals making complaints against bureaucratic abuse and corruption, followed by retaliation against the workers involved. Maria Dvoretskaya, a worker in Alma Ata, appealed on behalf of her husband, who had been ruled "mentally non-accountable" and "socially dangerous" and put into an institution as a result of incidents regarding his signing of statements complaining of thefts and fraudulent wage payments to non-existent workers at a creamery and, later, a shoe factory. Varvara Kucherenko, who worked at a curing plant in Dagestan, was demoted and then fired for exposing the administration and trade-union committee in her plant for stealing goods. She was later detained by the police and also incarcerated in a psychiatric hospital.

In its appeal, "To World Public Opinion, On the Real Situation of the Workers and Employees on the Eve of the 60th Anniversary of the USSR" (18 September 1977), the Soviet "Free Trade Union" group writes:

> "We, Soviet people from different strata of society, people of various nationalities from various corners of the country, are forced to turn to the so-called 'bourgeois press.' Our leaders, our press, party and Soviet organs do not want to listen to us, honest toilers of Soviet society, the producers of material wealth, even though they, according to their tasks and responsibilities, are obliged to listen to us and to respond to our questions."

And in its "Collective Complaint" (7 November 1977), the Association writes: "It is the sacred duty of every citizen of the USSR to protect socialist property and to protest gross violations of human rights." It charges that functionaries of the Communist Party (CPSU) "watch-dog" commission for official abuses, the Central Committee Department of Administrative Organs, "are guided by personal motives and not by the instructions of the party and the government."

AFL-CIO

George Meany hosts Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn at AFL-CIO meet.

However, by far the most vociferous "champions" of the cause of these Soviet workers have been the most die-hard opponents of both socialism and trade unionism alike. For years the CIA and other counterrevolutionary forces have complained that the overwhelmingly petty-bourgeois composition of the Soviet dissident movement makes it difficult to tout as representative of the Soviet people. Thus, the bourgeois press eagerly seized upon the formation of the Soviet "free trade union association," particularly since its appeals were directed to imperialist agencies such as the ILO. Weeping crocodile tears over "the extraordinary extent to which the USSR has been harassing and imprisoning ordinary working folk" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 2 March), the same capitalist mouthpieces which denounce "greedy unions" in the West are protesting the victimization of Klebanov and his comrades.

The George Meany gang was quick to echo the *Guardian* and its counterparts in the American bourgeoisie. The latest issue of the *AFL-CIO Free Trade-Union News* (May 1978) has a front-page article, commenting on the Soviet workers, entitled "We Want to Tell of Our Unimaginable, Inhuman Suffering." The virulently anti-communist AFL-CIO draws the conclusion: "...it is now also increasingly clear that whereas the proletarians of most 'bourgeois' countries have fought for and won their workers' rights and material well-being, the workers in that bastion of Marxism the USSR—are still fettered by the most inhuman chains of social injustice and poverty."

On the left, the response has been more muted. But Eric Heffer, a leader of left Labour Party MP's, urged both the British trade unions and the International Labor Organization to press for an investigation of the Soviet unions. In a letter to the *Guardian* (19 March) Heffer attempted to distinguish himself from the right wing, whose ostensible support for the Soviet workers he termed the "height of hypocrisy." Heffer asserted that the Soviet worker dissidents "do not in any way want to restore capitalism or involve themselves in ideological conflict with the Soviet authorities, but simply demand to freely organize...." Meanwhile, the United Secretariat (USec), which indiscriminately lauds any expression of "dissent" in the deformed workers states, simply published information from the Amnesty International documents with no criticisms whatsoever. And the ostensibly Trotskyist French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) gave blanket political support to these dissident Soviet workers:

> "It is an imperative duty of the international workers movement to give its support, without reservations, to these courageous fighters for basic working-class freedom."
>
> —*Informations Ouvrières*, 12-19 April

Information about the Soviet workers' group is sparse, and it is doubtful that its membership is homogeneous. There have been reported conflicts between it and other dissidents. Klebanov says he was rebuffed by physicist Andrei Sakharov. "They consider themselves above us," he said, referring to the petty-bourgeois dissidents (*Washington Post*, 22 January). However, the spokesman of the "Committee for the Free Trade Union," Vsevolod Kuvakin, now says that "the cautious attitude shown by workers toward the intelligentsia has been overcome." In any case, at least tacitly the victimized workers have accepted the strategy of supporters of Western imperialism like Sakharov by addressing their appeals to the Belgrade conference, the ILO and anti-communist unions like the AFL-CIO. Thus they play into the hands of Jimmy Carter's "human rights" ideological offensive against the USSR.

Trotskyists defend victimized workers such as Klebanov and the others of his group against the bureaucratic arbitrariness and suppression by the Kremlin. And an integral part of our program for proletarian political revolution in the degenerated and deformed workers states is the struggle for unions free from state control—as opposed to the present Soviet "unions" which are simply one more arm of the bureaucracy (as is the "party" as well). Trade unions are necessary even in a healthy workers state to guard against possible encroachments and abuses by the government, as well as to help plan production, work methods, etc. But genuine trade unions and soviets governed by the norms of workers democracy will not be built through the intervention of the ILO (which includes the representatives of employers organizations and capitalist governments) and the Western imperialist powers (co-signatories of the Helsinki accords).

In the face of the fundamental hostility of the capitalist states to the very existence of the workers states, it is indispensable to distinguish between

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 207 26 May 1978

Koch Whipsaws City Workers

MAY 23—The schemes of New York City mayor Democrat Ed Koch to wrap up municipal contract talks with a settlement satisfactory to his masters in Citibank, Chase Manhattan and Washington, D.C. were temporarily forestalled last night. Koch's latest "offer" was so insulting that even veteran social-democratic doormat Victor Gotbaum, head of the Muncipal Labor Coalition, felt compelled to walk out of the negotiations. Moreover, Koch's hopes for speedy labor peace continue to be threatened as well by the volatile situation in Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 as hundreds of NYC transit workers rallied earlier this week to once again demand that the sellout contract, negotiated April 1, be voted down.

On the same day that the Koch administration unveiled its "sweetened" contract proposal to city employees, hundreds of angry black and white transit workers attended a May 17 rally, called by the Committee of Concerned Transit Workers (CCTW), at an uptown Manhattan American Legion Hall. At the meeting a drive was launched to recall the TWU Local 100 leadership. The following day a crowd of several hundred, including both transit workers and numerous supporters, showed up for a noontime demonstration at City Hall. Signs of the TWU militants read: "Six Percent Won't Pay My Rent," "Lay Off the Mayor, Not Us—Vote No!" and "Go Back to the Table, Koch—Stop the Bull."

The renewed turmoil in the TWU was kicked off by the city union contract negotiations and the announcement that the city was stepping up its original 6 percent wage offer to "8 or 9" percent. The mayor was treading on a minefield by upping the offer to city unions while the transit pact remained unsettled, but he was apparently desperate for a breakthrough in municipal labor talks to take with him to Washington. The new offer was made as the Koch administration, the state legislature and city labor bureaucrats scrambled to put together a last-minute package to satisfy the banks, who hold the pawn tickets on the Big Apple, and the Congressional overseers, who control the federal loan guarantees presently keeping the city afloat.

With the NYC treasury quickly running out of cash, Koch was supposed to be on his way to the capital this week to plead for $2 billion in loan guarantees from the Senate Banking Committee, in return for which Committee chairman William Proxmire was demanding state and city assurances on a new union-busting austerity package. This was to include prior settlement of the city-union contracts, holding the line on cutbacks extracted during the 1975-76 "default crisis"; long-term extension of the state-appointed Emergency Financial Control Board (EFCB), including its veto power over all city budgets and labor contracts; and an OK by Albany to issue $3 billion in new Big MAC (Municipal Assistance Corporation) bonds backed by the city's tax revenues.

To this end the ever cooperative Gotbaum/Shanker labor bureaucracy initially agreed on a new "self-imposed" May 20 negotiating deadline, five weeks in advance of official contract expiration dates. But Koch's hard line in the negotiations forced even these shameless capitulators to stomp out of the sessions to save face. Following the walkout Proxmire postponed the Banking Committee hearings until after Memorial Day, throwing the city's immediate financial picture into turmoil. And thereupon Koch announced that the city was postponing its May contribution to the union pension funds in order to meet this Thursday's payroll!

Coming into last week's talks, Koch had proposed a token increase in the wage package—a 4 percent increase in October 1978 and a final sum 18 months later—which does not even begin to compensate for the ravages of the past three years of wage freezes and layoffs. In fact, the current annual inflation rate is more than *double* the proposed raise. Moreover, this "sweetener" was offered only in exchange for $80 million in "givebacks" demanded by the city. The administration at various times has mentioned such possible takeaways as premium pay on weekends and holidays; uniform allowances; paid lunch hours, coffee breaks and wash-up time; holidays for giving blood, election day and Lincoln's birthday; night-shift differential, vacations and other benefits for part-time employees. But when Koch's "8-to-9" offer hardened into the "Eight Percent Solution," the union leadership demanded a concomitant

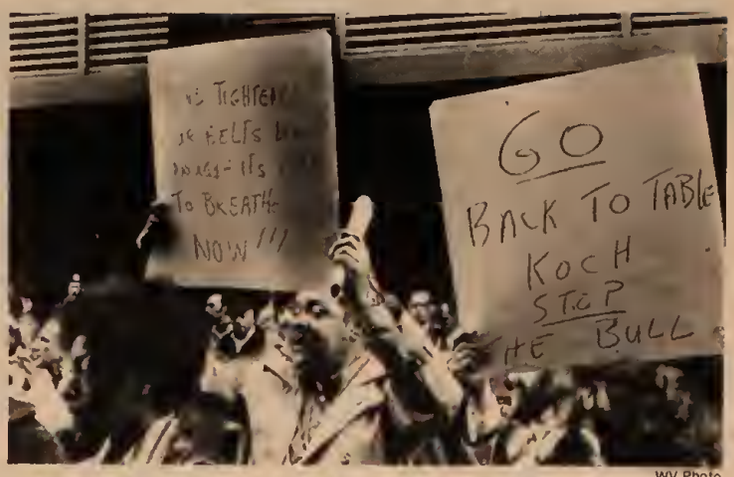
WV Photo

Ed Koch, posing as friend of labor, speaks at demonstration against transit fare hikes in 1975.

reduction in the "givebacks," and the talks broke down.

At the same time, Koch's attempt to play the "crisis" card by threatening renewed city bankruptcy backfired when union pension fund officials began to balk at a prior agreement to purchase some $683 million in unguaranteed city bonds. At press time the bankers and politicians were squabbling over the bond issue with Democratic assemblymen, who are hoping to conciliate the unions by offering to put the state's "moral commitment" behind the bonds while the bankers balked at doing even that. But the hottest issue has been Koch's move—negotiated in total secrecy—to extend the EFCB with its veto on labor contracts for the life of the new bond issue—some 17 to 30 years! The mayor's proposal was so inflammatory that many Albany legislators feared to pass it while the city labor contracts were still wide open.

Yet while even Democratic Party politicians were hesitating to endorse this outrageously anti-union package, city labor bureaucrats were seriously prepared to consider such a proposal or a modified version of the same. At first Municipal Labor Coalition spokesman Barry Feinstein, of Teamsters Local 237, asked only that a labor representative be included in the seven-man board and that the EFCB be empowered to throw out *only* those union contracts which violated the city's financial plans. If the labor fakers had even an ounce of backbone they would demand instead that Big MAC chief Felix Rohatyn, who is holding a gun to the unions' heads, be



WV Photo

Transit workers at May 18 rally near City Hall.

hauled into court on charges of armed robbery and extortion!

Koch's decision to up the city's wage offer threw a monkey wrench into the second attempt by the Transport Workers Union bureaucrats to slide their sellout contract through. The knowledge that all-time loser Victor Gotbaum had managed to hold out for an increase while the far more powerful TWU had settled for the city's first offer of a 6 percent wage hike (plus a 3 percent cost-of-living escalator tied to productivity) was enough to send the militant transit ranks up the wall. Thus TWU leaders Guinan and Lawe indefinitely called off the second mail ballot (the first "no" vote had been thrown out by the courts) on the grounds that the new city workers' contract offer might "confuse" the TWU membership.

At all costs the TWU hacks seek to avoid a subway and bus strike that would topple the whole shaky house of cards which makes up the EFCB/MAC/Koch "solution" to the fiscal "crisis." Fortunately for them they have the help of the Committe of Concerned Transit Workers, which has been just as dead set against a strike. CCTW supporters carried signs at the May 18 City Hall rally stating "A Vote to Reject is *Not* a Vote to Strike," and Committee leader Henry A. Lewis, Jr. delivered a long-winded anti-Guinan diatribe in which he not once criticized the TWU leadership for failing to call a strike or even to enforce the union's long-standing policy of "no contract, no work." Thus these demagogues proved once again that they share with the Local 100 bureaucracy above all the fear of the mobilization of the union ranks.

Moreover, while an earlier redbaiting attack launched by Guinan and Lawe failed to intimidate TWU militants into accepting the contract sellout, CCTW leaders capitulated to this anti-communism: "We are not communists, malcontents, radicals or spineless spoilers," proclaims a Committee leaflet circulated by supporters, who wear red, white and blue flags on their shirt pockets to prove it. Concerned Transit has also supplemented its anti-communism with a gross willingness to put the fate of the TWU in the hands of the capitalist courts, beginning with its suit against the union bureaucracy over the conduct of the contract balloting. A prominent speaker at Concerned Transit rallies and a member of the umbrella group, Coalition of Concerned Transit Workers, is Joe Carnegie, who six years ago initiated a suit to decertify the TWU. This suit is now before the state supreme court. The outrageous court action demands that the TWU be dumped as bargaining agent because of the leadership's refusal to sign a no-strike pledge, violating the union-busting Taylor Law!

The willingess of the reformist left to back the worst betrayals of bureaucratic union oppositions is epitomized by the uncritical support given to Concerned Transit by the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). While the SWP's *Militant* (5 May) praised the CCTW, which "has grown in prestige and authority among transit workers," SWP supporter and presidential candidate for AFSCME Local 1930 Ray Markey chimed in uncritically with the Concerned Transit leaders at the City Hall rally.

Despite the hosannas of fake-socialists, the would-be union busters of Concerned Transit offer no road for militant city workers to follow. A genuine class-struggle leadership in the New York labor movement would openly declare that a program to roll back the anti-labor offensive must begin by mobilizing the powerful TWU and city workers unions to strike against the Koch/Carey/Congress/bankers cabal. Militant trade unionists should demand an end to the cutbacks, cancellation of the city debt and expropriation of the blood-sucking financial barons. The way forward on this path can be taken only by smashing the traitorous labor bureaucrats—Guinan, Gotbaum, Shanker and the rest—who have "led" NYC workers from defeat to defeat. ■

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CIA Insider Spills the Beans

How U.S. Engineered Invasion of Angola

This appears to be the year for insider exposés of the CIA. In the wake of Frank Snepp's *Decent Interval*, an acid account of the American evacuation from Vietnam in 1975, Frank Stockwell, head of the CIA task force for covert operations in Angola in 1975-76, has delivered yet another scathing attack on the spy agency's incompetence and corruption. Stockwell's book, *In Search of Enemies* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1978) recounts with obvious panache a host of bureaucratic atrocities and stupidities, from the agency's worthless toys like ballpoint pens with invisible ink and edible, water-soluble note paper, to the dropping of firecrackers by agency planes on the outskirts of Luanda (a substitute for the guerrilla forays which nearby mercenary-led troops were unwilling to make).

Trying to clear his own culpability in the CIA's crimes, Stockwell writes that "It was not until the disclosures of the Church and Pike Committees in 1975 that I learned the full, shocking truth about my employers." But these protestations by a 12-year "Company" veteran ring somewhat hollow, leading an irate William Colby, CIA director at that time, to correctly observe: "He knew roughly what kind of organization he was joining. And if he says that suddenly it doesn't turn out to be the Boy Scouts, I think he was asking a little much" (*Washington Post*, 15 May 1978).

BOOK REVIEW
In Search of Enemies
by Frank Stockwell

What has drawn the interest of the bourgeois press, however, is Stockwell's charge that IAFEATURE (the code name for the Angolan task force) and Colby continually lied to Congress and even to the top-level Forty Committee (the State Department/Pentagon/White House body which monitors U.S. intelligence operations) concerning the actual scope of the CIA's intervention into Angola. At a time when the agency's illegal domestic spying and numerous assassination plots were the subject of Congressional scrutiny, CIA officials in Zaire conspired to conceal many of their activities from visiting Democratic senator Dick Clark, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Africa.

Typical of the post-Vietnam "reassessment" of U.S. foreign policy is the fact that only this CIA "freelancing" and the need for more control of intelligence agencies by the traditional branches of the bourgeois state are up for debate. The bourgeois press is a good deal less interested in the agency's claim it brought off the military coup which overthrew Ghana's pan-Africanist president Kwame Nkrumah in 1966, or in Stockwell's evidence that the CIA was directly involved in the 1961 murder of Patrice Lumumba, one-time prime minister of the newly-independent Congo (now Zaire). The U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence reported in 1975 that the CIA attempted to poison Lumumba. However, the Pike Committee report exonerated the agency from blame for his death, ascribed solely to Katangan secessionist leader Tshombé. Stockwell provides the missing link. A fellow CIA official admitted to him that he had driven around the capital of Katanga with Lumumba's corpse in the trunk of his car, trying to decide where to dispose of it.

While Stockwell's political views on the CIA amount to insipid (and suspect) liberalism—nothing beyond appeals to the Constitution—*In Search of Enemies* is valuable for the light it sheds on the nature of the fighting in Angola, a subject which sparked vehement debate on the American left. In particular, the information in Stockwell's book vindicates the unique position taken by the International Spartacist Tendency. When the civil war between the Front for the National Liberation of Angola (FNLA), the National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola (UNITA) and the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) erupted in mid-1975, the ISt pointed out that *prior to the departure of the Portuguese army in October 1975* there was no qualitative difference between the three rival nationalist groups:

> "But despite heavy foreign involvement the struggle remained essentially a three-cornered power struggle between rival petty-bourgeois nationalist formations. Within this framework, there was no way that Marxists could take sides politically among the contenders..."
> BT No. 85, 14 November 1975

The same article argued against the claims by the "critical Maoist" *Guardian* and other Third Worldists, as well as the Brezhnevite Communist Party that the "anti-imperialist" MPLA was committed to a struggle against the U.S.: "If Kissinger moves away from the FNLA, Neto is quite capable of pulling an Anwar Sadat-style switch, leaving Brezhnev to sue for breach-of-contract."

Norton

Agent Stockwell (left) standing next to Holden Roberto and Brazilian Army observer (center) in August 1975.

In Search of Enemies contains abundant information that the MPLA option was a real one for U.S. imperialism. The American consul general in Luanda, according to Stockwell, "believed that its leaders sincerely wanted a peaceful relationship with the United States." During the height of the fighting, Gulf Oil paid the MPLA $116 million in royalties and was blocked by the CIA and the State Department from paying an additional $202 million in December 1975. Boeing was similarly blocked from consummating a deal with the MPLA. A delegation from the Angolan national airline flew to Washington to lobby for the release of the planes Boeing had contracted to supply. They were accompanied by the chief of the CIA station in Luanda, who argued that "the MPLA was best qualified to run the country, that it was not demonstrably hostile to the United States, and that the United States should make peace with it as quickly as possible."

Noting that "American technicians and businessmen were still welcome despite the war, the Cubans and the antagonism between the United States and the MPLA," it is Stockwell's contention that the American intervention merely drove the MPLA into the arms of the Cuban and Soviet Stalinists. Stockwell observes: "Apart from ideological trappings, he [FNLA head Holden Roberto] and [MPLA leader] Neto preached the same things for Angola" i.e., the same "anti-imperialist" verbiage spouted by most of the aspiring black African bourgeoisie. As for Kissinger's initial game plan—simply calling for sufficient military aid to the FNLA and UNITA to prevent an easy victory by the MPLA—it was doomed to failure, concludes Stockwell. And it is hard to escape the impression that the agent's "disillusionment" with the CIA was essentially the product of being handed this no-win assignment.

The information presented in *In Search of Enemies* is a devastating refutation not only of Kissinger's Cold War presuppositions, but of the parallel attempts by Peking-loyal Maoists to blame "Soviet social imperialist" aggression for the U.S.-backed South African/mercenary invasion. The Chinese had begun to provide arms to the FNLA in *1973*, and the first group of Chinese advisers arrived in Zaire to train the FNLA in May 1974. Two months later, the first CIA funds arrived (beyond the annual retainer which Roberto had been receiving since the early 1960's). However, it was not until January 1975 that the Forty Committee authorized such payments. In contrast:

> "Although allied with the MPLA through the early seventies, the Soviets had shut off their support in 1973. Only in March 1975 did the Soviet Union begin significant arms shipments to the MPLA. Then, in response to the Chinese and American programs, and the FNLA's successes, it launched a massive airlift."

After visiting the battle lines in August 1975, Stockwell concluded: "The opposing forces in northern Angola, the MPLA as well as the FNLA, were poorly armed, poorly led, and disorganized, offering us the opportunity for a quick coup." This opportunity soon materialized, and in October a South African armored column swept north, linking up with UNITA forces in a drive on Luanda. Simultaneously, a Zairean/Cabindan puppet force stiffened with French mercenaries attacked the MPLA-controlled enclave of Cabinda, while FNLA/Zairean troops mounted a renewed offensive in northern Angola. While Stockwell denies that the South African attack was instigated by the United States, he does detail the close CIA collaboration with Vorster's invading force:

> "Thus without any memos being written at CIA headquarters saying 'let's coordinate with the South Africans,' coordination was effected at all CIA levels and the South Africans escalated their involvement in step with our own."

Furthermore, Stockwell describes how

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Slagado/Gamma-Liaison

Angolan demonstrators call for "Death to Mercenaries" outside trial of captured mercenaries in 1976.

UAW—Defend Strike Militants!

Ford Fires 17 as Romeo Strike Defeated

DETROIT, May 18—A week-old wildcat at Ford's Tractor Plant in Romeo, Michigan was called off today after a stormy two-and-a-half hour emergency union meeting attended by 900 members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 400. Faced with the company's hard-lining "no negotiations" stance, its firing of 17 of the strikers and threats of a court injunction, the strikers were stabbed in the back by Local and International UAW leaders who refused to sanction their strike and ordered them back to work. In the absence of an authoritative alternative to these sell-outs, the strikers succumbed to the threats and cajoling of UAW International Executive Board member and Region 1-B director Ken Morris, who chaired the meeting and managed to get a four-to-one vote to return to work the following Monday.

Workers at the meeting told *WV* afterwards that Morris was barely able to get out a few initial words before he was drowned out by angry shouts from the floor; "Where were you the last four years?" and "How come we had to go out on a wildcat to get you down here?" For the next hour-and-a-half one striker after another took the floor to detail mountains of backlogged grievances, dangerous working conditions and unmitigated management harassment, encouraged by the complete failure of the union leadership to do a thing about any of it.

The outgoing Local 400 leadership, headed by Local president Joe Peters, was so discredited by its pro-company policies and its complete abandoning of the wildcatters that none of the Local officers dared to speak. International UAW representative Frank Napoli sought to divert the workers' rage away from the International by scapegoating Peters (who was dumped in elections two weeks ago), saying, "You can't blame anybody here because you voted them into local office."

Strikers outside Ford's Romeo Tractor plant May 12. WV Photo

Putting on a born-yesterday act, Morris told newsmen later that, "Some of the things we heard in there from our members this morning are horrendous." The International bigwig promised a "crash grievance program" and a strike vote meeting within two weeks—after demoralization from the defeated wildcat has had a chance to sink in. Even with a successful strike vote later, Solidarity House could still refuse to authorize a strike. The UAW tops have, in fact, used this same ploy repeatedly to end wildcats in the past. The hinted-at "official" strike seldom materializes.

As the hundreds of strikers filed out of the meeting hall, many wore expressions of bitterness and frustration. They had kept production shut down for a week at the Romeo plant, Ford's only tractor facility in North America, with only a handful of production workers entering the plant—only to confront the treachery of their own elected officials. They knew that they were returning to work with no gains and with many of the militants sacrificed to Ford's wrath. One striker yelled to newsmen, "There's been 17 men who have been sold out by the UAW!" But this defeat will affect more than just those fired. It is another signal by the UAW hierarchy to the Big Three auto barons—and to hundreds of thousands of auto workers—that no resistance to back-breaking speedup, grueling overtime and arbitrary harassment will be tolerated.

Both Ford and the UAW bureaucrats feared that a victory at Romeo would have inspired auto workers at a time when the temperature is rising in

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Deportation Threat Means Shah Torture Chambers

Chicago Cops Arrest 173 at ISA Demo

CHICAGO—In the largest mass arrest here since the 1968 Democratic Party Convention, 200 riot-equipped Chicago cops seized 173 anti-Shah protesters—nearly *all* of those demonstrating in front of the Iranian Consulate on May 16. The pretext for the mass cop assault was supplied by right-wing Iranian provocateurs (following a now familiar pattern), whom many of the protesters believe to be part of the Shah's secret police, the hated SAVAK.

The victims of this apparently coordinated SAVAK-Chicago cop provocation are in the main supporters of the wing of the Iranian Students Association (ISA) which publishes the Chicago *Resistance*. Eleven of the demonstrators were held on frame-up misdemeanor charges of "battery" on a cop. Conviction could result in a year in prison. But the mass arrest was so patently an official criminal provocation that the cops didn't even bother to trump up charges against the other 162. While the eleven who face trial were released on bail of $1,000 each, the rest were turned over to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to face deportation hearings—where they will have to prove their "right" to be in the U.S.

These arrests and INS hearings pose grave dangers for Iranian militants. If deported to Iran they will undoubtedly be thrown into the Shah's grisly torture chambers, where a quick death is often a lesser evil. Even simply to be identified as a militant opponent of the gilded torturer of Teheran endangers family and friends living under Iran's "white revolution" of state terror.

Thus the 162 demonstrators locked up in the INS offices refused *en masse* to reveal their names. Although jammed into overcrowded tanks, threatened with deportation and ten days of imprisonment in the INS lockup, the militant Iranian students held fast and refused to turn over their names. In response to this militancy, INS director John Wentling was forced to release them the following day, after their resistance had paralyzed all other operations in the office.

The detained anti-Shah protesters have good reason to keep their identities secret from any agency of the U.S. government. Extensive cooperation and information-sharing between U.S. agencies and SAVAK has been documented in the bourgeois press; everyone now knows what the ISAers have known for years—any information in the U.S. cops get on left-wing Iranian students soon finds its way into the files of the Shah's thugs and assassins.

This latest massive arrest, the deportation threats and the escalating persecution nationwide of left-wing Iranians make their defense urgent! The Gestapo tactics of the SAVAK and the criminal mass arrest of these opponents of the Shah must be met with a powerful defense movement capable of stopping these outrageous provocations. The Chicago labor movement must not stand by while an *entire demonstration* is carted away by the cops! Along with the left and other anti-Shah forces, the labor movement should mobilize demonstrations demanding: Drop the Charges! No Deportations—For political asylum for all left-wing opponents of the butcher Shah!

Cops and SAVAK

The ISA charges conspiracy between the Chicago cops and SAVAK—not without cause. The May 16 mass arrest is the peak of a six-month campaign of provocations against leftist Iranian students. The ISA has identified the agents provocateurs in Chicago as right-wing Iranians George Youssefi and Farshid Maham, who head up an outfit known as the "International Organization of Patriotic Iranians."

Maham was the provocateur in the latest arrests, using a tactic he applied at least once before, at the Central YMCA College in Chicago last November. Walking through the anti-Shah demonstrators, he shouted pro-Shah slogans and physically threatened them, trying to precipitate a fight; when the cops arrived, he claimed he had been beaten. At the May 16 consulate demonstration, the cops arrived *one minute* after Maham had begun his act! Now it is Maham who is pressing criminal charges against the demonstrators.

Maham and Youssefi have roamed the streets of Chicago, with police protection, piling up a despicable record of threats, beatings, armed confrontations, infiltration and setups against the ISA. There is little doubt that their filthy work is aided by the Chicago cops, who often act as uniformed goons for them. ISA lawyers Jeffrey Hass and Edward Voci have documented more than 50 incidents of harassment involving Youssefi, Maham and other pro-Shah elements, and the Chicago cops. Since the beginning of this year alone they list, among others, the following:

—January 6: Youssefi and Maham threaten to destroy a restaurant which displayed ISA literature.

—January 18: Two Iranian students walking on Wells Street are beaten by Youssefi and Maham. Police tactical officers overrule the cops at the scene and arrest the beaten students.

—February 6: Youssefi and an unidentified American sit on either side of an Iranian student at a restaurant and threaten him. They leave with two uniformed cops.

—February 9: Youssefi and another thug beat and threaten to kill an Iranian student as he walks down a residential street.

The bloody Shah has found a number of good friends in Chicago to help whip up anti-ISA hysteria. The University of Illinois Chicago Circle (UICC) campus administration (already infamous for its harassment of leftist teachers, organizations and prosecution of Spartacus Youth League spokesman Sandor John) has amply aided the SAVAK's designs. Following a recent confrontation on the UICC campus between Iranian students and suspected SAVAK agents, the administration sent a letter to every Iranian student at Circle threatening them with "police and legal action." According to an ISA "Open Letter," the administration further threatened that any "violation" of university regulations would result in informing the INS—an action which could result in deportation.

On the day after the mass arrests Maham tried to stir up the witchhunt atmosphere further with a leaflet seeking to exploit the anti-terrorist hysteria over the Red Brigades: "Americans wake up! Don't let the ISA turn America into another Italy!" Maham's leaflets aren't likely to have much effect, but the Shah has far more powerful friends. The most revolting comment on the mass arrests was offered by Bob Wiedrich, a right-wing columnist for the influential *Chicago Tribune* (21 May).

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Ten Years After Assassination

BOURGEOISIE CELEBRATES KING'S LIBERAL PACIFISM

Ten years after he was assassinated in Memphis nearly every black ghetto in the U.S. has its renamed Martin Luther King Avenue, its King school and asphalt playground. The day of his birth is now institutionalized as a national holiday. Young black schoolchildren are carefully taught the political gospel of M.L. King, Jr as the martyred embodiment of the civil rights movement the prophet of "non-violence" and "patient moderation" which all black people who yearn for equality ought to follow.

It is no wonder then that the tenth anniversary of his murder has been the occasion for further mythology. It does not seem to matter to the mythmakers that the ghetto school named in his honor is probably less integrated today than it was ten years ago, that the parents of its black schoolchildren are more likely to be unemployed, that their housing is even less habitable and more expensive; and most of all, that the future of these ghetto youth in racist capitalist America appears even more desperate as their jobless rate climbs above 50 percent.

While the anniversary of the King assassination is the perfect occasion for mythologizing, it is indicative that this year the festivities were actually *smaller* than ever. The purpose of the celebrations has always been to dilute the memory of that original "Martin Luther King Day" which sent shivers of fear through America's ruling class: the ghetto explosions which swept the country upon the news of his death. On the night of 4 April 1968 hundreds of thousands of black people took to the streets, leaderless and without political focus, in outrage over the cold-blooded murder of the man who was seen as the leader of blacks in struggle against their oppression. A nervous bourgeoisie once pushed this holiday as a diversion and cheap concession to an enraged minority population. But as the specter of a political mobilization of the ghetto masses against their oppressors has grown dimmer, even "saints" like Martin Luther King become expendable.

The ten-years-after assessments are not able to completely cover up reality, so they have sounded this refrain. King brought us a long way—we've got a long way to go (presumably along that same "glory road"). The major chord is that King and the liberal civil rights movement won increased democratic rights, and the minor chord is the rendition of the "economic miracle" of a racially harmonious "New South." Thus the *New York Times* (3 and 4 April) published a two-part article entitled, "The Legacy of Martin Luther King," in which the "New South that King made" is presented as a bouquet of fresh liberal magnolias and black elected officials:

> "A street named for Dr King in Selma, racial harmony in Birmingham, burgeoning black power in Atlanta: These are the triumphs of political change in the South."

The important and real partial gains made for blacks during this period exist largely in the realm of *formal* democratic rights resulting in desegregation of public facilities, voter registration as well as a degree of school integration. But even the liberals must acknowledge that these real gains have not eliminated the "handicap" of being black in white capitalist America. Down the street from the office of Atlanta's black mayor, Maynard Jackson, the unemployed still hang out in doorways. And as a veteran civil rights activist interviewed for the *New York Times* "Legacy" article bitterly remarked, "What good is a seat in the front of the bus if you don't have the money for the fare?"

The fact is that the "social miracle" of the "New South" is based on the old refrain of the "community of interest" between oppressor and oppressed, one which harks back to the days when the plantation owners insisted that, unlike cutthroat Northern capitalists, they "took care" of their slaves. More currently the working premise is that what is good for business is good for the poor. If Jimmy Carter is the supreme being of the "New South," and Martin Luther King its messiah, the non-unionized workers remain outcasts in this land of milk and honey. "Racial harmony" is today enforced by "black power" Mayor Jackson who smashed the 1977 strike by Atlanta's largely black sanitation workers with a brutality that rivaled Bull Connor.

Leonard Freed

Self-serving King mythmaking is by no means restricted to the liberals whose purpose is rather obvious. Reformists on the left have joined this pilgrimage to the King shrine to stay in close touch with the "progressive forces" they tailed then and now. They add left "miracle stories" to the case for liberal canonization. And there is an odd intersection of the liberal and reformist myths with regard to King's assassination. For different reasons they both agree he died just in time.

Certainly the most cynical statement on the subject was made by the purest product of that movement—the King aide who made it to the top as black front man for U.S. imperialism. As Andrew Young said in a 1977 *Playboy* interview about King's assassination:

> "He was very fortunate really. It was a blessing. Martin had done all he could. He was misunderstood. God decided Martin had had enough. It was time to go on home and claim his reward."

Of course, Andy Young (whose readiness to sell out was so famous that even King jocularly called him "Tom") claimed his reward in a more temporal realm, at the doorstep of the capitalist class. For the liberals King's murder makes it somewhat easier to blame the failure of the civil rights movement on an assassin's bullet rather than on their own political misleadership. After all, what kind of symbol would King have made had he lived on? His pacifism was utterly discredited by the ghetto explosions, his preaching of reliance on the capitalist state was exposed as the federal troops bloodily suppressed these upheavals. As a preacher of poisonous bourgeois ideology King had lost his credibility and thus outlived his usefulness to the ruling class.

For its part the reformist left has a different reason for feeling it was a blessing King died when he did. The Communist Party (CP), for instance, claims that King was shot down just as he was embarking upon a revolutionary course. His last trip to Memphis to support the sanitation workers' strike and his opposition to the Vietnam war are cited as proof positive of his growing partisanship on the side of the working class. King did come out against the war, if only for a negotiated settlement, and that opposition was to cost him his privileged relationship with LBJ. Undoubtedly King was feeling pressure from more militant black SNCC youth who saw Vietnam as a racist war. However, he anticipated the important current of bourgeois defeatism in demanding that the guns for Vietnam be replaced by government butter for the black poor. "The Great Society has been shot down on the battlefields of Vietnam," he said in New York City.

But to hear the CP tell the story, you would think King was some sort of crypto-Marxist by the time he goes to Memphis:

> "He guided the movement for liberation. He began to see the relationship between the class struggle and the struggle for equal rights. He also saw these struggles as part of the world-wide struggle against imperialism—U.S. imperialism in the first place."
> —*Daily World*, 1 April 1978

This sounds more like the M.L. King of J. Edgar Hoover's imagination than the one who actually existed. In fact, King would be no more suitable for such an honored place in the "progressive pantheon" than is Ralph Abernathy had he lived to slosh around in the mud in front of the Capitol in the "Poor People's Tent City." The fact is that the civil rights movement had died *before* King was shot. This is what makes his death so "timely" for Andrew Young, the CP and others who want to cash in on the moral capital of the "good old days" without taking responsibility for the failure of that movement.

The central theme of the bourgeoisie's hosannahs to Martin Luther King is to present him as the symbol of a civil rights movement that went from success to success by the good old American way of pressure politics. The present condition of the ghetto populace is sufficient proof of the emptiness of this fairy tale. In fact King produced defeats every time he directly confronted the economic roots of black oppression. And from early on the preacher of non-violence and reliance on the liberals was challenged by more militant forces in "the movement." The tragedy was that none of the forces in the emerging left wing of the civil rights movement had grasped a political program which could mobilize a united proletarian army to liberate all the oppressed, by

smashing the capitalist system which forges the chains of their oppression

Doculie

By far the most publicized media event was Abby Mann's *King*, broadcast last February over national TV for six hours on three successive nights. Even before it was shown, objections to the program were heard from disciples who feared the King image was not being properly worshipped. Along with Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) president emeritus Ralph Abernathy, Hosea Williams objected to his diminished role and tried unsuccessfully to organize a national boycott of the production. Supporters of Mann's version included Andrew Young, Coretta King and her lawyer, Stanley Levison, all of whom are portrayed as playing key roles in the TV "docudrama." But for all the squabbling there was no disagreement over what ought to be the purpose of the program. As Williams said, "Our preoccupation is that King be presented as the greatest peaceful warrior of the 20th Century. That's all" (*Politics*, 14 February).

That's all? Mann's failure to take into account the left wing of the civil rights movement brought more serious objections from a number of ex-Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) members. Mann said he "understands" the criticisms made by the former SNCC members (who organized some of the projects Mann attributes solely to King). But he added in his defense: "This is the kind of film Martin Luther King wanted" (*New York Times*, 16 February). He's probably right about that.

Certainly the TV "docudrama" is the appropriate genre for slickly packaged contemporary myth-making. Its discomfiting mix of fact and fiction, data and impression, history and fantasy all serve to blur rather than clarify an already obscured reality. It captures the cynicism of post-Watergate liberalism with its syndrome of exposure and cover-up and ultimate unanswered questions. *King* focuses on the government's targeting of black leaders, particularly the FBI's criminal COINTELPRO program whose first commandment was: "Prevent the rise of a black messiah."

In Abby Mann's *King* the liberal view of the FBI is given melodramatic import with J. Edgar Hoover portrayed as the arch-paranoid villain sitting stone-stiff in a dark room clenching his teeth and planning to get King. No doubt this is true. As FBI agent Arthur Murtaugh of the Atlanta field office later told Kennedy assassination buff Mark Lane (in an interview for his book, *Code Name "Zorro"*): "The concentration of effort against King was greater than any single investigation that I saw take place at the Bureau and I saw a lot of them in twenty years."

Selma to Montgomery: Alabama state troopers attack march on Pettus Bridge. King turned the next march around with a prayer.

But it is not the whole truth. Relying on Lane's research and theories, Mann paints a dark picture of the FBI to whitewash the role of the liberal government. In an early segment when then-president John Kennedy is asked what the government will do about attacks on civil rights activists, he says: "We'll do what we always do. Nothing." Fair enough. But by the end of the program John and his attorney general brother, Bobby, have been cast as warriors against Hoover, the FBI and the Ku Klux Klan. This post-Watergate convention of the mortal combat between Hoover and Camelot is phony in *King* and in history.

Far from being reluctant "good guys" the liberals differed with Hoover over *tactical* assessments on how to best contain the struggle for black equality. The government's attack on the black movement, particularly against its most militant sectors such as the Black Panther Party, was so intensive and widespread that to suggest it was done without the knowledge of Kennedy or Johnson is ludicrous. Indeed, liberal columnist Carl Rowan wrote that Hoover had leaked word to the press that Bobby Kennedy had authorized wire-taps on King's phone, a charge he repeated in a 19 June 1968 interview in the *Washington Star*. But while for Hoover the "black messiah" had to be stopped by any means necessary, the liberals increasingly saw King as the man most capable of containing the civil rights movement within the bounds of liberal pacifism. The more the masses threatened to break out of these bonds, the more the liberals supported King against spokesmen for more militant strategies.

Yet by the late 1960's the mood of the black population had become so explosive that a fearful bourgeoisie tended to allow Hoover a freer hand. After Harlem, Watts, Newark and Detroit went up in flames, *any* black leadership began to seem a threat. And so they were systematically put out of action or simply "eliminated." Malcolm X had already been assassinated, SNCC leader Rap Brown was in jail; within a year Chicago Black Panthers Mark Clark and Fred Hampton would be murdered in their beds, while Newton, Cleaver and Seale were hounded with arrests.

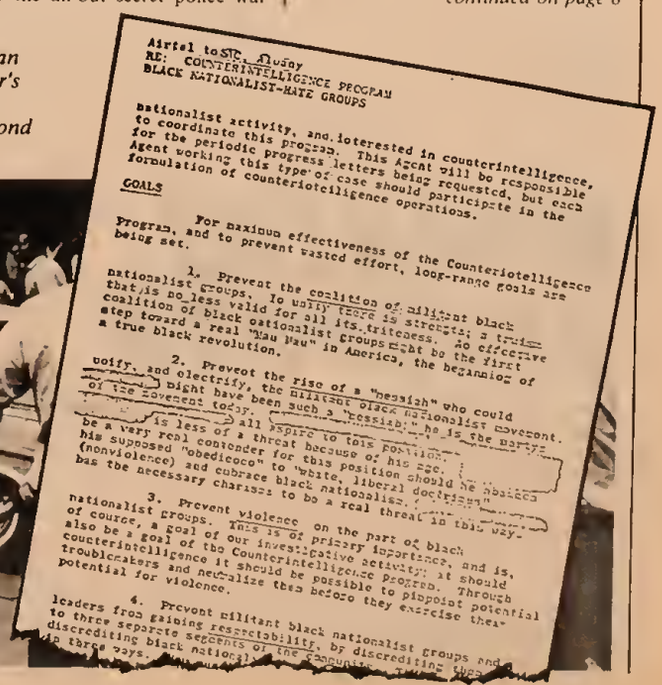
We may never know how much of the post-Watergate liberal speculation about FBI involvement in the King assassination is fact and how much conspiratorial paranoia. But it is certainly proper to make the sinister connection with the government's search-and-destroy missions against the black movement. We demand to know the whole truth about the King assassination, the murder of Malcolm X and the all-out secret police war against the Black Panther Party! Instead we are dished up post-Watergate apologia for pacifist liberalism.

From Montgomery to Washington

The Mann docudrama presents its hero as the leader of a long march of stunning victories for the black masses. But the truth is that Martin Luther King did not begin the civil rights struggle in the U.S. And he certainly did not make possible the partial gains that characterize its early years. After World War II, the government found formal Jim Crow segregation increasingly embarrassing. It stood in stark contradiction to the integration of masses of black workers into the industrial proletariat of the cities; and it exposed U.S. pretensions as champion of a "Free World" both in the Cold War with Russia and in the jockeying for influence in decolonizing Africa. By 1947 the U.S. military and all departments of the federal government were desegregated, and when black soldiers came back from integrated units in Korea they swore they would no longer submit to Jim Crow. Even before the 1954 Brown vs. Board of Education decision, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) had won a

continued on page 8

If King couldn't bury civil rights militancy in liberal pacifism, the racist American bourgeoisie was more than willing to bury it with guns, clubs and hoses. Hoover's COINTELPRO memo (right) drips with the blood of martyred black leaders (Malcolm X, Fred Hampton and others) who sought to lead the movement beyond King's politics of liberal prostration. Below, Birmingham 1963.



Airtel to SAC, Albany
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

nationalist activity, and interested in counterintelligence, to coordinate this program. This Agent will be responsible for the periodic progress letters being requested, but each Agent working this type of case should participate in the formulation of counteriotelligence operations.

GOALS

For maximum effectiveness of the Counteriotelligence Program, and to prevent wasted effort, long-range goals are being set.

1. Prevent the coalition of militant black nationalist groups. To unify there is strength; a truism that is no less valid for all its triteness. An effective coalition of black nationalist groups might be the first step toward a real "Mau Mau" in America, the beginning of a true black revolution.

2. Prevent the rise of a "messiah" who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement. Such a messiah might have been such a "messiah" he is the martyr of the movement today. [illegible] all aspire to this position [illegible] is less of a threat because of his age. [illegible] be a very real contender for this position should he abandon his supposed "obedience" to "white, liberal doctrines" (nonviolence) and embrace black nationalism. [illegible] has the necessary charisma to be a real threat in this way.

3. Prevent violence on the part of black nationalist groups. This is of primary importance, and is, of course, a goal of our investigative activity; it should also be a goal of the Counterintelligence program. Through counterintelligence it should be possible to pinpoint potential troublemakers and neutralize them before they exercise their potential for violence.

4. Prevent militant black nationalist groups and leaders from gaining respectability, by discrediting them to three separate segments of the community. [illegible] discrediting black nationalist [illegible] in three ways. [illegible]

M.L. King...

(continued from page 7)

number of legal victories for school desegregation in the South.

It was with the arrest of Rosa Parks in Montgomery, Alabama in 1955 that the movement that became known as the civil rights movement dramatically overtook NAACP legalism and led to the year-long bus boycott. It was also the event that thrust Martin Luther King to center stage as a national spokesman of pacifist "direct action" for black equality. Contrary to popular myth it was not King, but Ralph Abernathy, a less polished Montgomery preacher at a less esteemed church, who was the driving force behind the boycott. Abernathy, E.D. Nixon (of the local NAACP and Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters) and others pushed King, the "new boy" preacher of the prestigious Dexter Avenue Church into the leadership of the boycott for reasons of security. As he himself confirmed in his book, *Stride Toward Freedom*, "I neither started the protest nor suggested it," adding in messianic terms, "I simply responded to the call of the people for a spokesman."

Rather than a spokesman for the people, in Montgomery King became the spokesman for the policy of reliance on the federal government with a new cover of Gandhian passive resistance. As religious philosophy it is claptrap, but in the mouth of a Gandhi or King it was the bleating of the Judas goat. King wrote in the mid-1950's

> "The Negro all over the South must come to the point that he can say to his white brother 'We will match your capacity to inflict suffering with our capacity to endure suffering. We will meet your physical force with soul force. We will not hate you, but we will not obey your evil laws. We will soon wear you down by pure capacity to suffer'."
>
> quoted in David L. Lewis, *King: A Critical Biography* (1970)

While King preached that the non-violent resister had "cosmic companionship" in his struggle for justice, it was clear that he saw as temporal political companions the liberal capitalist government and its courts. After a year of unyielding struggle by Montgomery's blacks, it must have seemed to King part of the cosmic order of justice when the Supreme Court declared the local laws requiring segregated seating on buses unconstitutional. A voice from the back of the adjournment proceedings is reported to have cried out, "God Almighty has spoken from Washington, D.C."

In Abby Mann's *King* the Montgomery bus boycott ends victoriously with the hero stepping aboard the newly integrated bus and the "New South" takes off. Coretta King's voice is heard as the bus pulls away:

> "When Martin boarded that bus—the first integrated bus—he felt as though he were Columbus discovering America. It seemed to him then, anything was possible."

King was riding high with his sermons on "soul force" and the "capacity to suffer," but Montgomery blacks were left to face the racist flak—courageously, but tactically, politically and morally disarmed. Following the Supreme Court decision the racist terrorists crawled from their ratholes, put on their sheets and picked their black targets. The KKK staged a provocative nighttime torchlit procession into the black neighborhoods. Black churches were burned to the ground. Buses were attacked and burned in a campaign of terror. Even King's house was dynamited; but angry blacks who rose to his defense (and their own) calling for protest action were told by King to love their enemies.

It was in Birmingham in 1963 that the pacifism of King and the SCLC was exposed in blood and death. Mann's *King* recreates the indelible images of that time—Bull Connor and his storm-troopers; the police dogs set loose upon the crowd; the firehoses set at pressures sufficient to strip off tree bark, hurling children up against the walls. But these dramatic scenes are only part of the story. Mann glosses over the black population's fighting response to Connor and the racist thugs. In Birmingham King's non-violent philosophy was junked by the black masses who with sticks, rocks, knives and bottles fought back against the racists in the streets. It was at that moment—and not before—that Kennedy sent troops to bases outside the city and announced that he had taken steps to federalize the Alabama National Guard.

In Birmingham, pacifist persuasion was put away, but not before that tragic Sunday morning, 15 September 1963, when a bomb exploded in the Sixth Avenue Baptist Church that would put four little black girls into their graves. For his part, King remained loyal to his god and his saviors in the government. And the government recognized it had a loyal representative in the field. Even when his brother's home was bombed, King continued to "marvel" at how blacks could express "hope and faith" in moments of such tragedy.

Just how loyal King was to the Democratic Party was proved that summer in the fabled March on Washington. In Mann's *King* and all King mythology the March on Washington is taken as the victorious high point of "the movement." In fact it was here that King helped engineer a "mass" political defeat for the cause of black liberation, treacherously tying it to the Democratic Party. The numbers were certainly impressive, and so was the participation of every important civil rights organization along with the liberal wing of the union bureaucracy, most notably Walter Reuther's United Auto Workers. Marxists call for mobilizing the power of the organized working class as key to winning democratic rights for the oppressed. But this was not what the March on Washington was about. Rather it was an attempt to channel the movement into pressure politics for the passing of the civil rights bill and to cement ties with the Democratic Party.

Even the most conservative civil rights leaders initially saw the march as a means to put the heat on the Kennedy administration, which was dragging its heels on the bill and other anti-discrimination legislation. But when Kennedy called in the "representative leaders" for a conference, they quickly changed their minds. They changed their destination from the White House to the Lincoln Memorial, issued a new march handbook deleting a "statement to the president" and the call to confront the Congressmen. They specifically denied participation to "subversive" groups and censored all speeches. Although John Lewis of SNCC was invited to speak, he was pressured into deleting from his prepared text the following sentence: "We cannot depend on any political party for both Democrats and Republicans have betrayed the basic principles of the Declaration of Independence."

Although the 1964 Civil Rights Act was a supportable declaration of minimal democratic rights, the march was meant to build support for precisely that party whose purpose was to sabotage any attempt by blacks to gain those rights. Characterizing the march as the "Farce on Washington," Malcolm X wrote of the period which King came to see as the high point of his career:

> "In '63 it was the march on Washington. In '64, what was it? The civil-rights bill. Right after they passed the civil-rights bill they murdered a Negro in Georgia and did nothing about it, murdered two whites and a Negro in Mississippi and did nothing about it. So that the civil-rights bill has produced nothing where we're concerned. It was only a valve, a vent, that was designed to enable us to let off our frustrations. But the bill itself was not designed to solve our problems."
>
> George Breitman, ed., *Malcolm X Speaks* (1965)

It was the felt need for a program to "solve our problems" which led to the emergence of a left wing in the civil rights movement which challenged King.

Civil Rights Movement Divided

One of the more pernicious aspects of the King myth is the treatment of the civil rights movement as a continuous parade of victories with little or no challenge to King's leadership and philosophy of non-violence. Here Abby Mann makes a most worshipful offering to that idol of liberalism at the expense of truth. For Mann the entire political struggle against liberal pacifism is reduced to an anachronistic dialogue between King and Malcolm X in which the latter is portrayed as a charming demon of defeat while King is the inch-by-inch realist. Basically, the liberals put into the mouth of Malcolm a strategy for race war and allow King to point out that such a strategy would amount to race suicide. In fact it was not race war, but collective self-defense that was the issue for Malcolm X, for Robert Williams, the Deacons for Defense and many others.

Through "creative editing," *King* fails to show that not only was its hero opposed by more militant, courageous activists, but that he was also pushed by the left wing of the civil rights movement into many actions for which he is now given credit. Mann gives SNCC the most cursory mention, buried under a mountain of King rhetoric, as the militant wing of the civil rights movement. And the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), which organized the first freedom rides, is not mentioned at all.

But history is different from "docu-drama" and the developing split was to become all important to the fate of the civil rights movement. The fight was only partly generational, and at root ideological. Certainly at the beginning SNCC was a creature of the SCLC and (as its name clearly indicates) accepted its non-violent strategy. But unlike King many of the SNCC, CORE and NAACP youth council members were not committed to non-violence as an inviolable religious principle. They tended to accept King's strategy as good coin, and while they had illusions in the federal government, their real commitment was to the struggle for democratic rights for black people. Thus from the same events they learned different lessons from the preachers! When the social explosions of the mid-1960's occurred they identified with the aspirations of the black masses while King feared for the bourgeois order.

As early as the April 1960 Raleigh, North Carolina youth conference—out of which SNCC would emerge—King was already warning that "the tactics of non-violence without the spirit of non-violence may become a new kind of violence." And by the following year during the confrontation in Albany, Georgia ("one of the meanest little towns" in Carter country) King had even more reason to be suspicious of the students—and they of him.

It was here that the students saw that despite King's capacity to land thousands of activists in the jails, he was unable to dent the stone wall of racist reaction. In midsummer 1961, after sustained and repeated racist attacks, with 3,000 Klansmen massed outside town, the protesters began to fight back. As he did so often in the future, King called for a "moratorium" on action. And the militant black youth began to refer to him derisively as "De Lawd."

But it was at Selma, Alabama in 1965 that the tensions came to a head on the Pettus Bridge. In the face of King's betrayal the song, "Ain't Gonna Let Nobody Turn Me 'Round," rang with painful irony for the returning marchers. Responding to Justice Department pressure, King stopped the Selma-to-Montgomery march, knelt in prayer and turned it around. With Selma there was open talk of King as sellout and coward. To the song, "We Shall Overcome," the young militants began to counterpose "We Shall Overrun."

King Goes North

It was in Chicago in 1966 that the premises of the liberal civil rights movement came most clearly into explosive collision with economic and social reality. Northern ghetto blacks had lived with "equality under the law" for years, and it was abundantly clear that King had no program to fight the causes of racial discrimination rooted deep in the economic and social structure of capitalist society. And despite the reformists' claim that King was moving left when death overtook him, what grew out of the Northern experience was not a turn toward the working class, but Jesse Jackson's "Operation Breadbasket," the quintessence of black capitalism.

By the time King arrived in Chicago the civil rights movement was already irreversibly divided, not the least over the ghetto upheavals which had burst upon the political scene. The emerging black nationalists were enraged by the support King and the preachers gave to the vicious police repression. As King said of Watts, "It was necessary that as powerful a police force as possible be brought in to check them" (*New York Times*, 16 August 1965).

While talking in vague terms about attacking *economic* problems, King simultaneously launched an attack against his left flank, striking out against "violence" in the black movement. He had already directed his fire at CORE's stall-in at the 1964 New York World's Fair and a trip to Harlem that year had resulted in his car being pelted with rotten eggs while the crowd chanted, "We Want Malcolm." He knew he would not get much besides suspicion from CORE and SNCC in his Palmer House negotiations with Mayor Daley.

The most subtle apology for King's liberalism comes from those who agree that the civil rights movement was

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finished in the North, but attribute the failure to the unbreachable divide between the ethnic white neighborhood and the black ghetto. Nationalism politically tied blacks into the ghetto, despairing of a successful struggle against the segregation of minorities at the bottom of the economic ladder. Yet the North was also the integrated workplace, the integrated union, the possibility of an alliance with other exploited sectors against the common enemy. But this fighting alliance did not mean the empty "unity" of black liberals with liberal labor bureaucrats. In Chicago the struggle for racial equality meant directly confronting the Daley machine, and the Reuthers, Rustins and Randolphs were not about to mount a campaign against this Democratic Party kingpin. What was needed was a program of class struggle; what King offered was a program of class collaboration.

Chicago blacks were presented with the choice of two dead ends: the liberal pacifism of King or the no less defeatist ideology of Carmichael and the black nationalists. Both failed to see the need to mobilize the power of the unions, through challenging the racist, pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy: King and the SCLC because they were committed to the Democratic Party; Carmichael and the black nationalists because with the defeats and sellouts of liberal pacifism, they had taken the road of black separatist militancy which ignored the "white working class."

The situation came to a head with the projected march into the lily-white suburb of Cicero. King was under pressure to make a show of militancy; SNCC was anxious to show its mettle; the racists got ready. Nazi leader George Rockwell came to town amidst considerable fanfare to recruit among the Cicero residents. The white working-class communities had already made clear that they would not allow blacks to march through their streets when King was stoned to the ground earlier in Marquette Park. No one doubted the racist terror that would meet the planned King-SNCC march. But two days before it was to occur King signed the Palmer House "Summit Agreement" and backed off in exchange for a formal agreement on housing.

For the militant wing of the civil rights movement it was Selma all over again. SNCC on its own led a march of 200 people into Cicero on September 4. There were triple that number of Chicago police and thousands of National Guardsmen. The marchers were courageous and sustained many injuries and arrests, but they had lost. It was all over long before it began. The racists had out-mobilized them in the streets. Nearly a decade later busing was defeated in Boston for much the same reason: the labor movement was not brought into the struggle on the side of integration. Responsible for these defeats were the labor bureaucrats, the black liberal leadership and the pseudo-socialists who tail after them.

Class Power and Civil Rights

King and the coalition of black ministers of the SCLC had never intended to unleash a movement of the black masses. Their civil rights movement was meant as a gesture by the "talented tenth" to pressure the capitalist government for legal reform. They saw the Democratic Party as the natural political vehicle for legislative pressure and black political expression. They saw the courts as their main ally and ultimate battleground. But when the black masses moved onto the stage of U.S. history, the SCLC's role became one of fearful containment.

It was different for SNCC whose young activists identified with and encouraged the organization of black social power. An orientation toward different class forces began to show early, if only sociologically, as SNCC turned toward "grass roots" local organizing and King continued his reliance on the federal government. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) which grew out of the SNCC voter registration campaigns—revealed all of the contradictions of a militant civil rights organization lacking revolutionary programmatic alternatives. The MFDP shared King's illusions in the party of Kennedy and Humphrey, illusions it paid for at the 1964 Atlantic City convention when the Johnson/Humphrey machine crushed its attempt to unseat the Jim Crow Mississippi delegation. Out of this experience the Lowndes County (Alabama) Freedom Organization was formed with a political thrust independent of the capitalist parties.

In the end no sector of the civil rights movement was able to decisively break out of the confines of liberal politics. Yet throughout this period literally thousands of its left-wing militants were in rapid political motion. That this motion was not intersected by communists with a program to broaden the fight for democratic rights of blacks into a struggle for black equality through united class struggle was a major setback for the U.S. proletariat.

In the early 1960's the predecessor of the Spartacist League, the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) within the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), fought for just such an active intervention into SNCC and other components of the left wing of the civil rights movement. The RT saw the crucial opportunity for the crystallization of a black Trotskyist cadre. Its 1963 opposition document, "The Negro Struggle and the Crisis of Leadership," read in part:

> "The rising upsurge and militancy of the black revolt and the contradictory and confused, groping nature of what is now the left wing in the movement provide the revolutionary vanguard with fertile soil and many opportunities to plant the seeds of revolutionary socialism. . . We must consider non-intervention in the crisis of leadership a crime of the worst sort."

In part it was for this fight that the RT was expelled from the SWP while that already degenerated party continued its criminal abstentionism. Within a few years the opportunity would be lost with the hardening of the black nationalists mood, the terrain would be sealed off to communists for several years, with many thousands of black radicals lost to the revolutionary movement.

Far from being a transcendental leader of a united movement, King was one of the political poles against which the left wing of the civil rights movement was defined. Yet there are those on the left who still yearn for the "good old days" of a "united" civil rights movement, and toward that end they falsify the movement and the man who symbolized its liberal, religious wing.

It is ironic that the rehabilitation of King within the left was begun by the black nationalists on the basis that "no whites ought to criticize" any black. But the present reformist stance toward King is dictated by desires to once again get close to the liberals. Thus the SWP, for instance, in the most cynical fashion not only talks about a "New Civil Rights Movement" as it tails after the moribund hyper-legalist NAACP, but at the same time it continues to support the residues of the black nationalist wave. In fact, *both* movements are dead, but these shameless reformists continue to support all of their most treacherous aspects—calls for federal troops to "protect" black schoolchildren, reliance on "peaceful, legal" means to pressure the capitalist state, support for government union-busting "Affirmative Action" schemes in the name of civil rights.

Marxists must not disguise King's liberal pacifism and the dead end it represented in the struggle against racial oppression. We must break through the myths of "passive resistance," crack the mask of "King the Peaceful Warrior," and present a revolutionary analysis of the *failure* of the civil rights movement to provide a program for fighting the social and economic oppression of blacks under American capitalism. It is not through liberal "docudrama" that the new generation of youth will discover the true story of that period. While the reformists cover for King to camouflage their own treacherous tracks, the task of creating a black communist cadre requires destroying politically the exalted symbols of passive defeatism and reliance on the bourgeois state which led to the death of the civil rights movement. ■

The "Protection" of the FBI: A Prediction Come True

. . . the civil rights movement must realize that *it cannot look to the federal government for "protection" of any sort.* If the past history of Federal interaction and collaboration with the segregationist apparatus is not enough proof, the Selma case should make it clear that Johnson will mobilize Federal forces and pass voting-rights bills only when he feels that the interests of the American racist *status quo* will benefit. Once the Negro people begin to assert their *real* power and independence, and attempt to use these laws for their own political action, these same troops will be turned against them in the interests of racist oppression. The civil-rights movement will then find itself witch-hunted, its meetings raided and supporters arrested by the same F.B.I. it is presently beseeching to protect it. The illusion of "non-violence" spread by King and others is a criminal *disarming* of black people, and is consistent with the role of these "leaders" as agents of the power structure. The movement must scrap these illusions once and for all and begin to organize the Negro people to defend themselves from violence. The movement must look to itself, not to the Federal government, for protection.

By developing now a party commanding respect and winning gains through the organization of black power, yet a party without racial exclusivism, Negro militants will lay the basis for eventual working-class fusion. This fusion will come about when the exploited section of the white South is driven into opposition and in desperation is compelled to forego color prejudice in order to struggle along class lines against its real enemies—the owners of land and industry and their state.

—from *Spartacist* No. 4, May-June 1965

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CIA Insider Spills the Beans...

(continued from page 4)

CIA personnel were sent in to "develop the communications, maintenance, combat leadership, and discipline to organize an effective military effort."

We noted then that the imperialist power grab changed the character of the Angolan fighting:

> ". . . under present circumstances the left-nationalist MPLA is fighting not merely against the FNLA and UNITA, but against an imperialist/colonialist-led anti-communist coalition which, if successful, would install a puppet regime in Luanda essentially subordinate to South Africa and the U.S. The correct policy for proletarian revolutionists at this time, therefore, is military support to the MPLA against the Washington-financed, South African-organized offensive.
>
> —*WV* No. 85, 14 November 1975

The influx of thousands of Cuban troops equipped with Soviet tanks and rockets soon turned the tide. As Cuban/MPLA forces routed the UNITA, FNLA and Zairean units, Stockwell describes how U.S. plans to aid its Angolan puppets grew more frenzied. The use of sophisticated Redeye ground-to-air missiles, tactical air support and C-47 gun platforms was proposed. According to Stockwell, Washington even considered "the formal introduction of American advisors, the use of American army units, a show of the fleet off Luanda, and the feasibility of making an overt military feint at Cuba itself to force Castro to recall his troops and defend the home island."

These plans were stymied by an uncooperative Congress, which passed the Tunney Amendment, barring the use of funds from the fiscal year 1976 Defense Appropriations Bill for the Angolan war. The CIA, left with only $7 million in its operations funds, thus could barely sustain, let alone escalate, its intervention. The more far-sighted sections of the American bourgeoisie recognized that such intervention was no longer feasible, that no basic U.S. interests were threatened and that it might be possible to wean the bourgeois nationalists of the MPLA away from the Soviets in the future. Stockwell himself expresses such sentiments and quotes Senator Dick Clark who summarized such bourgeois defeatist views succinctly: "we are dangerously close to an open-ended confrontation with the Soviet Union in a country that is of no real strategic concern to either country."

In order to adapt to such bourgeois liberal sentiments, the Socialist Workers Party, as it had in the Vietnam War, refused to openly call for the defeat of the imperialist invasion. It ostentatiously ignored the fundamental fact that the civil war had been subordinated to an imperialist power play, countered by the intervention of troops of a deformed workers state. Only the international Spartacist tendency upheld the principled Trotskyist position of calling for the military victory of the MPLA/Cuban forces against the imperialists and their pawns, while refusing to politically endorse the bourgeois nationalism of the MPLA.

Stockwell's *post facto* bourgeois defeatism and exposures of CIA skullduggery do not outweigh his complicity in this murderous imperialist attack. When he thought it feasible, he supported the use of Cobra gunships, which could spray an area the size of a football field with eight thousand rounds a minute, killing every living thing on the ground. The contrition of U.S. imperialism's hit-men for their war crimes is indeed shallow. John Stockwell deserves no better fate than those of the captured mercenaries paid with CIA money who were executed by the victorious MPLA. ■

Zaire...

(continued from page 1)

and the U.S. eagerly volunteered military aid. Moroccan troops and Egyptian pilots were the only foreign forces involved (alongside Mobutu's pygmy troops) in what little fighting occurred during the 80-day "war." But this time, the Angolan-based FLNC was able to take Kolwezi within two days, and a direct imperialist intervention was thus necessary.

Shaba/Katanga witnessed a variation on this theme in 1960. Only in that case the secessionist movement, led by Moïse Tshombé, was backed by the white *colons* and Belgian imperialism. When the black rank and file of the army of the newly-independent Congo revolted against their Belgian officers, the former colonial power decided that even nominal independence of the Congo was too risky. White settlers and the Union Minière Mining Trust, hiding behind Tshombé, declared the independence of Katanga province. As atrocity stories about attacks on whites flew thick and fast, Tshombé appealed for the "sending of Belgian troops to protect human lives and goods." At the UN the Belgian

Norma

Mobutu embraces French president Giscard.

minister for foreign affairs harangued the assembly concerning the rape of white women and the murder of priests as the Belgian paras moved into Katanga.

First and foremost, the "sacred mission" of the paratroopers was protection of the copper and cobalt mines of the Union Minière. When, with connivance of the UN forces, Congolese president Kasavubu dismissed radical nationalist Patrice Lumumba as prime minister and after Lumumba was murdered in 1961, the Belgian mining syndicate could breathe a little more easily. Henceforth, the Congolese central government, especially after Mobutu's rise to power, would be hacked by imperialism against various trihalist and secessionist opposition groups.

The working class must not be misled by cynical imperialist propaganda about missionaries, teachers, mining technicians and the like. The real issue is not the fate of the Belgian colonialists but the predatory control of the imperialists on the natural wealth of Zaire and the role of the U.S. Air Force, the Belgian paratroopers and the sadistic scum of the French Foreign Legion in propping up the Mobutu dictatorship. Wracked by a 75 percent annual inflation rate and a foreign debt of $3 billion, the Zairean economy is in a shambles. Moreover, it is only Mobutu's terrorist regime that forcibly holds together the Zairean state, composed of 220 tribal units.

The Specter of Cuba

As in last year's invasion, Mobutu's press agency claimed that the FLNC was not only armed and trained by Cubans and Angolans, but that Cuban soldiers participated in the fighting. This time, it was claimed that the invasion was hatched in Havana under the code name "Operation Dove." After all, playing on Western imperialism's fears of a Cuban/Soviet presence had already garnered Zaire's disaster-ridden economy additional millions in foreign aid last year. As was the case last time as well, no proof of any Cuban participation could be found. However, after doing nothing about Ethiopia's turn toward the Soviet Union, the U.S. was looking for an excuse to "draw the line" on Cuban intervention. Even before the invasion, Carter had delivered a strong warning to the USSR and Cuba about their role in Africa, charging the Soviets with "innate racism"!

When the fighting first broke out, units of the 82nd Airborne Division were put on alert. But as the absence of any Cuban presence became clear, the U.S. merely assisted in airlifting the French and Belgian troops to the area, and provided the Zairean army with rations, fuel and equipment. American imperialism's interests were not so directly threatened.

But while there is no proof of Cuban participation, the FLNC invasion is connected to recent events in Angola. The FLNC is based on Lunda tribesmen from Shaba, with leadership going back to the Katangan gendarmes who supported Tshombé and have fought the central government for two decades. In exile in Angola, they fought for Portuguese colonialism against the Zairean-backed, Bakongo-based National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), then continued this fight on behalf of the Cuban/Soviet-backed Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

Meanwhile, in its most recent efforts to destroy the military capabilities of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) the South African regime launched a murderous raid on SWAPO refugee camps in southern Angola on May 5. Three South African columns entered Angola to attack the camps and killed hundreds of refugees, including women and children. In addition, South Africa is backing the continuing guerrilla war of the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) against the MPLA regime, mainly in order to hamper SWAPO which, like UNITA, is based in southern Angola. According to Luanda, UNITA soldiers were recently ferried to bases in Zaire to open a northern front. By unleashing the ex-Katangan gendarmes, therefore, the MPLA can indirectly retaliate for the South African raid.

There is nothing leftist about the FLNC, however. They will ally with anyone in pursuit of their trihalist feud with Mobutu. Those who take their "anti-imperialist" rhetoric as good coin would do well to remember that only a few years ago, Mobutu, in a drive against "colonial culture," renamed the Congo Zaire and nationalized various foreign enterprises, thus qualifying for the vacuous label of "progressive" which Third World cheerleaders now give to the FLNC. In reality the only real difference between these two military-tribal cliques is ethnic, and there is thus no basis for supporting one as against another. But Marxists do militarily support African nationalists against direct imperialist interventions (such as the current Belgian/French/U.S. operations) and call for the defeat of groupings which become nothing more than pawns of such interventions.

As for the alleged killing of some 70 Europeans, this pales beside the crimes of Belgian colonialism, which slaughtered tens and hundreds of thousands of Africans in its drive to exploit the Congo's natural resources. The range of Belgian atrocities was long ago captured in Mark Twain's *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, which quotes the chapter headings of a British consul's eyewitness account:

> "Expedition against a village behindhand in its (compulsory) supplies, result, slaughter of sixteen persons; among them three women and a boy of five years. Ten carried off, to be prisoners until ransomed; among them a child, who died during the march."
>
> "Government encouragement of inter-tribal slave-traffic. The monstrous fines levied upon villages tardy in their supplies of foodstuffs compel the natives to sell their fellows and children to other tribes in order to meet the fine."
>
> "Men intimidated by the torture of their wives and daughters. (To make the men furnish rubber and supplies and so get their captured women released from chains and detention.) The sentry explained to me that he caught the women and brought them in (chained together neck to neck) by direction of his employer."

The hands of blacks were chopped off as punishment for not turning in their quota.

In view of this long history of hellish exploitation and oppression, which had reduced the Congolese population by *half* in the early decades of the twentieth century, the immense hatred of the Zairean blacks for their former colonial masters is easily understood. Marxists oppose the notion of "collective guilt" and indiscriminate attacks on whites or any other population group. However, it should by now be clear to those Belgians, who for generations have been the most arrogant and parasitical of all of the white settlers in Africa and who go to their ex-colony to participate in renewed exploitation of the toiling masses, that *they might not come back alive*. The hysteria over the fate of these European colonialists is simply a pretext for imperialist intervention.

We oppose French imperialism's current African adventures. Some 1,700 French troops and French fighter-bombers now prop up the government of Chad against insurgents; French planes carry out air strikes from bases in Mauritania against the Algerian-backed Polisario Front. We oppose all attempts to further entrench U.S. or French imperialism in central Africa. No military aid to Zaire—no imperialist troops or advisers for the butcher Mobutu! It will be the copper miners of Zaire and Zambia under a revolutionary Trotskyist leadership, and linked to the masses of the South African proletariat, who will establish the workers and peasants governments leading to a socialist federation of southern Africa. ■

Soviet "Free" Trade Unions...

(continued from page 2)

working-class opposition to bureaucratic usurpation of the Russian Revolution and imperialist opposition to the revolution itself. No proletarian opposition to the Kremlin can be built without a firm commitment to defending the conquests of the October Revolution. The "Free Trade Union Association" does weakly take up this point, writing, "We have lost confidence in the Procurator of the USSR as an organ which will stand guard over the gains of October..." ("A Collective Complaint"). (This document, incidentally, was *not* reprinted by the AFL-CIO or Amnesty International.) But the dissident workers group then turns around and in effect appeals to capitalist governments, State Department socialists and reactionary union leaders who are mortal enemies of the Russian Revolution.

If the victimized workers believe what is written in their complaint and in their references to socialist property, then their appeal to anti-Communist forces in the West is self-defeating; if this is but a cover to ward off charges of anti-Sovietism, then it still shows the strength of the Soviet workers' attachment to their revolution. And if the dissident workers have not yet realized how decisive this issue is, they should see how their appeals to anti-Communist forces in the West have added grist to the imperialist propaganda mills. Genuine Soviet trade unions will never be worth a kopeck to the workers as defensive organs to regain and defend Soviet liberties unless they are bulwarks against capitalist restoration!

It is not surprising that the first organized stirrings of opposition among Soviet workers would be infected with the right-wing ideology of the broader dissident movement, from tsarist Black Hundreds fanatics like Solzhenitsyn to pro-imperialist liberals like Sakharov. Most of the current generation of dissidents are drawn from a petty-bourgeois stratum of intellectuals, artists, professionals and government officials which in social composition far more resembles the Stalinist bureaucracy than the working masses. A large number of them were, in fact, at one time, Khrushchevite advocates of self-reform by the bureaucracy who lost faith as a result of the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia.

With the futile hopes of a liberalization of the bureaucracy having soured, a section of the Soviet intelligentsia turned toward the West. For these individuals, the prospect of emigration seemed preferable to the maintenance of the oppressive Stalinist regime of Brezhnev & Co. Thus they have appealed to Cold War sabre-rattlers such as U.S. Senator Jackson to use imperialist blackmail (e.g., the threat of cutting off wheat shipments) whose real victims would be the Soviet people. Although certainly many revolutionaries can be recruited from among Soviet intellectuals, particularly students, as a social stratum this grouping is extremely susceptible to the corrupting influences of both the Stalinist bureaucracy and liberal bourgeois ideology.

For the Soviet working masses it is entirely different. They have nothing to gain and everything to lose from the restoration of capitalism. Except under the most extreme conditions, it is unlikely that the pro-imperialist blathering of the dissident intellectuals like Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn could win any broad credence among the Soviet proletariat. The first condition for the building of a general, powerful workers opposition to the Stalinist bureaucracy must be the rooting out of such corrosive influences. Klebanov and the victimized Soviet workers must be defended against the rapacious persecution of the Brezhnevites, but there can be no quarter given to appeals to the imperialist "democracies" against the Soviet degenerated workers state.

The dissident Soviet workers have two choices before them. On the one hand, they may pursue a bloc with the pro-imperialist dissidents. Such a course would be not only a betrayal of the interests of the Soviet masses but also an inestimable gift to the Stalinist bureaucracy in its cynical attempts to pass itself off before the Soviet people as defenders of the October Revolution. The Soviet workers' disgust at the Orlovs and Sakharovs is a perverted but also just expression of their hatred of imperialism and attachment to the tremendous achievements of the Russian Revolution. Stalin, Khrushchev, Brezhnev & Co. have always sought to portray all opponents to their anti-working class regimes as lackeys of imperialism.

Or, alternatively, the dissident workers can follow the necessary course of judiciously opposing the excesses of the bureaucracy while explaining to the Soviet masses the principled means by which the original goals of October can be recreated.

The pseudo-Trotskyist USec and OCI, left social democrats and "Eurocommunists" all conciliate the pro-imperialist dissident currents. Only authentic Trotskyism, as represented by the international Spartacist tendency, with its firm insistence on the need for defense and extension of the gains of October, through political revolution against the Stalinist usurpers, provides a banner around which the Soviet proletariat can rally. ■

Santo Domingo...

(continued from page 12)

interference in the democratic process of the election, this would have a great effect on the support which we give in the future to the Dominican government" (*Listín Diario*, 22 May).

The clear signs of displeasure from the U.S. (Carter accused the military of trying to stop the election of Guzmán) make it likely that the transition will take place. Balaguer, himself put into power by U.S. bayonets, no doubt vividly recalls the fate of his one-time boss, Trujillo, who when he was no longer useful to the American imperialists was assassinated by liberal officers with guns from the CIA. For its part the PRD has been careful not to ruffle the feathers of any military hawks. Its presidential candidate Guzmán assured the armed forces that he would not touch the officers corps if elected. And PRD secretary general José Peña Gómez issued a statement of nauseating praise for the "democratic mentality" of the armed forces and deploring any "division of an institution [the army] whose unity is crucial for political stability, order and national sovereignty" (*El Nacional de ¡Ahora!*, 19 May).

To the U.S., which engineered Balaguer's victory in 1966 and his defeat in 1978, it is not a paramount concern which bourgeois leader sits in the Dominican president's chair today, so loog as the masses are kept quiet. Unlike many countries in Latin America where a substantial, although subservient, native bourgeoisie developed over the decades, in the Dominican Republic only the most feeble comprador class emerged. In the early 1900's the U.S. literally stationed its officials in the Dominican customs house to ensure the repayment of loans and directly controlled the government following a 1916 Marine Corps invasion. In 1930 Trujillo came to power with U.S. support and his family soon controlled 65-85 percent of the key economic sectors (banking, air and maritime transport, sugar, utilities and insurance).

With the assassination of the "Benefactor," these properties passed into the hands of the state. However, following Balaguer's 1966 "election," a massive process of denationalization began, primarily to the benefit of U.S. and Canadian corporations. Today virtually all extractive industries, such as nickel (Falconbridge) and bauxite (Alcoa), are in North American hands and one third of the sugar industry, the country's primary product, is controlled by Gulf and Western.

The major left groups participating in the elections were the Partido de la Liberación Dominicana (PLD), a bourgeois nationalist formation led by former PRD president Bosch; the Partido Comunista Dominicano (PCD), a pathetically reformist "Carib-communist" party which was legalized by Balaguer last November; and the Unión Patriótica Antiimperialista (UPA), an election bloc of several Maoist groups (Bandera Proletaria and Linea Roja MR-1J4). Other groups, notably the once hegemonic Movimiento Popular Dominicano (MPD) boycotted the elections.

The most despicable of these phony "leftists" are the PLD and the PCD, who in response to the soldiers' ballot box theft called for a deal with Balaguer. The PCD, which favorably comments on the government's "agrarian reform" law, called on the PRD not to "insist on formalisms and intransigency which would stand in the way of the perspective of a negotiated solution...." Bosch, in turn, called for a government of national unity including Balaguer's PR and the armed forces! So much for this supposed "anti-imperialist" and acerbic critic of "Pentagonism."

Linea Roja MR-1J4, the main force in the UPA, in response to the ballot box seizure simply called on the Central Election Board to proclaim the PRD the winner and said not one word about any form of popular protest. The MPD, on the other hand, talked of preparations for resistance if the military refused to recognize the PRD victory. However, this supposed militancy went hand-in-hand with *political* support to the PRD:

> "...the victory of the PRD...would make possible the realization of laws and reforms concerning the economic and national policies which would momentarily alleviate some problems such as freedom for political prisoners ...and the return of the exiles."
>
> *La Noticia*, 21 May

Thus the MPD's supposed revolutionary abstention was simply a form of "critical" support to the bourgeois liberals (not running its own candidates would increase the PRD vote).

All of the Dominican reformists are currently giving tacit or explicit political support to one of the major bourgeois parties, Balaguer's PR or the PRD. This is precisely the situation which prevailed during the 1965 Santo Domingo uprising, when the MPD in particular (as well as the then-Castroist MR-1J4) ceded leadership of the "constitutionalist" revolt to the PRD and its supporters in the army, such as Colonel Caamaño Deñó. The bourgeois "constitutionalists," in turn, agreed to abandon their struggle under the pressure of the "OAS Peace Force" (U.S. Marines). The key to the transformation of the Santo Domingo revolt into an authentic proletarian revolution was to *break* the political ties to the class enemy. A wealthy rancher like PRD candidate Guzmán, for instance, is not about to support a program for land to the tiller and expropriation of the large estates—which would have been crucial in rousing the peasantry to support the Santo Domingo uprising.

The Maoists' popular-front bloc with the PRD meant bloody demise for the 1965 revolt, and the behavior of the reformists in the recent elections demonstrates they have learned nothing from this defeat. Should the military again demand a crackdown on popular agitation, the left will find that the "multi-class" PRD is no more reticent about using force against the workers than was Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang—as the Chinese workers found out in 1927 after obeying Stalin's criminal orders to follow the leadership of the KMT. Peña Gómez' praise of the "unity" of the army which crushed the Santo Domingo commune should make this clear. In the meantime, if conditions relax in the Dominican Republic it will not be because of the independent struggle of the Dominican left but because of the "good will" of Jimmy Carter. And what Caesar gives he can also take away. ■

Chicago ISA...

(continued from page 5)

In an article titled "What Iranian Students Need is a Spanking," Wiedrich made one of the most vicious butchers in the world out to be a benign father figure, joked about his cruel torture and called for the students' deportation:

> "Frankly, I hope the Shah rumples their rumps with fatherly boots when they get home. They deserve it.... I wish the American immigration authorities would lift their visas and hustle them home as fast as Air Iran can loft them. They don't belong here. They aren't worthy of our freedoms."

Defend the ISA!

Whether or not Youssefi and Maham are paid by the SAVAK for their dirty work, it is clear they are armed criminal thugs and provocateurs of the reactionary despot, and their gangsterism threatens not only the ISA, but the entire left. ISA defense lawyers Hass and Voci have filed criminal complaints against Youssefi and Maham, and others, but the courts cannot be expected to burn out this nest of criminal thugs—they have proved instead to be willing accomplices in the frame-up of the ISA. In the context of a vigorous defense of the ISA the workers movement must demand: Jail the Shah's thugs! Stop the SAVAK/cop attacks on the ISA!

Despite the burning need for a broad united defense of the ISA, it is unlikely to develop. The responsibility for this tragic failure lies above all with the politics of the ISA itself. The ISA's rejection of a united front, in which each participating group would be able to raise its own banners and propaganda in the context of a defense effort, is the result of its leaders' fear of exposure of their bankrupt policies. The Maoists in the ISA could not stand up under open criticism of China's long-standing support for the "anti-imperialist" Shah, and the pro-Peking loyalists even support China's military aid to Teheran.

The result of this sectarian thuggery derived from Stalinism and the anti-communism of the Muslim nationalists has led all wings of the ISA to enforce political censorship in its minimal reformist propaganda and protests. But this method—common to all Stalinists and "progressive" nationalists—severely undercuts the possibility of building the broadest defense actions just when they are most needed. With the sharpening of class struggle in Iran, with the SAVAK ever more viciously on the attack, the ISA reformists play the same treacherous role as their counterparts in Iran. Just at this moment, when class instinct must demand solidarity on the basis of "an injury to one is an injury to all," the Stalinists and nationalists dump the defense of victimized militants for their own narrow sectarian advantage.

Political censorship and spitting on the norms of workers democracy has become a way of life for the fractured ISA. They physically "censor" not only revolutionaries, but also opponent reformists within their own organization. The Revolutionary Communist Party and its Iranian supporters have launched vicious physical attacks on the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI), which is supported by the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). CAIFI, in turn, reflecting the civil-libertarian treachery of their SWP backers, crosses the class line to call for *state prosecution* of left-wing Iranians they accuse of attacking their members! They further criminally refuse to defend the Iranian guerrilla fighters against the Shah's state repression.

Like CAIFI, all wings of the ISA are however, united in suppressing revolutionary criticism in favor of an appeal to the conscience of bourgeois liberalism. They hope that their Stalinist false proposition of a "two-stage" revolution will dovetail nicely with the democratic pretensions of the "progressive" bourgeoisie. So they hold protests with lowest common denominator politics, joining liberal and nationalist calls for "an independent, democratic Iran." The slogans that are outlawed by the ISA are precisely the ones that pose a *revolutionary* solution for Iran: the slogans of the class struggle.

The nationalism and reformism represented by the ISA in the U.S. is a serious obstacle not only to their own defense, but to the Iranian revolution. Only a Leninist vanguard party at the head of the Iran proletariat, leading the peasantry, can rip Iran from the stranglehold of imperialism and establish a workers and peasants government. And that party must be armed with the internationalist program of Trotskyism.

Defend the ISA! Down With the Shah! Forward to the Proletarian Revolution in Iran! ■

Romeo...

(continued from page 5)

Detroit's bake-oven auto plants and last summer's massive heat walkouts are being recalled. To impose "labor peace" on the assembly lines at any price, the auto bosses and the UAW fakers join hands to enforce the contract's "no-strike" clause with a vengeance. When the auto workers can take it no longer and the wildcats inevitably erupt, the "responsible (to the companies) union leaders" lounging in their air-conditioned Solidarity House offices look the other way as the bosses cut the strikers to ribbons. One of the fired Romeo workers summed up the feelings of thousands of other exasperated UAW members when he said, "I feel like I have been beating my head against the wall for seven days and right now I'm scared to death" (*Detroit News*, 19 May).

Every UAW militant should demand that a strike be authorized at the Romeo plant, and other Ford plants if necessary, to win back the 17 fired workers' jobs with full back pay, to clear all the strikers' records and to resolve all outstanding grievances. But the debacle at Romeo should also warn UAW members that few strikes over the intolerable working conditions in auto plants will be won until the UAW hierarchy's stranglehold is successfully challenged by an authoritative opposition standing for no-holds-barred class struggle with the companies. No more Romeos! Throw out the Solidarity House traitors! ■

Free Hugo Blanco! Release Thousands Arrested in Peru Crackdown!

General Francisco Morales Bermudez
Palacio de Gobierno
Lima, Peru

While your government financially bleeds the poor and working people in Peru on the orders of the U.S. imperialist International Monetary Fund, it unleashes brutal state repression against the masses who protest drastic price rises in basic necessities. We demand the immediate release of the more than 2,000 imprisoned during the mass protests. We demand freedom for peasant leader Hugo Blanco, who was seized at his home in a gestapo-style pre-dawn raid after his televised call for support to the general strike. Such acts of vengeance against recognized advocates of the oppressed and exploited of Peru, as well as against the nameless thousands who fill Lima's jails and streets, rip away your regime's mask of populism and reveal the hated face of capitalist oligarchic state terror in uniform.

Free Hugo Blanco!
Free the arrested strikers!

Partisan Defense Committee
Box 633 Canal Street Station
New York, New York 10013

WORKERS VANGUARD

Liberal Opposition Appeals to OAS

Troops Steal Ballot Boxes in Santo Domingo

Last November the Dominican Republic's president Joaquín Balaguer announced that he was planning a fourth term in office and that if he didn't win the vote in the election, he would at least win the count (*Guardian* [London], 17 November 1977). Balaguer might very well have been able to "win" last week's election in typical Dominican style, with the promised blatant election fraud except that he was missing one crucial vote. Jimmy Carter's Carter chose instead to throw his weight behind Balaguer's challenger, wealthy cattle-rancher Antonio Guzmán of the bourgeois liberal Partido Revolucionario Dominicano (PRD). The U.S. imperialist chief had extracted a promise from Balaguer some months previously that he would abide by the election results, and now Carter was going to hold him to it.

The elections were running smoothly on voting day, May 16, with only the usual irregularities: there was a machine-gun attack on one polling station, ballot boxes seized by the military in Vitoria, soldiers refusing to allow delivery of counted ballots to a district board in San Isidro, 23,000 voter registrations misplaced in the PRD stronghold of Santiago, a number of opposition poll watchers arrested and several forced at gunpoint by soldiers to sign falsified vote tallies. These are the normal techniques with which governments steal elections in Latin America. But this was not enough to stop the tidal wave of opposition to continued Balaguer rule, and in the early morning hours of Wednesday the PRD was leading by more than 100,000 votes.

So in a blatant act of force, the national police moved in at 4 a.m., told the official counters and observers of the Central Election Board to pack up and go home and seized the ballot boxes themselves!

The next day commercial radio and television stations were shut down while the government and armed forces stations played music instead of news; morning newspapers did not appear and telephone communications outside the country were cut off. All offices closed and heavily armed troops patrolled the nearly deserted streets of the capital. "Most citizens preferred to stay at home," one newspaper later reported. Amid a great deal of confusion armed forces minister General Beauchamps Javier issued a statement denying that a coup attempt was afoot, but gave no explanation as to why the vote count had been halted. There was, however, considerable speculation that the national police chief, General Nivar Seijas, had in fact intended to cancel the elections. One report said a faction of the army refused to go along, while another said that Balaguer himself squashed the attempted putsch.

Whatever the internal maneuvering, it is clear that international pressure was decisive in turning the situation around. During the day on Wednesday protests came in from the Socialist-led government of Portugal, the Acción Democrática government in Venezuela and the SPD-led West German government. (All three parties are members or associates of the Socialist International, with which the PRD is affiliated.) Most importantly, the United States reacted sharply against the military interference in the ballot-counting. The U.S. ambassador called on Balaguer, but was kept cooling his heels outside the presidential residence for several hours for an audience which never came off. Thereupon President Carter picked up the telephone and called not the Dominican chief of state but Galo Plaza, the head of an Organization of American States' (OAS) election monitoring team in the country.

UPI

Government troops stationed outside Santo Domingo headquarters of the Partido Revolucionario Dominicano after election vote count was halted last week.

With these signals it was clear that the autocratic Balaguer regime could not last. On Thursday evening the Dominican president made a radio broadcast announcing he would follow the decision of the Central Election Board "to the letter" and hand over power to the victor (a virtual admission of defeat). While condemning outside interference and lambasting the PRD for its (successful) appeal to Washington, Balaguer criticized leaders of his own party: "Our friends, our co-thinkers of the Reform Party have been crying like Jeremiah at the wailing wall, like the Moors at Granada, who wept like women for what they couldn't defend like men" (*El Nacional de ¡Ahora!*, 19 May). If Balaguer and the military ultimately concede defeat and hand over the presidency peacefully to the PRD, this will be the first time in a century and the second time in the country's history that such a transition has occurred.

The Trujillo Heritage

The line-up of forces in the current election battle is a repeat of that during the early 1960's when, following the 1961 assassination of dictator Generalissimo Rafael Trujillo, jockeying between the PRD (then headed by Juan Bosch) and right-wing military officers left over from the 31-year reign of "El Benefactor" led to civil war in 1965. After winning the war for the Dominican generals by deploying 42,000 Marines to Santo Domingo, the United States (in the guise of the OAS) supervised a "free election" in 1966 in which Balaguer, a one-time president under Trujillo, defeated Bosch. Balaguer was "re-elected" in rigged elections in 1970 and 1974.

The liberal PRD, however, has amassed overwhelming support among wide sectors of the Dominican population as the corruption of the present *continuista* regime increases. Plantation owners, an emerging middle class and urban labor are strongholds of this party founded in 1939 to champion U.S.-style capitalist democracy against the Trujillo dictatorship. The period before the elections was marked by marches and demonstrations of hundreds of thousands of PRD supporters. Some months ago the PRD predicted that it couldn't win the election but was strong enough to force Balaguer to rig the results. By the beginning of the campaign, however, opposition spokesmen claimed they could win even allowing a margin of 150,000 votes for fraud (UPI dispatch, 17 May)!

The PRD's strategy in the face of the ballot box seizure has been to call on its supporters to remain calm (i.e., do nothing) and to appeal to the White House. They calculated correctly, for the Carter administration has been eager to score some "victories" for its "human rights" stance in Latin America. Washington was particularly disinclined to see a repeat of the 1965 uprising, which would stir up memories of the Yankee invasion under the last Democratic president, LBJ. Carter was quoted in an interview Saturday as saying "If it becomes clear to us that the will of the Dominican people has been subverted by illegalities or unjustifiable

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 208 2 June 1978

Peru General Strike Rocks "Progressive" Junta

Free the 1,000 Strikers!

Cancel the Imperialist Debt!

Mass discontent is still seething in Peru although newspapers report that the country has "returned to near normality" after being paralyzed by a 48-hour general strike May 22-23. The strike was termed "95 percent effective" by observers and brought Lima to a standstill by blockading all access to roads to the capital. The military government had declared the strike illegal in advance, its brutal repression resulting in at least 31 dead, scores of persons injured and more than a thousand in jail.

The two-day work stoppage topped a wave of popular protest that spread through the Andean country following the government's announcement of price rises of 50-120 percent on basic necessities (notably food) and gasoline. The decree was issued after the imperialist banks and governments who hold Peru's huge ($5.5 billion) foreign debt refused to renegotiate loans until the government imposed drastic austerity measures ordered by the U.S.-dominated International Monetary Fund (IMF). In response, the strike action was called by the Communist-led General Confederation of Peruvian Workers (CGTP), with the support of the other main labor federations (the Christian Democratic CNT, the CTP of the APRA party and the CTRP, formerly pro-government), as well as of the National Agrarian Confederation (CNA) and several independent trade unions.

While the CGTP leadership meant the strike to be no more than a "warning" and carefully circumscribed its duration, the strike movement exceeded the limits imposed on it by its bureaucratic leaders. Particularly in the traditionally militant south, Peru had been wracked by bloody riots, demonstrations and strikes for over a week before the official general strike was called. In Arequipa, Peru's second largest city, a general strike already in its tenth day continued after the CGTP called a halt to its official protest.

Events in Peru in the last weeks are another expression of the rise in working-class struggle in Latin America after a period in which military regimes of both the right and "left" have suppressed independent political activity. Last September Colombian workers carried out a national work stoppage against austerity measures; in October/November tens of thousands of state employees struck against the blood-soaked Argentine junta; even in Chile 2,000 courageous May Day demonstrators faced arrest by Pinochet's Gestapo, while auto workers in Brazil have launched the first major strike in 14 years.

Pedro Martinelli/Veja

Police tear gas workers demonstrating against austerity measures in Lima.

In Peru, the bottled-up anger of the working masses could not be contained despite the fact that President Francisco Morales Bermúdez placed the country under a state of emergency May 20 and began a systematic round-up of more than 100 prominent leftists and labor leaders. Twenty-one magazines and newspapers were prohibited as constitutional rights were suspended. Moreover, all major cities were patrolled by the military, whose commanders had orders to "protect" public services, suppress strikes and demonstrations and maintain food supplies. But the protests continued to escalate, culminating in the most effective and violent general strike since the military seized power ten years ago.

During the more than a week of protests against the government's anti-working-class "austerity" decree at least 39 people were killed, according to official reports. In clashes at various points in Lima and other major cities government troops wounded hundreds. Several were killed in the mountain town of Huancavelica, where hundreds of strikers destroyed police stations, dynamited bridges and burned railway cars. Ten more were cut down by machine gun fire in what the press called "mob attacks on police stations" in the interior town of Huanuco and the coastal town of Chepen. Earlier, a truckload of policemen died when they plunged into an abyss while trying to avoid a barricade erected by an angry crowd outside Lima.

In the capital itself traffic came to a halt as residents of outlying slum districts littered roads with huge boulders. Three banks were burned out and looted and a glue factory put to the torch; cars of people attempting to go to work were stoned and burned. The Goodyear tire factory and the army's central commissary were attacked by large crowds. In addition a general, a colonel and six other army officials were killed when their helicopter crashed into a hillside while inspecting riot zones.

On the eve of the general strike General Morales Bermúdez denounced it as the work of an unholy alliance of extreme leftists wanting to foment "popular struggle which would mean chaos in the life of our fatherland" and rightists desiring to install a "capitalist totalitarianism." What is true is that the military government has become extremely unpopular with broad sectors of the masses due to its imperialist-ordered starvation economic policies and the strongarm repression by Interior Minister General Luis Cisneros. In its attempts to blame the unprecedented scope of the unrest on the work of a few "outside agitators" the government deported 13 of its leading opponents, including two former ministers under Juan Velasco Alvarado, who was forced out as president by his fellow generals in August 1975.

The group was expelled to Argentina where they are being held at a garrison of the Third Army, headquartered in Córdoba. Among those deported are Vice-Admirals José Arce Largo and Guillermo Faura Gaig, who were candidates of the Partido Socialista Revolucionario (PSR) in the elections for a phony "constituent assembly" scheduled for June 18. The PSR is the bourgeois populist party of supporters of the "leftist" line of the military government under Velasco Alvarado. Other prominent *velasquistas* being sought under deportation orders include General Leonidas Rodriguez Figueroa, the top leader of the PSR, General Arturo Valdés Palacio and Major José Fernández Salvatecci. Many of them had just returned from exile in mid-April to participate in the aborted election campaign.

In addition to the ex-military officers the deportees include the leader of the pro-PSR peasant federation, three candidates of the Workers, Peasants,

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Fascists on Streets of Britain

Workers Must Crush National Front!

see page 6

Free Johnny Harris!

Smash Alabama Death Row!

The murder machinery of the capitalist state is being geared up again to claim another victim. Although there are presently 490 men and women on death row nationwide, since the sensationalized execution of Gary Gilmore in January 1977 there have been no further killings. Now there is pressure to murder again, but this time the state is having more difficulty. By peddling a sick personality and glorifying Gilmore's death wish, it obscured the enormity of what happened that early winter morning in Utah: the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie asserted its "right" to murder, executing a man not "by accident" in the streets of the nation's ghettos, or in the heat of a prison riot, but openly and with the sanction of the courts.

Johnny Harris (Imani), a black inmate of the infamous Atmore Prison Farm in Alabama, is in danger of being the next victim to be butchered. But unlike Gilmore, Harris is desperate to live. A prison activist, his courageous struggle to expose the filthy hellhole of Atmore and stand up for his and other prisoners' rights make him a far more disturbing figure to the bourgeoisie. Thus the mass media have given him scant attention. The Soviet news agency Tass has publicized the case internationally and was largely responsible for turning the spotlight on Harris' plight. (Of course, its use of Harris to expose the hypocrisy of U.S. imperialism's "human rights" rhetoric is in large part an attempt to distract attention from the Kremlin's own persecution of "dissidents" in the USSR).

Harris was scheduled to die in the electric chair on March 10, condemned to death for allegedly killing a prison guard in a state-engineered riot in 1974. He was given a 60-day stay of execution, which expired May 9. Now the Alabama supreme court says another date must be formally set, and his fate hangs in the balance as his lawyers are fighting to get his original conviction to life imprisonment overturned (under Alabama law, the death penalty applies to murder committed only after a prisoner is already serving a life sentence). The Alabama court has just ruled that it will await the outcome of this appeal before sentencing him to death again.

Harris is a member of Inmates for Action (IFA), a prisoner rights group sparked by the 1971 Attica rebellion. The IFA at Atmore organized to demand that prisoners be accorded basic necessities such as proper medical care, decent food, improved visiting and correspondence privileges, a minimum wage with the right to join a union and other demands. As they organized work stoppages to win their demands, prison authorities upped the harassment of IFA leaders, viciously beating organizers. After one leader was beaten, Atmore inmates seized the segregation block, took two guards as hostages and demanded that they be allowed to air their grievances to the news media.

As at Attica, an all-out assault was then launched by state and prison officials against the inmates, leaving one guard dead and several inmates wounded. Forty-five inmates were indicted for taking hostages and for the guard's murder; later the number was reduced to nine, who became known as the Atmore-Holman Brothers. Johnny Harris was one of these nine indicted inmates. Although the prosecution had no direct evidence linking him to the guard's death, the all-white jury convicted him on the prosecution's advice that if he had participated at all in the riot, he could be considered guilty.

That Harris' life is in danger even if the death sentence is overturned is revealed by the bloody fates of his fellow IFA activists inside Atmore:

- Jessie Clanzy. Bloodily beaten by guards who left him for dead while crowing to other IFAers, "We'll kill you revolutionary niggers the way we killed him." Clanzy survived.
- George Dobbins (Chagina)—IFA chairman, wounded by guards during the Attica-style assault upon protesting inmates. Dead on arrival at Mobile General Hospital with nine head wounds such as would be produced by an ax blow, any one of which would have been fatal.
- Tommy Dotson (Yukeena). Skull crushed in a beating by four guards while being led to the showers nude and handcuffed. Stabbed; guard also fatally stabbed during melee. Four prisoners were indicted for the guard's death although all were in lockup at the time. Dotson's name headed a "death list" of IFAers found on the warden's desk by a trusty.
- Frank X. Moore. Never came to trial as an Atmore-Holman Brother; found hanged by a sheet in his cell. A private photographer hired by Moore's family to take shots of the body found bruises and rope burns on his chest, ankles and neck as well as a large gash in his back and severely skinned knuckles.

Sloan/Newsweek

Death row

Johnny Harris must not remain in prison, even if the death sentence is overturned. As a prison activist railroaded for the death of a guard, Harris is a living target for revenge by his jailers and risks the bloody fate of the other IFA leaders. We demand immediate freedom for Johnny Harris!

Even now Harris is courageously continuing to publicize the inhuman conditions faced by prisoners at Atmore, detailing his charges in a letter printed in the 17 May issue of the *Guardian*. Among the atrocities listed by Harris:

> "Contact visits were taken away from death row inmates. Yet, they give no justifiable reason and we are the only inmates in the entire penal system to which this policy has been put....
> "For no justifiable reason death row inmates have been stopped from purchasing many nutritional items from the prison canteen, and, at the same time, the prison administration has stopped us from receiving packages from our families.
> "Death row inmates are not allowed access to the prison library.
> "Death row inmates are subjected daily to acts of harassment by the guards such as threats of beatings, macing and physical abuse because inmates file legal actions. Water is cut off with no warning whatsoever. Our mail consistently 'gets misplaced' and our legal mail is opened outside our presence. These are just to name a few.
> "The food served to death row inmates by the guards is handled in an insanitary manner and consistently contains dirt and hair.
> "Our toilets are a 6 inch (diameter) pipe encased in rough concrete blocks which cannot be properly cleaned or disinfected.
> "All our pleas to the prison officials here have resulted in no reply in any way. The maltreatment of death row inmates is comparable to medieval times. Further, these acts have been carried out maliciously."

Another inmate of Atmore prison, "Scottsboro Boy" Haywood Patterson, once described Atmore as "the Southernmost part of Hell... like in the olden days, they feed a man enough to keep him alive and work him all day." (Today's "new South" looks just like that of Patterson's day around Atmore: the prisoners are forced to work from dawn to dusk cutting sugar cane in the plantation outside the prison for only 25 cents a week!)

Such barbaric conditions are not unique to Atmore—or to the South, for that matter. In prisons throughout the nation, overcrowding is hideous, as thousands of prisoners are packed into tiny cells meant for half their number, without adequate food, money, or activity, at the mercy of corrupt, often sadistic prison guards.

Racism—New South Style

Harris' lawyers are basing their attempt to overturn his original conviction to life imprisonment on the fact that

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Ware/New York Times

Johnny Harris

West Germany Demands Extradition of RAF

The West German government announced on May 29 that Yugoslavia has captured and is holding four alleged West German terrorists. They are: Brigitte Mohnhaupt, allegedly linked to the Moro kidnapping; Rolf-Clemens Wagner, suspected of involvement in the kidnapping and killing of ex-Nazi industrialist Hanns-Martin Schleyer; Peter Boock, the husband of a woman jailed in Austria for bank robbery; and Sieglinde Gutrun Hoffman, described only as a friend of another alleged guerrilla arrested at Orly Airport two weeks ago.

The West German state is demanding their extradition from Yugoslavia on the basis that they are "suspects" in a wide range of terrorist attacks. All had been on the West German most-wanted list of suspected terrorists connected with the Red Army Faction (commonly referred to in the bourgeois press as the "Baader-Meinhof Gang").

We demand that Yugoslavia free the four and refuse any deal with the imperialist West German state. No matter how misguided, foolhardy and counterproductive the terrorist tactics of the Red Army Faction, the acts of which these individuals are accused were aimed at the class enemy and are not crimes against the working people. Further, the high incidence of deaths under extremely suspicious circumstances of RAF members imprisoned in West Germany makes it clear that their lives are in danger if they are extradited.

No extradition! Freedom for the RAF and all left prisoners! Down with the "anti-terrorist" witchhunt!

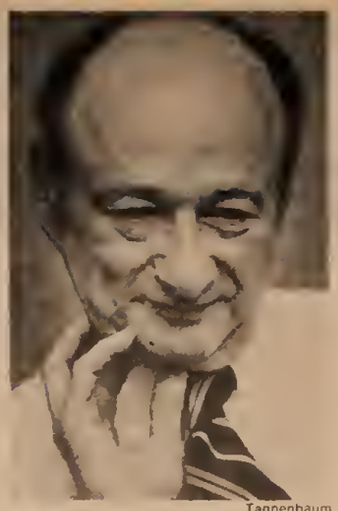
Cancel the Debt Service—Strike Against MAC and EFCB!

Albany Votes Banks to Run NYC

Last week state legislators in Albany voted to extend the life of the Emergency Financial Control Board (EFCB) with its veto power over all city labor contracts and budgets – for the next "19 to 30" years. Even those contracts decided by arbitration must remain within the proscribed guidelines. Thus until the year 2008, at least, the city of New York is to remain under the direct rule of the bankers and Wall Street trusts. After the Albany vote, the City Council immediately rubber-stamped the proposal, agreeing to gut parliamentary democracy in the nation's largest city.

As a sop to the municipal union bureaucracy – which will have trouble selling the proposal to labor's ranks – the legislators added a "sunset clause" stipulating the phasing out of some of the EFCB's power if and when the "budget is balanced," i.e., never. Thus the banks—which created the "fiscal crisis" in the first place when in 1975 they secretly dumped $2.3 billion worth of city bonds on the market, then "bailed out" the city with new, higher-interest loans directly tied to tax revenues, in return for the draconian program of wage cutting, job slashing and service cutbacks – would continue on into the next century with this program.

For the criminal conspiracy to hold up, loot and rob the citizenry of New York we indict Carter, the U.S. Senate whose banking committees demanded the action, the bankers, the trusts, the "law and order liberals" Koch and Carey. But most of all those to be held accountable are the city labor bureaucrats who sold out labor's fundamental right to collective bargaining *without a fight*. Labor must hold the Shankers and Gotbaums responsible for their refusal to fight the loss of 60,000 city workers' jobs; for the grinding wage freeze, the tearing up of city contracts; for the closing of hospitals, schools, fire stations, day care centers; the increase of transit fares; and the incalculable hardships inflicted upon the population of New York City.



Tannenbaum

Mayor Koch

Perhaps it is fitting that it is here in the finance capital of New York City that the naked rule of the banks and the trusts should be so starkly exposed. In the burned-out tenements of the South Bronx where the minority population exists in squalor, their children preyed upon by the rats and wild dog packs; where hundreds of thousands of working people subsist on below-legal wages, on the brink of lumpenism; where walking the street or riding the subways at night can be taking one's life in one's hands – it is here one sees most starkly the political and social decay of capitalism in the epoch of imperialism.

It is here also that each daily question raises the need for socialist revolution. The union bureaucrats, having mortgaged $3.8 billion in union pension funds to the city, now meekly go along with Wall Street's program for a bank dictatorship in NYC hoping to get their money back. Instead we say: Don't Pay the Banks – on whose loans, the interest

WV Photo

DC 37 president Gotbaum

payments alone constitute the single biggest chunk of the city's budget (17 percent). The powerful transit workers should go out and lead a strike of all city labor to smash the EFCB. ■

CP Detours Esmeralda Demo

Longshoremen: Don't Load Junta Napalm

WV Photo

Militants demand labor boycott of military goods to Pinochet junta, no popular front illusions.

SAN FRANCISCO, May 20 – Protesting the presence in the U.S. of the Chilean prison ship *Esmeralda*, about 300 people demonstrated today at Pier 45 near Fisherman's Wharf. In a blatant provocation to the entire labor movement, the ship, used as a floating torture chamber during and after the 1973 coup, was invited to dock at Treasure Island naval base in the S.F. harbor and participate in U.S. Armed Forces Week.

Called by the Ad Hoc Committee to Stop the Esmeralda – a coalition dominated by the Communist Party (CP) and Non-Intervention in Chile (NICH), the demonstration was a pathetic display of impotent liberal moralizing. Thus rally speakers directed appeals for "human decency" to U.S. imperialist commander-in-chief Jimmy Carter "not to allow the *Esmeralda* to dock anywhere in the U.S." (This demand was repudiated in advance when the Carter administration invited the ship to dock in the first place!) In the name of "human rights" the rally's central theme was a call to boycott everything Chilean, including the absurd demand for everyone to withdraw money from banks doing business with the Pinochet junta.

Pier 45 is no more than a stone's throw away from the Local 10 hiring hall of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), a union publicly on record for a boycott of Chilean shipping. Yet the protest leaders scrupulously avoided calling on the longshoremen to hot-cargo Chilean goods for the duration of the *Esmeralda's* stay on the West Coast. Such a call had been made earlier in the week by the "Longshore Militant," a class-struggle opposition newsletter put out by Stan Gow and Howard Keylor in Local 10.

Speaking at the rally Archie Brown, former CP dockworkers' leader, mentioned that there was military cargo (napalm tanks) bound for Chile sitting on the docks waiting to be loaded. If President Carter could not be persuaded to stop its delivery, he said, dock workers might have to take action. Despite efforts of the "Longshore Militant" group to achieve united-front action on a motion to do just that, CP supporters in Local 10 spurned any effort to put Brown's words into practice. Later that week at a Local 10 executive board meeting, it was the "Longshore Militant" supporters who put forward a motion to refuse to handle the war materiel, which is to cause the grisly death of Chilean workers.

Meanwhile, at Treasure Island, where the *Esmeralda* was open to public inspection, about 20 people attempted to stage a protest aboard the ship. Scuffles broke out and many demonstrators were pushed to the deck, kicked and bruised, including a few television cameramen and reporters who, unaccustomed to such brutality, indignantly protested the foul treatment at the hands of a "foreign navy." No arrests were made.

With banners reading "Stop the Esmeralda, Smash the Junta Through Proletarian Revolution" and "No Popular Front Illusions," Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) supporters at the rally sharply counterposed a revolutionary program for Chile to the liberal appeals of the CP/NICH-dominated coalition. Over 50 copies of *Workers Vanguard* and more than a dozen *Cuadernos Marxistas* on "Chile: Lessons of the Popular Front" were sold.

Once again at the rally the Stalinists counterposed the demand for impotent consumer boycotts to the need for militant *labor* action. This has been their policy since the 1973 Pinochet coup, most pathetically demonstrated in the CP's 1974 "candlelight vigil" to protest the junta's bloody repression. While these fickle "friends of Chile" have sabotaged every concrete attempt for aid to the Chilean masses, the SL and its supporters have consistently fought to mobilize the social power of the U.S. proletariat in real solidarity action. Thus in September 1974 CP supporters in the ILWU blocked with the union bureaucrats in trying to sidetrack an ILWU resolution to hot-cargo Chilean goods during a two-day worldwide protest. It was the predecessors of the "Longshore/Warehouse Militant" group and their fight for a united-front implementation committee which made the boycott a success.

The May 20 rally proved again that the Stalinists' real strategy is not simply acting out hollow gestures of moral outrage – impotent consumer boycotts, "candlelight vigils" – or even appealing for "non-intervention in Chile." Their real program is reliance on the U.S. bourgeoisie, which helped to install the Pinochet junta in the first place—the call for "intervention" by U.S. imperialist chief Jimmy Carter! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 208 **2 June 1978**

Streamlining State Control of the Unions

Labor Reform Bill Follies

In a speech to the AFL-CIO leadership earlier this month on the Labor Law Reform Bill (S2467) now being considered by the U.S. Senate, George Meany declared: "I am sure you will agree that nothing is more important to the labor movement at this point in history. Nothing."

While the trade-union leadership mobilized a small army of lobbyists and letter writers under the aegis of Americans for Justice on the Job, headed by Hubert Humphrey's widow, Senator Muriel Humphrey, conservative politicians and businessmen launched their own counterattack. Business Roundtable, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers and the National Right to Work Committee are all opposing the bill. In the Senate, the bill's opponents are currently conducting a filibuster and if that fails, as is likely, they will attempt to cripple the bill through numerous amendments.

Despite the frenzied assertions of both partisans and opponents of the bill, its passage will not enroll tens of thousands of unorganized workers in trade unions. Passage of the bill would not be a victory for the labor movement. Its function, rather, is to strengthen the role of the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) as an arbiter between labor and capital. The legislation, like a similar bill already passed by the House, does provide the NLRB with a few more, generally modest, remedies to apply against recalcitrant employers. However, these same remedies are also made available for use against the unions as well, and the bill provides broadened grounds for the use of court injunctions against wildcat strikes.

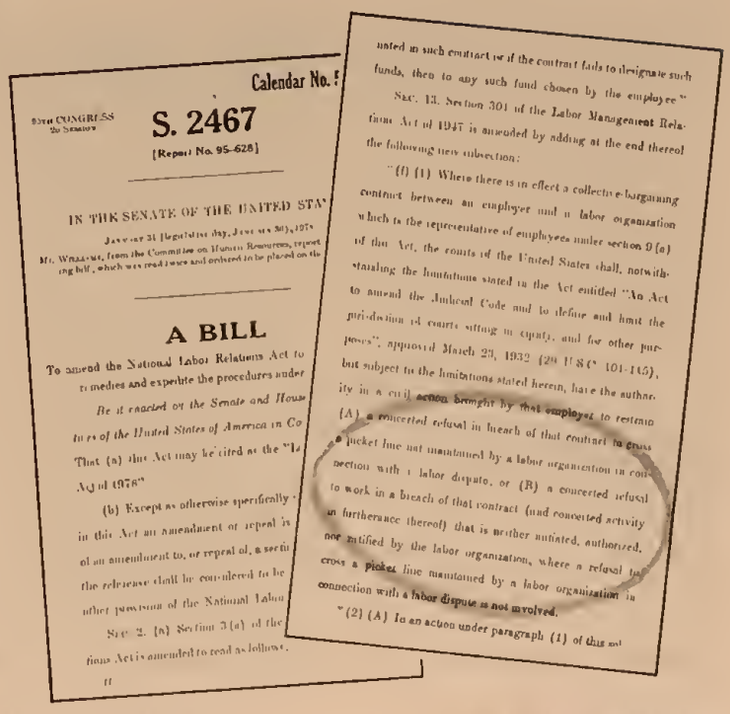
What's in the Bill

The bill itself is already a significantly watered-down version of the labor bureaucracy's legislative program to clear away obstacles that bar organizing the unorganized. Strikingly absent from S2467 is the repeal of Section 14b of Taft-Hartley. Section 14b, which permits states to pass so-called "right to work" laws outlawing the union shop, has long been cited by the AFL-CIO leadership as the key obstacle to organizing the South. Instead, the bill provides for such remedies as "equal access" for union representatives during organizing drives; sets specific timetables for holding representation elections; provides increased compensation to employees for work lost as a result of unfair labor practices by an employer during an organizing drive or before a first contract is signed, enables the Board to issue an order adjusting wages upward in instances where the company has unlawfully refused to bargain on a first contract; provides wider latitude for restraining injunctions against such practices; and mandates the Secretary of Labor to "debar" persistent violators from receiving federal contracts for up to three years.

But despite the stiffened penalties, the Board's orders are still subject to review by the courts, and it is the time-consuming delays brought about by extensive court litigation that intransigent employers have utilized over and over to quash organizing drives conducted under the auspices of the NLRB. The debarment provision is also loaded with loopholes. The Secretary of Labor may exempt violators if it is in the "national interest" or if the firm is the sole supplier to a government agency. He may also limit the period of debarment to under three years or otherwise modify the penalties dealt out to violators.

The employers most alarmed by this section of the bill are those with small or moderate-sized unorganized businesses, and this is the group that has mobilized most heavily to defeat it. The larger non-union outfits, with the financial clout to pay the increased fines and the costs of extensive litigation, are less threatened. J.P. Stevens, the notoriously anti-union textile giant with 85 plants and some 44,000 workers, has been consciously defying the orders of the Board for at least 15 years. Since 1965 the NLRB has found J.P. Stevens guilty of violating the law's provisions in 15 separate cases; and thus far the company has already coughed up $1.3 million in back-pay awards (which it charges off as "business expenses" against income tax claims!). Such obstructionism will be somewhat more expensive under the Labor Law Reform Bill, but it is unlikely that, even if enforced, it would drive intransigents like J.P. Stevens to capitulate.

In addition, S2467 contains numerous clauses that are simply anti-union. The bill makes it easier to organize plant guards. Its debarment provisions can also be applied against unions deemed to be consistent violators; for example, building trades unions found guilty of "unfair labor practices" may have federal funding of apprenticeship programs cut off. And the Board can levy the bill's stiffened financial penalties and back-pay awards against labor as well as management in instances where there are proceedings to decertify an existing union as bargaining agent.



Calendar No. 5

95th CONGRESS
2d Session

S. 2467

[Report No. 95-628]

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STA

January 31 (legislative day, January 30), 197

Mr. WILLIAMS, from the Committee on Human Resources, report ing bill, which was read twice and ordered to be placed on the

A BILL

To amend the National Labor Relations Act to
remedies and expedite the procedures under

Be it enacted by the Senate and House
tives of the United States of America in Co

That (a) this Act may be cited as the "La
Act of 1978"

(b) Except as otherwise specifically
in this Act an amendment or repeal in
of an amendment to, or repeal of, a secti
the reference shall be considered to be
other provision of the National Labor

SEC. 2. (a) Section 3(a) of the
tions Act is amended to read as follows:

united in such contract or if the contract fails to designate such funds, then to any such fund chosen by the employee."

SEC. 13. Section 301 of the Labor Management Relations Act of 1947 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(f) (1) Where there is in effect a collective bargaining contract between an employer and a labor organization which is the representative of employees under section 9(a) of the Act, the courts of the United States shall, notwithstanding the limitations stated in the Act entitled "An Act to amend the Judicial Code and to define and limit the jurisdiction of courts sitting in equity, and for other purposes", approved March 23, 1932 (29 USC 101-115), but subject to the limitations stated herein, have the authority in a civil action brought by that employer to restrain (A) a concerted refusal in breach of that contract to cross a picket line not maintained by a labor organization in connection with a labor dispute, or (B) a concerted refusal to work in a breach of that contract (and concerted activity in furtherance thereof) that is neither initiated, authorized, nor ratified by the labor organization, where a refusal to cross a picket line maintained by a labor organization in connection with a labor dispute is not involved.

"(2) (A) In an action under paragraph (1) of this sub

AFL-CIO-backed Labor Reform Bill would provide legal basis in federal law for employers to obtain injunctions against wildcat strikes.

But certainly the most striking anti-labor provision in S2467 is Section 13, which amends Taft-Hartley to enable employers to enjoin a refusal to cross a picket line not maintained by a labor organization, or one that is neither "initiated, authorized, nor ratified by the labor organization"—that is, a wildcat strike. (In the House version the Board, not the employer, must seek the injunction.) Certainly this legislation would outlaw the roving pickets that were the heart of the miners' strikes. That alone is sufficient reason for militant unionists to *oppose* the AFL-CIO backed "labor reform" bill.

The Wagner Act

Since the days of the New Deal, the trade-union bureaucracy has perpetuated the myth that the right to organize was won and guaranteed essentially through the application of liberal labor legislation. In 1933 when the NRA was passed with its Section 7a, which "guaranteed" the "right of collective bargaining," labor organizers fanned out across the country, urging that "the President wants you to join the union." These organizing drives met with a tremendous response from thousands of workers who took these promises as good coin. In fact, however, the open shop was not smashed; in most industries, NRA government/company codes were drawn up that simply ratified existing conditions. The auto code, for example, gave the companies full control of hiring, firing and promotions without regard to seniority and granted "proportional representation" to company unions on the industry's bargaining council. As a result of the AFL leadership's failure to strike against such codes, hundreds of thousands of workers deserted the unions they had only recently joined. Only where a prior

continued on page 8

WV Photo

S2457 attacks right to strike, outlawing wildcats such as UMWA miners' strike against cancellation of health benefits last summer. Union militants must oppose all laws restricting labor's right to strike.

WV Photo

While tying unions to the capitalist state, Labor Reform Bill only makes it more expensive for anti-union companies such as J.P. Stevens to carry out unfair labor practices.

Abstain on Props 8 and 13!

California Property Tax Squabble

As California's June 6 election day draws near, political controversy in the state centers around the so-called Jarvis-Gann amendment (Proposition 13), a proposed change in the state constitution which would cut California property taxes by about two thirds across the board. Advanced by the Reaganite right wing of the Republican Party as a "tax revolution" which will bring much needed tax relief to small property holders, Jarvis-Gann is bitterly opposed by Democratic governor Jerry Brown, many Republicans and a number of the biggest capitalist enterprises in the state. The California labor bureaucracy has also linked arms with the bourgeois opponents of Proposition 13, meekly buying the bosses' arguments that massive cuts of government workers' jobs are inevitable should Jarvis-Gann become law.

Specifically, the Jarvis amendment would limit taxes on all real property—commercial, industrial and residential—to 1 percent of the assessed real value of that property (as shown on 1975-76 state tax bills). Should this measure pass, local government units statewide stand to lose approximately $7 billion in revenues. Moreover, Proposition 13 would forbid either state or local government from increasing any other taxes without approval of two thirds of the registered voters. In any case, the amendment effectively prohibits any increases in property taxes whatsoever.

Jarvis-Gann backers have been very successful in appealing to the petty bourgeoisie and the large number of homeowning workers in the state who have seen property taxes on their houses rise over 120 percent in the last ten years. As we go to press, polls indicate that Proposition 13 is favored over a rival "tax relief bill," Proposition 8, supported by the Democratic Party and the labor bureaucracy. The latter has mounted a massive anti-Prop 13 propaganda campaign promising tens of thousands of layoffs of municipal workers statewide should the $7 billion tax cut take place.

Despite the Jarvis-Gann backers' demagogic appeals to the "forgotten" tax-paying homeowners, it is the big-time landlords and industrialists who would really benefit from Proposition 13. Over 60 percent of state property taxes come from commercial and industrial property. In particular, the measure would mean windfall profits for owners of large apartment houses and it should come as no surprise that Proposition 13 author Howard Jarvis is also the long-time paid director of the Los Angeles apartment owners' association.

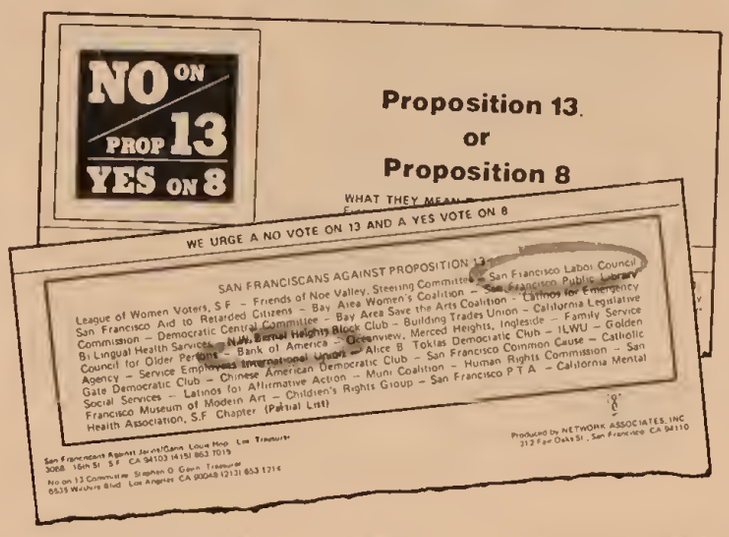
In addition to being a bonanza for Jarvis' apartment-owning cronies, Proposition 13 would create numerous inequities. As the amendment permits a new assessment each time a piece of property is sold and since houses in California change hands nearly twice as often as industrial and commercial properties, there would be a long-term tendency to shift a greater percentage of property taxes onto residential properties. Further, depending on whether a person bought a house before or after 1975-76, situations would arise where people with similar houses pay wildly different tax bills. Opponents of Jarvis-Gann are banking on using such contradictions to tie up the measure in the courts should it actually pass on June 6.

NOTICE

Beginning with this issue *Workers Vanguard* goes over to a biweekly publication schedule (skipping one issue in August and a week in December) WV No. 209 will be dated 16 June.

Howard Jarvis

Michael Dressler/Time



Unions join big business in pushing "aid to rich" Prop 8 in order to defeat Reaganite Prop 13.

While Prop 13 enjoys the support of most landlords, agribusiness capitalists and ultra-reactionaries of the stripe of Republican Party gubernatorial hopefuls John V. Briggs (best known for proposing legislation to bar homosexuals from teaching in the public schools) and ex-Los Angeles police chief Ed Davies, the measure has failed to win even the support of the California State Republican Central Committee.

Lining up with Jerry Brown in opposition to Jarvis-Gann are some of the largest capitalist outfits in the state. A list would include: Bank of America, United California Bank, Kaiser Industries, IBM, Pacific Mutual Life Insurance, Southern California Edison and Southern Pacific. Why are these giant corporations who stand to gain millions through lower property taxes pouring money into a major campaign to defeat Jarvis-Gann? Columnist Dick Nolan posed the same question in the 19 March *Sunday San Francisco Examiner and Chronicle*, noting:

> "Some of these corporations, like Southern Pacific, have real estate holdings big enough to hide a couple of Balkan nations in, and still have room left over for a couple of deserts and an emirate."

The answer Nolan comes up with is simple enough. The capitalists are worried where the $7 billion to replace the Jarvis-Gann cuts will come from. They don't believe Proposition 13 will represent a permanent cut in taxes but simply a shift, and they are concerned that the burden might fall heavily on their necks.

There are other considerations as well. The finance capitalists are worried about the possible effects of Jarvis-Gann on the stability of municipal bonds, currently tax-free and backed by the taxing powers of the cities. In mid-April Moody's Investors Service, a major barometer of financial opinion, announced it would suspend ratings on all California tax-allocation bonds until after the June 6 vote on Proposition 13.

In San Francisco, Moody's decision to suspend—not revoke—the ratings will affect $13.1 million of the city's $55 million in bonded indebtedness. In southern California the effects are greater. The 14 April 1978 *San Francisco Chronicle* which reported these facts announced that in reaction to Moody's action the Bank of America, the largest bank in the state and one of the biggest in the world, came out against Jarvis-Gann. Also noteworthy is the fact that the largest single donation to the anti-Jarvis-Gann campaign comes from a group called Committee Against 13 that is composed of brokerage firms that deal in municipal bonds.

The big capitalists have an alternative to Prop 13 called Proposition 8 which comes in a package with a bill authored by Republican state senator Behr from Sonoma County. The Behr bill offers a 30 percent cut in property taxes for homeowners only. It contains no ceiling on assessments while prohibiting any further tax increases levied on business to compensate for lost revenues. Instead these monies will almost certainly be raised by jacking up sales and personal income taxes—measures which will fall most heavily on low-income families. As a sop to the nearly 50 percent of the population that rents its housing, the Behr bill offers a measly $75 credit to renters on their state income tax.

The wording of Proposition 8 is a simple statement that would allow the state to tax residential property (whether a cottage or a mansion) at a lower rate than industrial or commercial property. If Proposition 8 passes it will put the Behr bill into effect. However, should Prop 13 win, the Behr bill will become null and void. Governor Brown has sought to build support for Proposition 8 among tax-burdened homeowners by making it clear he will challenge the Jarvis amendment in the courts if it is approved (where he will likely succeed). Thus he poses Prop 8 as their only real chance of a tax cut.

The role of the labor bureaucracy in the anti-Jarvis-Gann coalition has been particularly disgraceful. Next to the brokerage firms the biggest contributions to the No on Prop 13/Yes on Prop 8 campaign have come from the trade unions. Two years ago San Francisco's Democratic Party mayor George Moscone broke the city craft workers strike; now he is threatening to close down schools, medical facilities, parks and libraries and to lay off thousands of city workers if Proposition 13 passes. And the response to these threats by the local labor bureaucrats? They join hands with Moscone and the Bank of America to campaign for Proposition 8.

California voters are being treated to the bizarre spectacle of the gentlemen who run the Bank of America wringing their hands over the possible loss of jobs of municipal workers around the state. What gall! These are the same captains of finance who with a routine flourish of a pen have been known to condemn whole populations to starvation-condition austerity measures.

Their cynicism is perhaps only exceeded by the hypocrisy of the labor bureaucracy which is now busy campaigning for Proposition 8. Up to the very last minute before Proposition 13 was put on the ballot the AFL-CIO tops mobilized to prevent the passage of the Behr bill. In the 3 March edition of the *California AFL-CIO News* the front page headline screams: "Tax Law Aids Rich and Perils Public Jobs, Labor Warns." Along with the headline you can find a "last-minute telegram" from John F. Henning, executive officer of the California AFL-CIO, to every Sacramento legislator urging them to vote down the Behr bill. The telegram is endorsed by the California AFL-CIO, AFSCME, ILWU, UAW, the Steelworkers, CWA, Retail Clerks and the UTU, among others. Yet in the very next issue of *California AFL-CIO News* a banner headline reads "State AFL-CIO Exec. Council Urges Defeat of Prop 13; Stresses Need for Approval of Prop 8." Thus once more this pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy makes its peace with the bourgeoisie and sets out to hoodwink the union rank and file.

The bourgeoisie is now threatening tens of thousands of municipal employees with layoffs should Proposition 13

continued on page 9

Fascists on Streets of Britain

WORKERS MUST CRUSH NATIONAL FRONT!

"Magic. They came in their thousands. They marched, they sang, they chanted. And more came.... Eighty thousand thronged the park, celebrating the rise against the fascists. 'We're black, we're white, we're dynamite,' they sang. They stood in the sun together. Eighty thousand. No trouble. Magic."
Socialist Worker, 6 May

So the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) summed up the Anti Nazi League (ANL) Carnival of April 30. On that day, rallied by the slogan "NF = no fun, no freedom, no future," tens of thousands of demonstrators gathered in Trafalgar Square and marched to a concert in Victoria Park. Undoubtedly the vast majority sincerely wanted to stop the rise of the fascist National Front, whose activities are a dangerous threat to every worker, leftist and immigrant. But the marchers only got empty "anti-fascist" speeches from union bureaucrats, Trihunites and liberals, followed by a four-mile parade and a punk rock concert at the end.

Then the day after the Carnival May Day, international workers day—the NF held an unpublicised march through the streets of London, from Portland Place to Hoxton. The press estimated that there were 1,000 to 1,500 fascists on the demonstration. They marched under police protection, and were not opposed by any counterdemonstrators. This was the first time the NF has *ever* been able to march through central London without incident.

What did *Socialist Worker* have to say about this?

> "The next day the National Front held a walk through London's East End. Nearly two hundred attended. It was secret. It rained all the way. Even God has joined the Anti Nazi League . ."

Arithmetic and journalistic incompetence did not cause this distorted account of the march—instead the SWP had something political to hide. For as ANL press officer Peter Hain admitted in the 11 May issue of *Socialist Challenge*, ANL and SWP leaders knew that the fascist provocation was to take place at least two days *before* it happened. But they did nothing to protest it, or even to *inform* the many thousands gathered for the Carnival. Rather, in order to conciliate its social-democratic and bourgeois allies inside the ANL, the SWP agreed to withhold the information about the impending NF march.

This incident graphically demonstrates the real nature and purpose of the Anti Nazi League. The ANL has been hailed by all and sundry—from its initiators the SWP, to the fake-Trotskyist International Marxist Group, the Communist Party and the Labour "lefts"—as a major step forward in the fight against the NF. *This is a lie.* The Anti Nazi League is a popular-frontist, social-patriotic *roadblock* to mobilising the working class to smash the fascist threat. It does not show workers and the oppressed how to use their strength to drive the fascists off the streets. Instead it counsels "unity" with labour misleaders and "democratic" representatives of the class enemy around pacifist, nationalist "anti-Nazi" propaganda.

REPRINTED FROM SPARTACIST BRITAIN NO. 2, JUNE 1978

Mark Rusher/IFL

Hailing "Democratic" Imperialism

The ANL was launched last autumn with a founding statement signed by numerous "respectable" luminaries, union bureaucrats, "left" Labour MPs, football players, actresses and even lords. It appealed for "the widest possible support for our efforts to alert the people of this country to the growing menace of the New Nazis." In a turn of phrase that would have done Stalin's popular front "theoretician" Dimitrov proud, the ANL vowed to "unite all those who oppose the growth of the Nazis in Britain, irrespective of other differences."

A key component of this "unity" is outright social patriotism. *Tribune* supporter Ernie Roberts, an ex-AUEW national officer and prospective Labour parliamentary candidate, summed up the line in his speech as chairman of the Carnival pre-march rally. According to Roberts, the ANL's fight against the National Front is the contemporary equivalent of Britain's fight against Germany in World War II.

Such flag-waving rubbish has been a constant theme of ANL propaganda, which regularly attacks the National Front for not being truly patriotic. ANL publications forever portray NFers as jackhooted aliens trying to smuggle authoritarian German ideas into the "democratic" British body politic. One major ANL pamphlet, "The National Front and the Jews," states:

> "Given that Britain opposed Germany in the second World War, the Front leadership has to explain how they can be both patriotic and yet support the German Nazis."

Speaking at a 20 April Anti Nazi League central London rally, SWP and ANL leader Nigel Harris complained of the "impudence" shown by the National Front in holding a demonstration on Remembrance Day: "And they call themselves patriots! Who the hell's side were they on?" Apparently the ANL would have been on the side of the British and American imperialists! Ah, if only that heroic patriot Winston Churchill were still with us—then Nigel Harris could sign him up as an Anti Nazi League sponsor!

Labour "left" politicians have been particularly eager to use the ANL to get themselves a cheap "anti-fascist" cover, for they have been severely compromised by the government's anti-working-class policies and protection for fascist demonstrations. More than 40 Labour MPs have endorsed the League to date. One, Neil Kinnock, explained at the ANL founding press conference that he was proud to sign up as an officer of the organisation—after all, it was "an alternative to streetfighting" (quoted in *Socialist Challenge*, 17 November 1977).

Labour's Liberal Party coalition partners also assured representation in the ANL, with Lord Avebury putting his name to the founding statement. More recently *Socialist Worker* (6 May) has regaled its readers with stories of the local Liberal Party in Stoke-on-Trent, which joined the SWP and Labour Party in mass "anti-Nazi" leafletting for the local elections.

"Stopping the Nazis at the Polls"

In fact, the whole unholy ANL alliance was *explicitly* set up to produce anti-NF propaganda in the period leading up to local Council and general elections. The ANL saw the May 4 Council elections as the first big test of its strategy. When the National Front's average vote dropped sharply compared with 1976, the ANL hailed this as a great victory. ("Nazi NF Humiliated" was the *Socialist Worker* headline.)

But however disheartening the results may have been to the NF, *votes* are by no means the key to the growth of fascism. The fascists do not simply constitute another political party campaigning for their particular ideology among a passive electorate. Fascism is not a system of "bad ideas" which can be defeated through ideological "exposure" or argued away. It is a programme of terrorist action; and it has a social base in the mobilisation of the impoverished petty bourgeoisie, which has been squeezed out of its social position by the decay of capitalism and which sees no powerful revolutionary proletarian alternative to capitalist degradation and anarchy.

Contrary to the ANL's social-chauvinist rantings, fascism is not somehow inherently "German"; it is certainly not anti-patriotic. Rather it is based on a *nationalist* chauvinism: the "outsiders" and "foreigners" (Jews, blacks, Asians) are scapegoated for all the problems of capitalist society.

Today the National Front does not constitute a mass movement which immediately threatens to smash the proletariat, although its ultimate goal is the destruction of all proletarian organisations and systematic terror and genocide against oppressed minorities. There is, however, a reason why the National Front has more social weight and significance in Britain today then similar far-right movements in other Western countries (e.g., the United States).

That reason is the severe decline of British imperialism—which in its long-drawn-out death agony has brought social degradation, chaos and continuous attacks on the living standards and conditions of the broad masses. Disaffection with this has generated a *real* social base for fascism among the petty bourgeoisie and politically backward workers.

Fascism cannot be beaten by issuing classless propaganda against its "ideology," still less by competing with it for the national banner. It can only be destroyed by mobilising the working class and its allies among the oppressed to *smash* the fascist gangs, and by building a revolutionary party to pose a proletarian class alternative to bourgeois rule and its attendant social decay. Beating the drums for "anti-Nazi" British patriotism is directly counterposed to these tasks, even if the National Front suffers a short-term loss of electoral respectability as its leaders' Hitlerite proclivities are exposed.

Differences do appear among the capitalists on how to relate to the fascists, particularly in a period like today when they are not seen to be immediately necessary in order to crush a highly combative working class. But the capitalist class will always seek to unite to smash the proletariat and its organisations at a point of extreme social and political crisis. When necessary, they will give open support to fascist terror gangs. This is precisely what happened in Italy, Germany and Spain during the 1920's and 1930's.

Any attempt to entice one section of the bourgeoisie (the mythical "progressive," "democratic" capitalists) into a popular front of all forces opposed to fascism is *worse* than utopian. Such a strategy sows very dangerous illusions among the workers and can only lead them to defeat—just like in Spain.

It is quite principled for a revolutionary party to march alongside social democrats and other reformists in an anti-fascist demonstration (and even to march alongside any bourgeois elements who, for whatever reason, choose to stand with the interests of the proletariat on this issue for a time). In fact, a united front between revolutionists and reformists is often a *necessity* for defence against fascist terror, and it simultaneously serves the purpose of exposing the reformist leaders' hesitations and betrayals and thus winning

workers to the revolutionary banner.

But it is quite another thing to adopt the reformists' bourgeois politics. To issue joint "anti-fascist" propaganda with reformist misleaders (and even representatives of the bourgeoisie!) is to *betray* the interests of the proletariat. Yet this is precisely what the Socialist Workers Party has chosen to do in the ANL.

The Fight Against Fascism in the Thirties

In the 1930's the workers movement in western Europe was confronted by the rise of fascism on a scale which makes today's NF pale in comparison. The response of the Stalinist Communist International and its centrist satellites like the London Bureau was to organise coalitions against war and fascism under the leadership of prominent pacifists and other worthy "gentlemen." These coalitions were the precursors of the popular front.

The Trotskyist movement implacably *opposed* such class-collaborationist alliances, denouncing them for disarming the proletariat by tying it to the class enemy. At some "anti-fascist" conferences the Trotskyists were refused a vote on their counterproposals (1932); at others they were excluded altogether (1933). Particularly instructive is the Trotskyists' resolution on boycotting the "World Congress Against War, Fascism and Imperialism" organized by the London Bureau in 1936:

> "The planned conference, on the very face of it, is thus a gross fraud, which can only paralyze the genuine proletarian struggle against war, fascism, and imperialism. Were this congress to be composed of mass organizations of the working class, then, regardless of its ostensible program or leadership it might prove profitable for the revolutionary organizations to attend it for the purpose of exposing the fraud before a working class tribune and counterposing the program of revolutionary struggle to it."
>
> — *Documents of the Fourth International*

Time and again Trotsky noted that "a merciless exposure of the theory and

Police seize demonstrator at Lewisham, 1977.

practice of the People's Front is therefore the first condition for a revolutionary struggle against fascism" (*Transitional Programme*). In January 1936 he wrote:

> "We have to take strong measures against the abstract 'antifascist' mode of thinking that finds entry even into our own ranks at' times. 'Antifascism' is nothing, an empty concept used to cover up Stalinist skulduggery. In the name of 'antifascism' they instituted class collaboration with the Radicals. Many of our comrades wanted to give the 'People's Front,' i.e. class collaboration, positive support in the same way that we are ready to support the united front, i.e. the separation of the proletariat from the other classes."
>
> —"Bourgeois Democracy and the Fight Against Fascism," *Writings 1935-36*

Such popular-frontist "anti-fascism" is *precisely* the purpose of the Anti Nazi League.

IMG Chases "Respectability"

True to their tradition, organisations such as the Stalinist Communist Party and sundry Labour "leftists" have leapt onto the ANL bandwagon. But the group which is vying with the SWP to become the ANL's "best builder" is the fake-Trotskyist International Marxist Group (IMG). When the ANL was founded six months ago the IMG expressed hesitancy about the lack of a "mass action" perspective for the organisation, while endorsing the project nonetheless. Now with the rapid growth (and increasing "respectability") of the ANL the junior Martovs of the IMG have put aside all their little worries.

"Build the Anti Nazi League" screams the front page of *Socialist Challenge*. "Hats Off to the SWP" sings the IMG's editorial pacan to the Carnival. And just to assure the assorted reformists, Liberals and lords of the ANL that it bears no "Trotskyist" baggage of opposition to popular frontism, the IMG writes:

> "It is now obvious that the ANL needs a conference of its active supporters. We can share some of the apprehensions of the SWP in relation to such a conference becoming a bear-garden and alienating League supporters because of sectarian bickering. A conference devoted to discussing whether or not the ANL is a 'popular front' or a similar rubbish would, in our opinion, be disastrous."
>
> *Socialist Challenge*, 4 May

For the IMG, intransigent opposition to class collaboration and social patriotism has become "sectarian bickering" and "rubbish"! How far these disgraceful opportunists have sunk into the anti-Trotskyist mire!

Trying to strike a more critical posture toward the ANL are the eclectic left Pabloites of the International-Communist League (I-CL). In March the I-CL complained that the ANL had problems because "it commits the revolutionaries of the SWP [!] to limit their propaganda to what is acceptable to the liberals" (*Workers Action*, 11-18 March). By the time of the Carnival, however, the I-CL had toned down its criticisms considerably. The ANL was still "too confused," but:

> "Today's carnival is the biggest anti-fascist event for years. And on the eve of May Day the Anti Nazi League have chosen a great way to celebrate the traditional workers' holiday....
>
> "How are we going to do the job? Carnivals like today's can get the ball rolling showing us how many we are and helping us to get to know each other."
>
> "After the Carnival, What Next?" (*Workers Action* leaflet)

How chummy. The only problem is: the ANL has set the ball rolling in the wrong direction.

The I-CL's chief complaint about the ANL has been that it represents a turn by the SWP away from its past policy of engaging in street confrontations with the fascists. Indeed, until the end of last summer the SWP had been the chief proponent of a strategy of left-wing counter-demonstrations to fight the fascists in the streets, which it combined with calls on the capitalist government to ban NF marches.

Taking on the fascists in the streets certainly reflects a healthier impulse than signing "democratic" manifestos with Lord Avebury—though for the consummately cynical SWP leadership both have been little more than gimmicky recruitment schemes. However, the SWP tried to substitute "far-left" physical confrontations with the fascists and their police protectors for the hard fight within the trade unions to build mass working-class action against the fascists.

This strategy predictably backfired, as last summer's round of street confrontations with the NF ended with the latter achieving its aim of massive police protection. And the Public Order Act—invoked against opponents of Oswald Mosley's Blackshirts in 1937—was used to halt left-wing anti-NF demonstrations.

Build Workers Defence Guards!

As we wrote last summer after the Lewisham events:

> "It is not necessarily adventurist for a few thousand leftists to attempt to take on a few hundred fascists.... The point is to successfully *break up* attempted fascist mobilisations, not to engage in a string of inconclusive brawls. However, given the demonstrated determination of the state to protect the National Front in all these recent skirmishes with the left, most such attempts will only result in head-on confrontations with the police. In the absence of a mass working-class base for their activities, the attempt of even several thousand leftists to 'take on' the cops of the bourgeois state will inevitably result in the victimisation of those subjectively revolutionary militants who engage in such confrontations."
>
> *WV* No. 170, 26 August 1977

Demonstrations of a few thousand ill-organised leftists can usually be dispersed by a much smaller body of determined thugs and/or their police protectors. But physically-prepared *workers defence guards* built by the trade unions can protect workers' organisations and immigrant communities from attack and *crush* the fascists in the streets.

Anti Nazi League Carnival in Trafalgar Square. Spartacist Britain

There is a good reason why the SWP & Co. do not struggle within the unions to build such defence guards: their formation would directly challenge the bourgeois state's monopoly on armed terror. And Ernie Roberts and Neil Kinnock (to say nothing of the good peers of the realm) would not stand for that at all.

How can such defence guards be built? As Trotsky explained in the *Transitional Programme*:

> "*Strike pickets* are the basic nuclei of the proletarian army. This is our point of departure. In connection with every strike and street demonstration, it is imperative to propagate the necessity of creating *workers' groups for self-defence*. It is necessary to write this slogan into the programme of the revolutionary wing of the trade unions. It is imperative wherever possible, beginning with the youth groups, to organise groups for self-defence, to drill and acquaint them with the use of arms. "It is necessary to give organised expression to the valid hatred of the workers toward scabs and bands of gangsters and fascists. It is necessary to advance the slogan of a *workers' militia* as the one serious guarantee for the inviolability of workers' organisations, meetings, and press."

National Front demonstrators push racist filth at Lewisham last summer.

This is the strategy Trotskyists raise for fighting fascist attacks, against the sellout course of the labour bureaucrats and their "left" hangers-on.

The Spartacist Tendency and the Fight Against Fascism

The struggle to arm the workers to crush the fascists cannot consist of empty resolutions in the trade unions. It is a well-known practice for union bureaucrats to pass radical-sounding resolutions, committing themselves to nothing in particular, as a cover for inaction. The "left" talk of labour traitors at ANL rallies is a perfect example. Instead class-struggle oppositions must be built within the unions to ensure that the call for workers defence guards is made a reality. Such class-struggle groupings must link the fight against right-wing attacks to a programme which points the way to working-class power.

The international Spartacist tendency has a proud record of struggle against fascist and other racialist attacks and provocations. In America we have particularly had to fight the treacherous call raised by the IMG's local "co-thinkers," the Socialist Workers Party (U.S.), for defence of platforms for fascists. Our supporters have also actively fought racist and fascist attacks within the trade unions: the caucus we support in a Chicago-area UAW (car workers) local [branch] was instrumental in organising a workers defence squad to defend a black worker's home from night-riding racist marauders. In Detroit, we fought to win the unions to smash a fascist "bookshop" which recently opened near the giant River Rouge car factory. Our key has always been to unleash the powerful strength of the organised proletariat, not to substitute our own small forces for the necessary mobilisation of the class, and certainly not to bolster some fake "anti-fascist" talker.

As we grow and sink roots into the working class in this country, our members and supporters will be leading similar struggles—against the NF, its far-right satellites and the class whose interests they so violently serve. Each victory over the fascist hooligans will bring more forces to the revolutionary banner, thus bringing nearer the day of proletarian revolution.

And that is a struggle which requires neither magic nor god—but the forging of a revolutionary vanguard party steeled in the fight for working-class independence from the bourgeoisie. Only a party which can demonstrate to the working class its iron determination to do away with the capitalist system of anarchy, oppression and exploitation can break the stranglehold of racist division among working people, and lead the struggle for proletarian rule to final victory. ■

Labor Reform Bill...

(continued from page 4)

history of industrial union organizing existed, as in the mine and garment workers unions, were any sizable number of workers organized and brought under union contract.

In 1934, powerful organizing strikes in Toledo, Minneapolis and San Francisco were successfully led by socialists, Trotskyists and Stalinists. Fearing that the wave of labor organizing would fall under the control of "reds," the Roosevelt administration moved quickly to initiate a government-sanctioned bargaining mechanism under which the dynamic rise in working-class activity would hopefully be subordinated to the capitalist order. The result was the National Labor Relations (Wagner) Act passed in July 1935. The Wagner Act established the framework for sweeping federal regulation of labor relations and empowered the government to carve up bargaining jurisdictions and run elections to determine union recognition. It was the first major step of the capitalist state to assert and institutionalize its control of the increasingly turbulent labor movement. As such, revolutionaries opposed this bill.

The constitutionality of the NLRA was defended on the grounds that it was intended to remove the "restrictions" on interstate commerce (due to strike action) which the courts had previously dealt with through injunctions. Section 1 of the Wagner Act stated:

> "Experience has proved that protection by law of the right of employees to organize and bargain collectively safeguards commerce from injury, impairment, or interruption, and promotes the flow of commerce by removing certain recognized sources of industrial strife and unrest, by encouraging practices fundamental to the friendly adjustment of industrial disputes."

Thus, from the inception of the NLRA, protection of collective bargaining rights was seen as a trade-off for halting industrial militancy.

During the 1936 presidential elections, UMWA and CIO head John L. Lewis campaigned for Roosevelt, citing the passage of the Wagner Act. The Mine Workers and CIO kicked in $1 million to this campaign, while Lewis toured the country denouncing the steel trusts as the enemy of the New Deal and labor. Lewis clearly hoped to enlist Roosevelt's aid in breaking the open shop in steel, which he had pinpointed as the initial target of the CIO organizing campaign. To this end, several hundred organizers had been put on the payroll of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC), and a paper, *Steel Labor*, was issued. But while Lewis was closeted in closed-door negotiations with U.S. Steel head Myron Taylor in December 1936, the massive sitdown strike of GM workers erupted in Flint. This heroic battle, which was in no sense initiated by the CIO national leadership nor aided by the NLRB, breached the open shop in basic industry. Within a month U.S. Steel agreed to recognize SWOC as bargaining agent for its members, a decision which was essentially a by-product of the victory in Flint.

In the aftermath of the auto and steel victories, there still remained important outposts of the open shop, including prominently Little Steel and Ford Motor Co. The steel strike of 1937 had been drowned in blood by liberal Democratic Party governors and city officials, who mobilized the National Guardsmen and cops against the strikers; Harry Bennett's notorious Servicemen maintained a reign of terror at Ford. These companies and others had been repeatedly ruled in violation of federal labor laws by both the NLRB and the courts. But when John L. Lewis protested the fact that $1.3 billion in war contracts had been awarded these companies, Roosevelt replied that the government contractors could not be expected "to adhere to the letter of the labor law."

Litigation stretched out for years. It was not until early 1941, when massive strikes were waged at the Ford River Rouge plant and Bethlehem plants in Lackawanna, New York and Bethlehem, Pennsylvania that union contracts were won. The willingness of the liberal Roosevelt government to capitulate to the major anti-union employers has been continued thereafter by every administration. The arrogant bosses at J.P. Stevens and other bastions of the open shop have learned this lesson well. With or without the passage of the Labor Law Reform Bill, they are unlikely to vacate their positions in the absence of militant action by the trade unions.

While the Board hardly spearheaded the fight against the open shop, it did exercise considerable authority in designating what the appropriate unit would be in representation elections, whether craft, plant, company, etc. This question became the basis for conflicting jurisdiction claims by AFL and CIO unions. Initially, the Board leaned toward plant-wide elections, which basically worked in the favor of the CIO and industrial unionism. But after massive complaints from the AFL, the Board capitulated and reversed its policy in 1937. Thereafter, where there were established craft unions with some history in the plant, the workers in that jurisdiction were generally given the right to vote on whether they preferred the craft union. Although in the '30's the bourgeois press churned out a constant barrage of propaganda charging the Board with being a pawn of the CIO, in the majority of instances where selection of bargaining units was crucial to the outcome of elections, the Board decided in favor of the AFL. The concerted willingness of the Board to intervene in disputes within the labor movement on the side of less militant organizations did not evolve in the Taft-Hartley era, but in the height of the New Deal.

Taft-Hartley

In the wake of the post-war strike wave, Congress amended the National Labor Relations Act by passing the Taft-Hartley Act. This bill outlawed secondary boycotts and jurisdictional strikes, allowed states to pass "right-to-work" laws, mandated presidential injunctions in the face of "national emergencies", and instituted loyalty oaths for union officials. Where the Wagner Act had included "unfair labor practices" perpetrated by employers, Taft-Harley "balanced" the Wagner Act by including "unfair practices of labor organizations." For the first time under the act the bosses had recourse to direct state coercion against the unions, a mechanism which they were quick in utilizing to purge militants and break strikes.

The new provisions were employed as part of the anti-Communist witchhunt. For example, the Board ordered new representation elections for agricultural implement workers; the pre-existing union, the Stalinist-led Farm Equipment Workers, was denied a place on the ballot because its officers had refused to sign Taft-Hartley loyalty affidavits. The UAW thus won the elections easily. The current Labor Law Reform Bill's enhancing of the Board's power to act in decertification procedures thus provides additional authority to a weapon that has historically been used in the service of the conservative labor bureaucracy and the companies against leftists in the unions.

But by far the most pernicious aspect of Taft-Hartley was its curtailing of the right to strike. Not only were secondary boycotts and jurisdictional strikes illegalized but companies were given the right to sue the unions for breach of contract. The willingness of the union bureaucracy to accept no-strike contracts in itself gave the bosses an enormous weapon, but the Board and the courts have ruled thenceforth on numerous occasions that the mere existence of a grievance and arbitration procedure *implies* a no-strike agreement.

In 1957 the Supreme Court ruled in the Lincoln Mills case that employers could be compelled to take industrial disputes to arbitration. While this was welcomed by the union bureaucracy, the intention of the courts was to institutionalize a grievance/arbitration procedure which would then be used to exclude strikes. In 1962 the Supreme Court ruled in the Lucas Flour decision that to strike rather than to arbitrate a grievance during the term of a contract was a violation, even where there was no explicit no-strike clause. This decision was extended by the Court in the Boys Market case (1970) to enable companies not only to sue for damages against unions violating an implied no-strike clause but to seek federal injunctions as well. The Court declared: "As we have previously indicated, a no-strike obligation, express or implied, is the quid pro quo for an undertaking by the employer to submit grievance disputes to the process of arbitration."

While court decisions have occasionally conflicted, the clear trends of court decisions have been to reinforce broad authority for the use of the hated injunction weapon. Union officials permeated with illusions in the bourgeois state like to cite the Buffalo Forge decision of 1976 as a counter. In this instance a Steelworkers production local had refused to cross picket lines of an office workers local. The Supreme Court ruled, by a margin of 5-to-4, that no injunction could be issued. But the ruling was made on the narrow grounds that the specific issue of a sympathy strike was not arbitrable under the contract and the court reaffirmed that injunctions were perfectly applicable against any strike over an arbitrable issue. Thus the decision of the coal industry's Arbitration Review Board last October that the right to strike was inconsistent with the existence of a grievance/arbitration procedure was simply an application of prior court rulings.

The inclusion of the anti-strike clauses in S2467 is thus in no sense "incidental" to this bill: the liberal bourgeoisie has granted collective bargaining rights only insofar as it receives in return a guarantee that labor militancy will be quashed. The anti-wildcat provisions in this act not only legitimize past court practice with regard to the use of injunctions, but undoubtedly will serve as a rallying point for a new round of attacks on the right to strike. The bill itself effectively bars roving pickets; it takes little imagination to project that this will be extended by the Board and courts to circumscribe almost any sympathy strike and even to resort to so-called prospective injunctions, under which a company can get a sweeping court order barring strikes or wildcats even *before* they occur.

The public silence of the labor bureaucracy on the anti-strike provisions of S2467 is criminal. In particular, the bill is a frontal attack on coal miners, who fought bitterly in the recent strike to insure that there would be no explicit anti-wildcat provisions in the contract. Now their contract is being rewritten by the government. The position of the trade-union bureaucracy as a whole on the bill only reflects its deep antipathy for strikes and particularly wildcats.

For Trade-Union Independence from the State

In his essay "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" Trotsky succintly described the essential characteristic of the American trade-union movement. "In the United States the Department of Labor with its leftist bureaucracy has as its task the subordination of the trade union movement to the democratic state, and it must be said that this task has up to now been solved with some success." From the time of the inception of the CIO, the slavish dependence of the trade-union bureaucracy on state arbitration of labor disputes has only intensified.

The Labor Board, an institution virtually unique to the American labor movement, plays a semi-bonapartist role between capital and labor, arbitrating industrial disputes and determining what are "fair" and what are "unfair" labor practices. Notwithstanding the Board's increasingly reactionary role in implementing anti-union policies, the illusions in it and the government within the American working class have markedly *increased* in recent years. It is fundamentally the criminal failure of the labor bureaucracy to defend its members against company victimizations, racist company policies, etc., that serves to refurbish the Board's credentials as the court of last resort for thousands of workers.

It is not surprising that reformist left groups, like the Communist Party and the International Socialists, have come out in support of the Labor Law Reform Bill. These fake lefts, no less than the bureaucracy, have consistently sown illusions in the Board. In particular, their criminal applauding of the intervention of the Board and the Labor Department into disputes within the labor movement, as well as their support for the Sadlowskis and Millers who utilize such practices, demonstrate fully their willingness to accept the capitalist state as an "impartial" (!) arbiter in the class struggle.

Should the Labor Law Reform Bill pass, Marxists would not hesitate, of course, to use provisions of the act against the capitalists, where appropriate. Nonetheless, we oppose its enactment. Its aim is to curtail the right to strike, to strengthen the authority of the Labor Board to intervene in the class struggle—an intervention that is fundamentally directed at the labor movement. We demand instead: complete independence of the trade unions from the state—organize the unorganized through militant labor action; end all support to capitalist parties; build a workers party based on the trade unions to fight for a workers government. ■

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Jarvis Amendment...

(continued from page 5)

pass. The labor bureaucracy is hysterically echoing these threats and peddling the notion that these layoffs will come about *automatically*. In this way the labor brass signal their intent to their capitalist masters to do nothing should the bourgeoisie institute draconian cutbacks in jobs and services.

In fact the union leaders' hysteria over threatened Proposition 13 cutbacks is the worst sort of parliamentary cretinism. California municipal workers must understand that should the capitalists decide to slash jobs and services they scarcely need Prop 13 as an excuse. In New York City the big banks simply ordered the city government to tear up union contracts and lay off tens of thousands of city workers.

The fight over Prop 13 is a squabble among various wings of the bourgeoisie over how best to administer *their* tax structure for *their* government. Instead of pouring union funds into the pockets of crooked bourgeois politicians and an empty campaign to stop Prop 13, a genuine class-struggle leadership would be building its unions' strike funds and putting the capitalists on notice that the labor movement will not foot the bill for capitalist austerity programs. It would educate all the workers to understand that their interests will not be served by tinkering with the structure of capitalist tax laws. And it would let it be known that any cuts in jobs or services as a consequence of Props 8 or 13 would be met by statewide strike actions.

In passing it should be noted that cringing parliamentary-cretinist attitudes toward the Jarvis-Gann squabble are not confined to the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy. The geriatric Stalinists of the misnamed Communist Party (CP) have zigzagged along with their good pals the labor skates and joined the fight for "No on 13/Yes on 8!"

For decades the Stalinists have been trying to scotch-tape together a class-collaborationist "anti-monopoly coalition" with an imaginary "progressive wing" of the bourgeoisie. Now our partisans of the "anti-monopoly coalition" seem to have landed themselves in bed with the big monopolists!

What's more, it seems the CP is getting its signals crossed up nowadays. Thus, though the California CP takes up lances against Jarvis-Gann, its Ohio comrades opposed a tax levy in a context where the "no" vote had a heavy racist, anti-busing undercurrent (see "Cleveland School Board Whips Up Racist Reaction," *WV* No. 203, 28 April).

The response of the once-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) to Jarvis-Gann is also interesting as a case study in reformist tailism. In an SWP campaign leaflet entitled "Tax the Rich, Not Working People—Vote NO on Propositions 8 and 13" we find not one word of criticism of the do-nothing policies of the AFL-CIO and AFSCME bureaucracies. Instead we find a call for "a tax program that will benefit working people"... presumably to be administered by the bosses' government. Among other things this leaflet in support of the gubernatorial candidacy of SWPer Fred Halstead demands "Fund Schools, not the Pentagon." Not a word about the need for *class* opposition to the imperialist war machine, just social-democratic "guns vs. butter" rhetoric in the service of utopian schemes to reform war out of capitalism. Referring to similar pious wishes voiced by similar reformist mountebanks of his day, Engels sarcastically commented, "Yes, if toads had tails, they would no longer be toads!"

Halstead's campaign leaflet is capped with a call for a "Labor Party" which "would organize working men and women to fight for our rights on the job, in the streets and in the voting booth."

What a "Labor Party"!! Even the British Labour Party—a reformist, bourgeois workers party—is on "record" for expropriating key sections of capitalist industry. The SWP's "Labor Party" is content to "fight for our rights," whatever that means.

If they were not so utterly cynical the reformists of the CP and SWP should be profoundly shocked by Friedrich Engels' polemic "On the Housing Question," written over 100 years ago. In that work Engels correctly points out that taxes, credit and state debt, while of primary importance to the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie have little long-run importance to the workers. Taxes come down to the overhead needed to run the capitalist state, "a matter that interests the bourgeoisie very much but the workers only very little. What the worker pays in taxes goes in the long run into the cost of production of labor power and must be compensated for by the capitalist."

Furthermore, as against the claims of Keynesian liberals, government deficit spending does not benefit the working class. Continual government deficits mean that an ever larger share of the budget must be spent on debt service. Moreover, frequently a big deficit will produce an inflationary outburst, which cuts into the living standards of the workers and poor even more than would certain types of tax increases. Lyndon Johnson, for example, decided to finance the unpopular Vietnam war by deficit spending rather than trying to get a tax increase through Congress. In 1968 the federal government ran a $25 billion deficit, the largest since World War II. The result was an inflationary upsurge with consumer prices increasing 12 percent in the next two years.

Certainly any examination of Propositions 8 and 13 should make it clear that it is not permissible for Marxists to vote for either of these measures. They are both bourgeois boondoggles. However, to vote against them is also not permissible. Such a vote would, in the context of the current campaigns, amount to open endorsement of the tax policies of the bourgeois state. Furthermore, a "no" vote would also constitute a statement that proletarian revolutionaries are indifferent to the crushing tax burdens suffered by small petty-bourgeois property holders.

The hulabaloo about "tax relief" currently raging in California is a fraud and a diversion, which aims to pit the petty bourgeoisie and better-off workers against the lower-paid workers and unemployed. As Trotskyists we struggle not for this or that "tax reform" to be administered by the bosses' government, but instead fight for a workers government which will expropriate the bourgeoisie as a class, in the process canceling all debts to the parasitic banks, and will organize production not for profit but according to a plan determined by the democratic decisions of the working masses.

A most instructive lesson on how not to get sucked into the cesspool of parliamentary cretinism was related by Zinoviev in his speech "On Lenin" delivered to the Petrograd Soviet in September 1918. Zinoviev describes a scene where Badayev, a Bolshevik deputy to the tsarist Duma, came to see Lenin in exile and ask for his advice concerning bills in parliament about the budget that were introduced by the Cadets. Lenin replied:

> "What do you want a budget, an amendment, a 'bill' for? You are workers and the Duma exists for the ruling classes. You simply step forward and tell all Russia in simple language about the life and toil of the working class. Describe the horrors of capitalist slavery, summon the workers to make a revolution and fling into the face of this reactionary Duma that its members are scoundrels and exploiters!"

That, and not fidgeting with the bourgeoisie's tax laws, should be the guiding light for working-class militants in the great California property tax squabble. ■

Johnny Harris...

(continued from page 2)

Harris did not get a fair trial. Harris insists he is innocent of the charges of rape and robbery against him, but was forced to plead guilty by his court-appointed lawyer, who told him he'd surely get the death penalty unless he did. His lawyer never met with Harris until just before the trial began and refused to call any witnesses in his behalf. Harris' defense today points out that the rape victim—who had two relatives in the Birmingham Police Department at the time—put in a description of her assailant which did not match Harris. Further, when Harris was arrested, his family had just moved into a white neighborhood and had been victimized by racist harassment and threats.

The case of Charles Smith, in Mobile, Alabama underlines the vicious racism which still threatens blacks in the South. Smith, an ex-Marine, had just moved into a white neighborhood with his family, and was having a picnic in the backyard when two whites charged in wielding a lug wrench and a machete. Smith fought back. The machete-wielding white refused to stop after a warning shot, so Smith fired again and killed him. For exercising elementary self-defense, Smith was charged with first-degree murder, a charge of which he was recently acquitted. However, he would probably not be alive today except for the fact that he was a sheriff's deputy and thus was carrying a gun at the time of the assault. No doubt his employment also had an impact on the jury decision. But for most blacks in this racist society, like Johnny Harris, there is no justice in the courts.

Bourgeois politicians, North and South, are jumping on the law-and-order bandwagon, supporting state legislation allowing capital punishment for specifically named crimes in accordance with the Supreme Court mandate. There are presently 32 states with capital punishment statutes on the books, and campaigns to increase that number are growing. At the same time, the numbers on death row are swelling. The American Civil Liberties Union expects that the present total of 490 could rise to as many as the 600 who were condemned at the time of the 1976 decision.

In New York State, for example, Governor Carey (who vetoed the state legislature's death penalty bill) is seeking to recoup his losses with law-and-order forces by pushing through a repressive anti-crime bill. If passed, this bill would deny bail to those who have jumped bail before, more severe penalties will be mandatory for a new category of "violent crimes" and "juvenile" offenses will be moved into the regular criminal system. Such "get tough" legislation in a state generally regarded as "liberal" by southern standards underscores the general rightward trend in the nation and illustrates the fact that "southern justice" is in fact "U.S. justice"—racist, cruel and brutal, a sledgehammer to be used against the working people and oppressed by a ruling class which requires brutal force and repression to maintain its domination.

The Partisan Defense Committee has made a contribution to the legal defense for Johnny Harris (Imani). Donations may be sent to the Committee to Defend Imani and Stop the Death Penalty, P.O. Box 46, Atlanta, GA 30301, and may be earmarked for legal defense.

Free Johnny Harris! Abolish the Death Penalty! ■

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SL Fund Drive Success

We print below the final breakdown by local area of the SL's recently concluded four-week internal emergency fund drive. As we noted when we first reported on the fund drive in our public press, this was the first time in our history that we appealed to our comrades to assist the organization financially in excess of an already steep system of sustaining pledges ("*WV* to Go Biweekly," *WV* No. 206, 19 May).

As we reported in that announcement of our "limited and orderly retreat" from a weekly press, the money raised in the internal fund drive nearly *tripled* the most optimistic projection of the Political Bureau, which had anticipated raising perhaps $5,000-20,000 from members and close sympathizers in North America. In addition, sections of the international Spartacist tendency overseas, though not centrally involved in the fund drive, came through handsomely with over $5,000.

When the internal fund drive was first reported in our press, *WV* received a number of gratifying letters from readers who share our regret at the necessity to return to a biweekly frequency. One supporter in Vancouver sent $50 noting:

> "... It saddens me to read in your latest issue of *WV* No. 206 of your financial trouble and the need to publish biweekly.
> "... Having been an avid reader of *WV*, and having learnt much from it, I hope the social and economic times will soon arise again to enable you to publish weekly.
> "A small donation is enclosed to assist you through your present difficulties."

The spontaneous solidarity of these readers only strengthens our confidence in our commitment to return *WV* to a regular weekly frequency "when either continuing sharp class struggle demands it or simple bulk growth of the SL/U.S. readily permits it."

The success of the fund drive internally is a gratifying and powerful confirmation of the revolutionary determination of our comrades. The figures printed below speak louder than any words.

Area	Amount Received	1st Section	Amount Received
Los Angeles	$ 5,544	U.S.	$49,478
Boston	2,931	Canada	4,213
San Francisco	4,923	France	2,610
New York	17,944	Germany	1,295
Berkeley/Oakland	4,342	Britain	681
Detroit	4,751	Australia/ New Zealand	458
Cleveland	2,601	TOTAL	$58,735
Chicago	5,692		
Other	750		
TOTAL (U.S.)	$49,478		

Cowardly WVO Maoists Attack SL

On May 19 the labor front-group of the Maoist Workers Viewpoint Organization (WVO) held a meeting at its Lower East Side office to discuss the struggle of the Transport Workers Union (TWU) and the New York city workers against Mayor Ed Koch's vicious anti-union offensive. The discussion period was transformed into a virtual debate when supporters of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus (M-SC) in the National Maritime Union and the Spartacist League (SL) counterposed a class-struggle program to the sell-defeating reformism of the WVO and its Trade Union Educational League. Frustrated by the impact of the SL's revolutionary politics on its worker-contacts, WVO ended the meeting by launching a cowardly physical assault on the SL and M-SC, pitching one union militant down three flights of stairs.

While WVO claims as a model the early communist work in the trade unions, the Communist Party-led TUEL of the mid-1920's was characterized by its fight to *break* worker-militants from simple trade unionism and win them to a revolutionary program. In sharp contrast these workerist Maoists were pathetically unable to go beyond the most pallid nickel-and-dime economism. The city workers who spoke at the meeting could do no more than relate shop-floor atrocities; the program of a member of the District 1199 hospital workers' contract negotiating team to defeat Koch's offensive could not be differentiated from the empty mouthings of Municipal Labor Council head Victor Gotbaum or the rest of the union sellout artists.

The tone for the ensuing discussion was set when an M-SC supporter first raised the need to build class-struggle oppositional caucuses in the trade unions. He went on to criticize the attempt of the Committee of Concerned Transit Workers to stop the bureaucratic ballot fraud in the TWU contract vote by going to court, an action which ended with a federal judge throwing out the entire ballot. Taking the unions to court, the M-SC spokesman pointed out, opens the road for the government to move in and take over the workers' organizations lock, stock and barrel, as it has been doing with some success in the United Mine Workers.

When Concerned Transit's action was defended as a smart "tactical" use of the courts, an SL spokesman noted that the judge's decision was a godsend to the TWU Guinan/Lawe bureaucracy: "Originally, the bureaucrats opposed the Committee's action but the very next day they were back in court saying 'sure throw out the ballots' because they figured out that the workers had turned down the contract." A class-struggle leadership in the TWU and city unions, the SLer declared, would instead abide by the TWU tradition of "no contract, no work," call for strike action and demand cancellation of the city debt service and expropriation of the banks.

Another SL speaker challenged the Maoists to come up with an alternative to strike action which could effectively combat the union-busting city government, to which one WVO supporter actually argued that advocating a strike was "stupid" because the workers would lose money! Others tried to dodge the issue by denouncing Trotskyists for not supporting "socialism" in China or by attacking the SL for not trying to reach the workers "where they're at."

Backed into a dead end as they watched their sympathizers showing approval of the call for strike action, WVO went into a frenzy and resorted to the usual tactics of cornered Stalinists faced with a political challenge: physical violence. As the meeting broke up and a number of workers sought to continue discussions with the M-SCers, a group of Maoist goons struck out and shoved the SL and M-SC supporters toward the door and attempted to toss them down the stairwell. In the process one trade unionist sustained a serious injury to his knee.

The WVO should learn from the experience of the Revolutionary Communist Party, Progressive Labor, the Workers League and other two-bit outfits that like to pretend they are running their own little deformed workers state that the Spartacist League will not be intimidated. We will assist these Mao-Stalinists in their education by upholding and enforcing the Leninist tradition of democracy in the workers movement ■

Vote No on Wage-Slashing Bill in L.A.

LOS ANGELES, May 27—In the context of efforts to whip up a "taxpayers' revolt" centered on southern California, anti-labor L.A. County supervisors are sponsoring a charter amendment to the June 6 ballot aimed at slashing the wages of county employees, particularly skilled tradesmen. Proposition A would overturn the provision of the Los Angeles County Charter which guarantees that county workers are paid a wage "at least equal to the prevailing salary" in the private sector. This constitutes an immediate threat to the livelihoods of 70,000 local government workers.

As is usual in these wage-slashing attacks, a great deal of propaganda has appeared claiming that county workers are overpaid. The *Los Angeles Times*, for example, in a 23 May editorial, printed the bald-faced lie that "county employees enjoy on the average, higher salaries than do their counterparts in private companies." In fact, a grand jury survey found that in 1976 only 10 percent of county workers earned more than their counterparts in the private sector; and a Service Employees International Union survey revealed that in 1977 county employees earned 7 percent *less* on the average than all workers surveyed.

"Prevailing wage" clauses are a standard dodge of the sellout labor bureaucracy, which quails at the prospect of directly confronting the government with strike action. While in general such clauses lull government workers into accepting no-strike laws (thinking they can get a "free ride" by relying on legislative pressuring), they are particularly treacherous in the "open-shop" environs of southern California, where they have been used to *limit* county workers' salary increases by linking them to the low wages prevailing in *non-unionized* industry. Nevertheless, the elimination of this clause in the present context would open the way for even more drastic wage cuts and must be strenuously opposed by the labor movement.

The right-wing initiators of these propositions are counting on the support of the heavily-taxed homeowners, whom they expect to vote for slashing the county workers' wages in the guise of "tax relief." In particular they hope to link up with the anti-"big-government" crusade by "free enterprise" fundamentalist supporters of Proposition 13 on the California state ballot in the June 6 vote (see article this issue). "Prop 13" proposes to drastically cut property taxes, playing the familiar right-wing populist "welfare Cadillac" theme.

Instead of mobilizing the strength of the unions to block the anti-labor offensive, the union bureaucrats are pandering to the right wing. In a statement signed by county supervisors Edelman and Hahn, L.A. County Democratic chairman Ed Burke and county Federation of Labor Executive secretary William Robertson, the "prevailing wage" clause is praised as having been "responsible for labor peace in Los Angeles County" and for keeping wages down. They proudly cite the example of San Francisco, where a "prevailing wage" clause was voted in "to keep salaries in line" after "two years of devastating public employees' strikes."

Both in L.A. and San Francisco the object has been to lower the wages of public employees. As a result of the introduction of the "prevailing wage" clause in San Francisco and the refusal of the S.F. labor leadership to wage a militant strike to defend union gains, the S.F. Board of Supervisors was able to drastically slash the wages of municipal craft workers in 1975-76. This is the specter which now hangs over the Los Angeles County workers.

No reliance on the Democrats! Strike Against Proposition A!

Peru...

(continued from page 1)

Students and People's Front (FOCEP)—ex-peasant leader and self-styled Trotskyist Hugo Blanco, labor lawyer Genero Ledesma and Ricardo Napuri, leader of the ostensibly Trotskyist POMR—and three candidates of the Maoist coalition Democratic People's Unity (UDP)—Ricardo Letts, editor of the "far left" weekly *Marka*; Javier Diez Canseco, editor of the Maoist review *Amauta*; and miners union lawyer Ricardo Diaz Chávez. The lives of all these leftists as well as of the deported populist military officers are in danger so long as they are at the mercy of the bloodthirsty Argentine junta. (The Third Army is particularly noted for its trigger-happy executioners.) All socialists, unionists and opponents of junta terror must demand that they be immediately released and provided safe conduct to the country of their choice. The Peruvian government's deportation order must be rescinded and the hundreds of strikers, union and left leaders still being held in jail immediately released!

"Anti-Imperialist" Military Regime Turns Right

Riots first erupted after the government authorized large price increases for gasoline, wheat products, milk and cooking oil which had previously been subsidized to protect low-income consumers in a country which has a current rate of inflation of 80 percent and unemployment of 40 percent. The government adopted its austerity program after the IMF and foreign banks refused to refinance short-term debt payments of about $1 billion due this spring unless the government undertook measures to reduce deficits and increase exports.

The Peruvian government was teetering on the brink of bankruptcy. Wells Fargo Bank had already declared Peru in default of $26 million, which it was able to cover only by obtaining an advance payment of royalties from the Occidental Petroleum Corporation. Morales Bermúdez' appeal to Washington resulted in agreement from Carter to accelerate food shipments on credit but not to cover any of the existing debt. The military regime in Lima—which once fancied itself "anti-imperialist," with support from Cuba and the USSR—was thus left to the mercy of Washington's debt collection agency and soon knuckled under to the IMF demands.

The current crisis has its origins in the right turn taken by the Peruvian government after Morales Bermúdez ousted the popular General Velasco Alvarado in a bloodless power shuffle in August 1975. Velasco Alvarado had stood at the head of the nationalist military junta which deposed the conservative president Fernando Belaunde Terry in 1968. The "leftist" generals, most of whom had participated in anti-guerrilla operations in the early 1960's, pompously talked of their coup as the Peruvian Revolution, instituting

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populist reforms directed against the "oligarchy" and foreign domination of the economy. Velasco Alvarado's rule from 1968 to 1975 is reminiscent of the populist bonapartism of Lázaro Cárdenas of Mexico in the late 1930's.

Like him, Velasco Alvarado found it necessary to enlist a certain measure of mass support in order to modernize the economy of a backward capitalist country with large holdovers of semi-feudal relations of production in the interior. Thus Velasco Alvarado carried out a bourgeois land reform program which broke up a large percentage of the giant estates in Peru and redistributed them among 300,000 peasant families. He also carried out a limited amount of nationalization of foreign industry—notably of International Petroleum (1968), an Exxon subsidiary, and the U.S.-owned Cerro de Pasco copper mine (1974).

Velasco Alvarado's government was hardly the "revolutionary" regime it (and much of the left) claimed it to be, however. Nationalizations of imperialist-owned property were minimal and the 1974 seizure of the Lima daily newspapers, while it did break the right-wing press monopoly, imposed near-total government control and rigid censorship of the national media. The government sponsored a number of schemes for "worker participation" in mixed ownership (state-private) industries and set up a corporatist "social mobilization" institution (SINAMOS) to organize mass support for its reform projects. At the same time, however, strikes were brutally crushed. In late 1971 the government broke a teachers strike, followed by the assassination of several mine workers in Cobriza (November 1971) and the occupation of several sugar plantations (early 1972). In addition, prominent leftists were exiled and their organizations forced underground. Even the Communist Party, despite its strong support for the *velasquista* regime, was only tolerated in a semi-legal status.

Morales Bermúdez calls his government the "second phase" of the revolution of the armed forces—a time of consolidation. The first act of "consolidation" was to purge all the *velasquistas* from the government, some of whom were forced into exile in January 1977, after forming the PSR to mobilize peasant support for the military officers who carried out the land reform. Under Morales Bermúdez all land reform and nationalization came to a complete halt, all "anti-imperialist" rhetoric was eliminated, private business was encouraged and American foreign capital was courted.

The brutal repression unleashed by the military government of Morales Bermúdez exposes the treachery of all brands of Stalinism, which for years embraced the revolutionary pretensions of the Peruvian generals. Castro praised Velasco Alvarado as a dedicated anti-imperialist and received Peruvian officers in Havana who only a few years before were hunting down Castroite guerrillas in the Andes. Moscow sent heavy arms shipments in addition to political praise, to the point that the Peruvian army is now largely equipped with Soviet arms. So when the strikers blocking the road to the Lima airport were killed by troops, they were shot down by Russian machine guns and tanks.

Peruvian president Morales Bermúdez "consolidates the Revolution" by ordering drastic price rises, shooting strikers. Stalinists supported phony "anti-imperialist" generals.

Abbes/Gamma

From July 19 to May 22

As the price of Peruvian exports (copper, fishmeal) fell on international markets and the prices of imports (especially oil) rose, the trade deficit ballooned. As a loyal vassal of imperialism Morales Bermúdez found it necessary to submit to the demands of the IMF and U.S. and European banks. The first attempt to impose an austerity program similar to that announced this May took place last summer when five weeks of street protests against a government order raising food and gasoline prices by as much as 50 percent led to a 24-hour general strike July 19 which left 19 dead.

The protests caused the government to back down on some of its proposals and reduce the price hikes intended for milk, bread, noodles and flour, but also gave it an excuse for mass repression. Hundreds of labor leaders, including CGTP secretary-general Eduardo Castillo, were arrested. On July 21 the government issued a decree that allowed companies a period of 15 days to fire union leaders who have participated in the strike and 5,210 militants were subsequently sacked.

While the July 19 strike was a direct confrontation with Morales Bermúdez, the Communist Party (PCP) insisted that the work stoppage be directed "against the right and not against the government" (*Marka*, 27 October 1977). With the arrest of CGTP leaders, however, PCP enthusiasm for the "Revolutionary Government" cooled. Nevertheless when the Lima regional affiliate of the PSR-led CTRP labor federation called a strike for September 20 demanding the rehiring of the union activists, the CGTP did not go along.

As the economic crisis has deepened and the government repeatedly shown that its only answer is to further impoverish Peru's working masses, Morales Bermúdez is quickly losing any advantage of the "populist" image inherited from his predecessor. And as the military government is increasingly despised, the PCP has become discredited for its craven support to the government.

This, in turn, has provoked widespread discontent in the party directed at long-time PCP secretary-general Jorge del Prado. It reached the point that by January of this year the leadership of the party's youth group, part of the CGTP leadership, the Lima regional committee (which controls over half the party membership) and a large number of central committee members went into open rebellion, refusing to recognize the political committee headed by "El Viejo" (the old buzzard) del Prado. The rebels' complaint was that the PCP leadership "maintain that the entire armed forces were revolutionary and it was necessary to preserve their unity" (*Marka*, 12 January 1978). They were particularly angered by del Prado's efforts to head the PCP slate for the June "constituent assembly."

In this boiling factional war the CGTP had scheduled a two-day general strike for January 23-24. However, as sectors of the army threatened heavy repression, an intervention by Morales Bermúdez obtained the support of del Prado, whose supporters in the labor federation called off the work stoppage at the last minute. This further deepened divisions within the party as well as strengthening the appeal of the several Maoist and "Trotskyist" groups to the left of the PCP. Division in the left and the PCI was also undoubtedly important in the defeat of another general strike called by the CGTP on February 28. The strike fizzled after the first day when transport, banks and most businesses functioned normally.

The May general strike was organized by the Communist-led CGTP, where militants in opposition to the del Prado leadership are strong. Due to the severity of the government's economic measures they even managed to drag in the *aprista* CTP, which boycotted the July 19 and February 28 general strikes, even though APRA leaders have been trying to win the favor of Morales Bermúdez. But the events of the last weeks of May proved that no wing of the reformist, Stalinist PCP is capable of leading the masses' struggle to victory over the strutting military bonapartes. Both wings seek only to *pressure* the government, although with differing degrees of intensity. The role of the strike leaders was to *limit* and contain the mobilization of Peruvian workers, which had gained a huge momentum and become fiercely antagonistic to the military regime already days before the start of the "official" strike.

Despite the loss of workers' lives and the mass arrests, the government was clearly on the defensive throughout the strike. Yet the effect of the "48-hour" strike call was to put a time limit on the protest—at the height of the struggle the workers were told to go back to work. Moreover, there were no mass demonstrations to display the strikers' power and take control of the streets. If the strike had been in the hands of revolutionaries rather than these class betrayers, the leadership would have seized the opportunity to mobilize the workers against the isolated military government, now revealed as a servant of the imperialists. A Peruvian Trotskyist party would have fought for the formation of democratically elected mass strike committees to pose a direct alternative to the Morales Bermúdez regime and provide the means for organizing a proletarian victory.

With the support of the huge peasantry, a workers and peasants government would expropriate both national and foreign capitalists, unleashing an agrarian revolution to sweep away the remains of feudalism and latifundia from the Indian highlands to the coastal plantations. Far from accepting the narrow limits of backward Peru, as do both Moscow and Peking Stalinists—not to mention the "left" generals, whose concept of the Peruvian Revolution is to get the U.S. to recognize the 200-mile limit on territorial waters!—it would spread the revolutionary struggle up and down the cordillera and beyond the Andes. On its banner would be inscribed not Inca nationalism but the slogan raised by the Fourth International founded by Leon Trotsky: for a Socialist United States of Latin America! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

UAW Passivity Allows Fascist HQ to Reopen

Detroit Community Fights Nazis

DETROIT, May 23 Thanks to the legalistic policies of the labor bureaucracy Nazis have again poked their heads up in this black and heavily union city Barely five weeks after members of the "National Socialist Movement" were evicted by court order from their "bookstore" on the Southwest side of Detroit, the race-hating sect reopened a storefront office last Saturday in the racially mixed Northwest side Brightmoor district. The fascist bunker on Fenkell Avenue has been the scene of repeated clashes as demonstrations of up to 300 outraged neighborhood residents and community groups seeking to oust the two-bit stormtroopers have found themselves pitted against the Nazis and their protectors in the Detroit Police Department.

Within an hour of the opening of the new Nazi headquarters, its windows pasted full of anti-Semitic and anti-black posters, a small picket line was set up by the Jewish War Veterans. As more and more opponents of the Nazis' presence gathered, six Detroit police squad cars and a Tactical Mobile Unit were rushed to the scene to protect the fascist scum. The atmosphere became particularly tense after Charles Benhan, head of the Detroit Roundtable of Christians and Jews, entered the building and was assaulted and thrown out by helmeted Nazis who stood outside jeering at demonstrators, who by then numbered over 200, their ranks bolstered by members of local motorcycle clubs.

By nightfall, the growing crowd began throwing bricks at the fascist headquarters and 60 cops in riot gear were mobilized to seal off a several-block-square area and disperse the demonstrators. The following day the clashes were renewed, with anti-Nazi protesters throwing stones and bottles at the police stationed in front of the building. Four Nazis were beaten to the pavement when they strayed out of their office, but the arrest toll mounted to 17. Over the next two days, a total of 55 protesters were arrested on charges ranging from felonious assault on a police officer to incitement to riot and destruction of property.

The Nazi presence in Brightmoor has sparked widespread hostility among community residents with the local youth and members of largely proletarian motorcycle clubs participating in the spontaneous demonstrations. In explaining this one of the bike-club leaders interviewed by the *Detroit Free Press* (24 May) expressed the fear that the Nazis' race-hate propaganda would spark racial clashes in the area which, although predominantly white working class, contains a substantial black population as well. And while there was some anti-German sentiment expressed, the community opposition to the Nazis reflects as well the general disgust of the residents toward a bunch of sleazy punks whom they see as invading the neighborhood.

Since last December, when the fascists first crept into view in Detroit, the Spartacist League has called for a broad-based mobilization of the city's powerful labor movement and minority organizations to drive the Nazis out. Though socially marginal now when the capitalists do not directly need their terrorist services, the Nazis are pledged to the most vicious pogroms against blacks, Jews and the labor movement. Their razor-slashing assault on a young woman trade unionist outside an earlier anti-Nazi meeting is just a small sample of the attacks they yearn to launch.

WV Photo

Residents demonstrate as Nazis reopen "bookstore" in their community.

But rather than mobilize the power of Detroit's hundreds of thousands of auto workers and massive black population, the leaders of the trade-union bureaucracy and "responsible" black organizations have chosen either to ignore the fascists or to turn to the bourgeois courts and government agencies beseeching them to evict the fascists. For four months, the Nazis' office in Detroit's Southwest side distributed hate literature, while the Nazis thumbed their noses at left-wing demonstrators and a "Labor-Community Council Against the Nazis" initiated by the leadership of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 600 fought proposals by auto worker militants for mass demonstrations to oust the Nazis.

The UAW tops preferred to pursue a court suit to evict the Nazis for a violation of their lease Though the Nazis were finally ousted from their premises, the Spartacist League warned, "While this time around a legal technicality could be used to effect the Nazi eviction, the capitalist courts will not and cannot fight the fascist threat Until they flee in fear of their lives it is only a matter of time until these homegrown Hitler lovers stick their heads up again" (*WV* No. 202, 21 April). Our prediction proved absolutely correct, as the Nazis almost immediately reappeared.

Yet the labor bureaucrats and their liberal allies learn nothing from bitter experience At a turbulent meeting on May 23 at the Brightmoor Community Council headquarters, Paul Boatin, chairman of the Local 600 "Labor-Community Council" pleaded "give us a couple of days" to initiate court action, claiming that the new landlord did not know he was renting to Nazis. But angry community residents impatiently shouted, "It took you three months at Vernor," referring to the long drawn-out effort to get the fascists out of their Southwest side office.

Brightmoor Community Council president Walter Roesler was similarly shouted down when he meekly urged "peaceful and legal action." "It's war," community residents responded· "If the police can't get the Nazis out, we can!" Matt Prince, a rank-and-file member of the UAW's Local 600, was widely applauded when he said that only the working people could drive the Nazis out and called for a massive labor demonstration in front of the fascist headquarters.

The failure of the labor bureaucracy in Detroit to mount a massive opposition to the Nazis has allowed a situation in which neighborhood youth and angered but isolated individuals have gone up alone against the violence of the Nazis and the Detroit Police Department. Not only does this rob the demonstrations of the social power necessary to *close down* the fascist lair, it also has aided the diversion of anti-Nazi sentiment into anti-German chauvinism. Some local residents have shown up with signs against the "krauts." Even members of ostensibly socialist organizations have capitulated to this American nationalism. Frank Runninghorse, national spokesman for the International Socialists' youth group, Red Tide, appeared one day on the picket line with a sign, "We Kicked Your Ass in Germany, We'll Do It In," which in effect sided with the Allied imperialists against Germany in World War II

The size and discipline of Detroit's powerful labor organizations, principally the UAW, are necessary to decisively rout the Nazis, instead of engaging in innumerable clashes with the police who defend the Nazis' "rights." Writing about the struggle against fascist gangs in the 1930's Leon Trotsky said.

> "In this period it is very important to distinguish between the fascists and the state. The state is not yet ready to subordinate itself to the fascists it wants to arbitrate.. Our strategic task is to increase these hesitations and apprehensions, on the part of the 'arbiter,' its army and its police. How? By showing that we are stronger than the fascists, that is, by giving them a good beating in full view of this arbiter without, as long as we are not absolutely forced to, directly taking on the state itself That is the whole point "
>
> *Writings, 1936-37*

Another eviction notice for the Nazis will only convince them that they have to set up shop elsewhere. The task for Detroit's working and black masses seeking to drive out the Nazis is to mount a force sufficient to show the brown-shirted Hitlerites that renewing their efforts is not worth the effort. One of the Nazis himself succinctly summed up the alternatives when he told a newsman: "We are just going to have to keep this up until they give up or wipe us out" (*Detroit Free Press*, 22 May).

Detroit workers should heed this warning and demand that their unions drive the Nazis out, beginning with a massive demonstration in front of the fascist office, and demanding that all charges be dropped against those arrested in the anti-Nazi protests. Drive the Nazis out of Detroit! ■

WV Photo

UAW Local 600 member calls for labor mobilization against Nazis.

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 209 16 June 1978

Defend the Soviet Union!

Carter's Holy Crusade Against Russia

The already threadbare fabric of "détente" began to visibly rip apart in the last month as leading spokesmen of American imperialism have hurled a rapid-fire series of bellicose threats at the Kremlin and embarked on provocative foreign initiatives bringing U.S.-Soviet relations to the lowest point in years. The Russian leaders are still clinging desperately to their illusions of "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialists, as Soviet president Leonid Brezhnev warned in Prague of a "return if not to the Cold War, then at least to a chilly war." But they are bound to be disappointed as the chilly war is already upon us.

In the U.S. liberal Democrats in Congress and the administration are suddenly voicing alarm at the turn of events. But unlike those reformists who see the current sabre-rattling emanating from Washington as reneging on campaign promises (which ones?), or those who worry whether Vance or Brzezinski have Carter's ear this week, we have pointed out since the beginning of the current Democratic administration that the axis of its policies is to rearm U.S. imperialism after the Vietnam debacle and the Watergate scandals. Thus the thrust of Carter's "human rights" propaganda offensive and of U.S. military/diplomatic initiatives have *necessarily* been directed against the Soviet Union.

Der Spiegel

Authenticated News International

(Left) Carter preaches Cold War gospel to NATO heads of state in Washington; (right) NATO jets.

Carter led off his two weeks of belligerent anti-Sovietism by denouncing the Russians and Cubans for complicity in the mid-May invasion of the former Katanga province (now named Shaba) of Zaire (the former Belgian Congo). Meanwhile he was providing transport for a French-inspired nakedly imperialist plot to shore up the corrupt and shaky regime of General Mobutu with a bought-and-paid-for "All-Africa" mercenary force. He then dispatched National Security Council chief Zbigniew Brzezinski the Dr. Strangelove of the Carter administration to Peking to strengthen the increasingly explicit Sino-U.S alliance against the USSR There Brzezinski blasted the Soviets as "international marauders," hailed the "long-term strategic" character of U.S.-China "parallel interests" and briefed Vice Premier Teng on secret U.S. military assessments.

In one of the more blatant examples of diplomatic double-dealing, while a UN Special Session on Disarmament droned on in New York, Carter summoned the heads of state of the 15 NATO countries for a summit meeting in Washington to push through a 15-year plan to boost Western arms spending by $60 to $80 billion. The U.S. also obtained a condemnation of Soviet-Cuban presence in Africa in the NATO communiqué as well as a statement that "détente is indivisible." While denying a "linkage" between Soviet aid to Ethiopia, Angola and to Rhodesian guerrillas and the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), Washington has established one nonetheless—by bringing the SALT negotiations to an abrupt standstill.

Carter's "Human Rights" Means War Preparations

Bourgeois commentators were, in general, surprised by the sudden hardening of the U.S.'s anti-Soviet stance, as were evidently their suddenly talkative "high-level" State Department sources. The candidate who campaigned on vague neo-populism and a God-fearing pledge of "love and decency and compassion" wasn't expected to talk so tough Carter's speech almost exactly a year ago at Notre Dame, where he spoke of hopes that the U.S and Soviet Union would "build a bridge of mutual confidence in one another" was contrasted to his June 7 address to the U.S. Naval Academy commencement. Endlessly praising the American Way of Life, the "born-again" cold warrior bragged about the U.S.'s "highest defense budget in history" and threatened "graver tensions" if the Soviets did not make the right choice between "cooperation and confrontation."

The capitalist media also marveled at the sudden pre-eminence of hard-lining anti-Soviet Brzezinski, who almost overnight was thrust on the covers of news magazines. Secretary of State

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Red or Black International?.....6

Pennsylvania Wildcat Cracks Coalfield Truce

NEWS FROM THE COAL FIELDS

JUNE 10 After being backed down on their demand for a no-strike clause in the United Mine Workers (UMWA) contract by the ranks' determined militancy, coal operators hoped that the 110-day length of the recent national strike would at least dampen the miners' willingness to go out on wildcat strikes. But the bosses' pipe dreams got a jolt last week as a local walkout by 100 central Pennsylvania miners flared into a strike involving thousands of members of the United Mine Workers. On May 31 members of Local 1880, employees of the independent North Cambria Fuel and E.P. Bender companies set up roving pickets, pledging to pull out all of UMWA District 2. The next day 7,500 miners were off the job in support of Local 1880's two-week-old strike although local judges promptly issued temporary restraining orders against the roving pickets, backed up with threats of fines of up to $1,000. These injunctions were ignored and the mass picketing continued to be effective.

In defiance of the UMWA's long-standing tradition of "No contract, no work," the Local's leadership kept the miners on the job for seven weeks without a contract following the signing of the national agreement between the UMWA and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA). The operators are holding out for the establishment of individual company pension plans which would be free from financial responsibility to the national UMWA pension trust funds and would instead be liable solely for "their own" workers and only for the years the worker was employed by these companies. By tying the miners' pensions to the operators' financial success, the bosses hope to stifle local militancy.

On Friday, June 2 UMWA chief Arnold Miller met with District 2 president Val Scarton and Local 1880 president Dave Killen and called a halt to the roving pickets. Despite the evident failure of the previous two weeks of isolated local striking, following seven weeks of wasted patience with the companies, Miller's strategy is to picket only the two struck mines. This policy was echoed at the District office in Ebensburg as well. Although the pickets were bolstered with the support of militants in several other locals, District 2 board member Paul Gormesh claimed to *WV*, "It didn't help them [Local 1880] by picketing other mines."

Lacking an alternative to the bureaucracy's defeatism at International, district and local levels, the roving pickets were dismantled By June 7 almost the entire District was back at work while the strikers are limited by court order to maximum of four pickets per gate. As if to mock Miller's cowardly strategy, once the bulk of the District's miners were back on the job, on June 8 an Indiana County judge dissolved the temporary restraining order against picketing, ruling that Local 1880 members did have the right to appear at the area's working mines!

The independent operators' demands for individual company pension programs are an attack on the union's ability to enforce a single nationwide contract in an industry where non-UMWA coal now accounts for half of the U.S. total—down from 70 percent in 1974. Though an estimated 90 percent of the mines in District 2 are under BCOA or Central Pennsylvania Coal Producers Association contract, establishment of separate contract provisions for the independents will only encourage other operators to raise similar demands. Since the end of the historic 1977-78 coal battle the International has abandoned miners employed in numerous other independents. Miners in Lee County, Virginia (see "Coal Bosses Try to Crack National Bargaining," *WV* No. 205, 12 May) have not returned to work yet well over two months after the BCOA contract was signed There, too, operators of seven different companies demanded separate pension agreements. UMWA militants must reassert the "No contract, no work" tradition and answer the threats of mine closures with the demand to open the companies' books to union inspection, linked to a struggle for expropriation of the mines without compensation.

The strike at North Cambria Fuel and E.P. Bender, which militants rapidly spread across half of District 2, has already shown that the uneasy truce represented by the 1978 agreement with the BCOA has not cracked the miners' will to struggle. Miners' grievances against the new contract's health insurance, which Miller handed over to private insurance carriers, are mounting all across the coalfields. The tactics of the central Pennsylvania miners also indicate that the October decision of the Arbitration Review Board (ARB 108) designed to crush roving pickets and sympathy strikes can be challenged and shattered with militant actions. It is through such struggles, and not by following Miller's legalistic strategy for defeat, that miners can beat back the coal operators' union-busting attacks. ■

On Trial for Picketing Scab Coal

Defend the Rockport Miners!

Five hundred southern Indiana coal miners jammed into and crowded around a Rockport courthouse June 6 to hear the charges brought against 194 union brothers—the result of a mass arrest in the first months of the recent coal strike. The United Mine Workers (UMWA) militants were charged January 7 for criminal trespass following police dispersal of most of a several-hundred-strong picket line which assembled at the non-union B&M coal dock on the Ohio River.

The mass picket in January was the miners' second appearance at the B&M dock, owned by notorious scabherder Paul Teagarden who loaded scab coal throughout most of the strike. On December 9, 200 strikers defended themselves against scabs who tried to force UMWA pickets off the road with bulldozers. When Teagarden reopened the dock and the miners returned, the cops moved in for the bust.

Though the remainder of the hearing was postponed for 30 days, the miners have already gotten a glimpse of the "evidence" which will be used against them. An aging local sheriff positively "identified" the "criminal activity" of one picket from 800 yards' distance on a overcast day!

Needless to say, no charges have been

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For Militant UMWA Support to Stearns Strike

The nearly two-year-old organizing drive by the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) at the Justus Mine in Stearns, Kentucky is facing renewed attack by the Blue Diamond Coal Company. A meeting of the union, the company and a federal mediator was arranged for May 30 but at the last minute Blue Diamond canceled. The next day the formation of the Justus Mine Association (JMA) was announced. The UMWA responded promptly with an "unfair labor practices" suit.

Having failed to break the Stearns miners' resistance with a squadron of heavily armed gun thugs, bloody assault by the Kentucky State Police and massive fines, jailings and injunctions issued by local courts, Blue Diamond chairman Gordon Bonnyman now hopes to defeat the UMWA by "recognizing" the scab JMA "union." The 70-man scab workforce includes—alongside 32 turncoat ex-strikers—a number of young and totally inexperienced new hires and a few old-timers who are trying to collect Social Security. The human garbage that Bonnyman has collected indicates that the companies' strategy is aimed at outright smashing of the organizing drive—a goal actively supported by scab operators through-

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Wide World

Cops arrest Rockport miners for picketing scab coal operation.

WV Photo

Rally last April to build support for Stearns strikers.

Peking Attacks Vietnam for Expropriating Chinese Capitalists

Relations between the People's Republic of China and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, already strained, have reached a new low in the last two months as thousands of ethnic Chinese are fleeing Vietnam. In late May China launched a violent tirade against Hanoi, charging it with racial chauvinism and a long-standing policy of harassing and expelling Chinese residents: "...more than 50,000 overseas Chinese were driven back to China in the period of one and a half months from April to mid-May this year" (*Peking Review*, 2 June).

Vietnam, in response, insists that the latest wave of refugees is the result of its crackdown on private businesses in the South, a long-overdue measure of socialization which had been postponed since the collapse of the puppet Thieu regime three years earlier. An editorial in the Vietnamese Communist Party newspaper *Nhan Dan* (29 May) queried: "One might ask whether nationalization was supposed to stop in socialist Vietnam before the wealth of a number of capitalists of Chinese origin?"

The Vietnamese Stalinist regime struck hard against private businesses in two successive waves in March and April. Following an extremely liberal policy for three years, during which private industry and trade (some 65 percent of the total market) in the South continued and were even encouraged by the bureaucracy, the crackdown came literally overnight. Tens of thousands of party members and youth were mobilized to occupy, search and inventory all private businesses on the night of March 27, following an abrupt announcement that day that "all trade and business operations of bourgeois tradesmen are to be abolished."

This was followed on April 16 by a clean-up of the open-air black markets, including the famous "thieves' market" of Ho Chi Minh City (formerly Saigon), where stolen and second-hand luxury items like hi-fi sets were the objects of vigorous trading. Then on May 3 the government announced the introduction of a single new currency for all Vietnam, including severe restrictions on the amount of cash families could retain after the exchange. This was aimed at preventing wealthy capitalists from dispersing their hoarded cash reserves on a large scale.

Singled out for heavy control was Cholon, the large Chinese quarter of the former Saigon, which was surrounded by police and soldiers just before the March 27 announcement. Described by *Far Eastern Economic Review* correspondent Nayan Chanda as "an unreformed capitalist heart beating within the socialist body of Vietnam," Cholon historically has been the center of the Chinese merchant and financial class which has dominated private trade in southern Vietnam (as, in fact, it has in most of Southeast Asia). In particular, Cholon traders have long controlled the rice trade in the South, a key position, as agricultural production has not yet been collectivized since the incorporation of the southern half of the country into the Vietnamese deformed workers state.

Vietnamese Armymen Open Fire and Wound Chinese Residents

Tragic Scenes as Chinese Residents Driven Out by Viet Nam Return to China

June 3 Hsinhua Weekly protests "expulsion" of ethnic Chinese living in Vietnam.

Since late March there has been a massive exodus of Chinese from Vietnam to Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Hong Kong and Taiwan—but also in huge numbers to China, which claimed that some 89,700 Chinese refugees had entered its borders as of May 26. The Chinese charge Vietnam with a long-standing policy of "unwarrantedly ostracizing and persecuting Chinese residents in Viet Nam, and expelling many of them back to China" (*Peking Review*, 2 June). Heart-rending accounts of beaten and wounded refugees limping over the border are distributed daily by the official Peking Hsinhua News Agency. And in fact there is some evidence that Hanoi has been experiencing difficulties with minority populations along the Chinese border (notably the 1976 dissolution of the Viet Bac and Tay Bac autonomous regions).

Given the long-standing animosities between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples (which the Stalinist bureaucracies exacerbate for their own purposes), undoubtedly some genuine atrocities of ethnic persecution have occurred. Many of the fleeing Chinese, particularly those in the North crossing into China by foot, are not capitalists at all. They most likely fear racially directed victimization of "unreliable elements," particularly given the bitter border war with Cambodia, which is supported by Peking.

Nevertheless, it is absolutely clear that the *main* impetus for this latest flow of refugees is the crackdown on private business. Even *Peking Review* admits that the first mass entry of refugees into China came in April, *after* the crackdown. The Hua-Teng regime, however, has chosen to pretend the new Vietnamese economic policy doesn't exist and would seem to have never heard of such a thing as a Chinese merchant anywhere in southeast Asia. In any case, Peking's ultimate target in the propaganda barrage unleashed over the exodus of ethnic Chinese from Vietnam is the USSR.

A recent lengthy article in *Peking Review* (26 May) on the "History of Overseas Chinese and Their Glorious Tradition" is ostensibly a rebuttal to "Soviet revisionism" which "has been singing in unison with Lin Piao and the 'gang of four,' slandering that overseas Chinese belong to the 'capitalist class'." The article—a particularly cynical and grotesque piece—seeks to provoke international sympathy for "the victimized Chinese refugees"—who include black market speculators, rice traders, money-hoarders and sweatshop capitalists rushing out of Vietnam. It hides their class character in a welter of (quite true) historic facts about the exploitation of Chinese laborers building the American railroads, etc.

But while the vast majority of "overseas Chinese" are of course not capitalists, nevertheless, like the Jews in medieval Europe and to some extent the Lebanese Arabs in Africa, they have historically formed an educated, petty-bourgeois and merchant caste which has dominated private trade in southeast Asia. Peking knows this full well, having found this community quite useful as a pressure group for the expansion of economic ties with China. In the same way as the Chinese Stalinists use Hong Kong capitalists to transact business and have deliberately maintained this colonial leftover as a vestige of Chinese capitalism, they also seek to use overseas Chinese in southeast Asia as a "fifth column"—not to spread revolutionary struggle but to serve as anchor points for establishing client relations with various capitalist regimes in the regions. China's large-scale propaganda campaign over "victimized Chinese" in Vietnam is no doubt partly aimed at winning the good will of "overseas Chinese" leaders now that the Kuomintang dictatorship in Taiwan seems definitively headed for oblivion.

Relations between the nationalist bureaucracies of the two deformed workers states have been bad for some time, strained by territorial disputes over the oil-rich Paracel and Spratley Islands, and more seriously by the continuing vicious border war between Peking-supported Cambodia and Vietnam. (Peking has of course maintained total silence on the fate of ethnic Chinese in its ally "Democratic Kampuchea" during the Khmer Rouge's brutal 1975 evacuation of Phnom Penh and total razing of the urban economy.) Long gone are the days when Mao Tse-tung embraced Ho Chi Minh as a "comrade-in-arms" in the struggle against imperialist aggression. Even as the Chinese-U.S. alliance was in its earliest stages, when North Vietnamese ports were blocked by the American navy in 1972, Peking was posing all sorts of obstacles to the transport by rail of Soviet war materiel to Hanoi. The present Sino-Vietnamese dispute is ample proof that neither regime has anything to do with the proletarian internationalism proclaimed by the Soviet Union under Lenin and Trotsky.

Peking's pronouncements against the Soviet Union have taken on a darker, more ominous character lately. Peking has begun to talk of "inevitable" war with Russia, which they claim is seeking to "encircle" China—Vietnam, in this view, is one of the Russian satellites (along with the new military cabal in Afghanistan). In the wake of the provocative anti-USSR comments by U.S. president Carter's chief "security" advisor Brzezinski in Peking and recent Washington decisions to send China sophisticated exploration equipment banned from export to the USSR

continued on page 10

Before Sino-U.S. alliance Mao pledged solidarity with Ho. Now Peking calls Vietnam instrument of Kremlin.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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Stalinists Sabotage Anti-Apartheid Action at Bay Area Union Conference

SAN FRANCISCO On June 10 Local 34 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) hosted a Bay Area "Trade Union Conference on South Africa." The conference, which had been heavily promoted in the pages of *People's World*, West Coast organ of the reformist Communist Party (CP), drew 132 delegates from 64 local unions, including the ILWU, transportation unions and printing trades. But rather than serving as an opportunity for the labor movement to democratically decide how it can most effectively aid the struggle against apartheid, the conference was bureaucratically rigged to rubber stamp the organizers' liberal moral protest schemes and suppress any calls to organize powerful union solidarity actions.

Thus the 77 other union members who attended the event were classified as "observers" and denied voice and vote. As well as disenfranchising non-delegates the organizers announced that even delegates were not permitted to put forward motions counterposed to the official resolutions. Any new motions were supposed to be referred to a "continuations committee" at the conclusion of the conference.

The reason for this heavy-handed bureaucratism was doubtless the Stalinists' recollection of the stinging political defeat they suffered three years ago at a similar conference on Chile. At that meeting members of the class-struggle Militant Caucus of the ILWU demanded the exclusion of capitalist politicians (in this case a Democratic Party Congressman) and put forward a call for hot cargoing military goods to the Chilean junta. The Stalinists were so outraged at these proposals for elementary working-class solidarity that they initiated a thug attack in an attempt to silence a Militant Caucus spokesman at the microphone. This backfired when a number of delegates rallied to defend the militants.

At this year's conference the organizers were determined to rule with an iron hand. The CP and its bureaucratic allies in the ILWU leadership each had their own reasons for holding the conference in the first place. The ILWU tops are anxious to shore up their image as "progressives" on the eve of trying to ram through another sellout contract in longshore. Their Stalinist supporters saw the conference as an opportunity to put pressure on the liberal wing of the Democratic Party to prevent direct U.S. military intervention in Africa, where cold war "hawks" are seeking to counter increasing Soviet bloc influence.

The keynote speaker at the conference was John Gaetsewe, general secretary of the CP-supported South African Congress of Trade Unions. Gaetsewe devoted a major section of his address to an impassioned defense of Soviet/Cuban aid to African nationalists. But he stressed that no major Soviet fighting force would be introduced and pleaded that the U.S., as a United Nations member (!), "be bound by majority rule" and oppose the Vorster regime. Gaetsewe came out strongly in favor of a campaign for divestment of corporate holdings in South Africa and also called for a total economic boycott of the country.

Gaetsewe's remarks were carefully keyed into the major resolution presented by the conference organizers, which called for a general boycott of South African goods and for unions to divest their pension funds invested in companies doing business in South Africa. In motivating the proposal Barry Silverman, ILWU research director, unwittingly exposed the practical absurdity of implementing this utopian (and ultimately reactionary) proposal when he observed that most pension funds (like that of ILWU Local 6) are solely administered by the employers. Silverman cynically went on to claim that unions shouldn't demand immediate divestment anyway, as it might threaten the companies' profits.

Despite the CP's bureaucratic attempts to keep the conference under their thumb, ILWU Militant Caucus members distributed copies of a resolution "For Industrial Action Against Apartheid," at the door (see box). The resolution points out that the U.S. corporations are "accomplices of apartheid and perpetrators of racism" and consequently not potential allies but *enemies* of the struggle against white supremacy. Rather than impotent consumer boycott and divestment schemes, "which rely on the racist 'good will' of the multinationals," the resolution called for a two-week stop work action against all cargo and communications to South Africa, a permanent labor boycott of all military goods to the apartheid regime and strike action in the event of direct U.S. military intervention in Africa. An attempt by two ITU delegates to put forward the Militant Caucus motion was squashed by the chairman, despite the opposition of a significant number of delegates.

WV Photo

Spartacists picketing South African ship in S.F., October 1976. Stalinists voted "hot cargo" resolutions then refused to implement them.

The very fact that the Militant Caucus proposal was put forward at all was enough to throw the conference organizers into a frenzy. Leo Robinson, a phony "progressive" aspiring bureaucrat in ILWU Local 10 and frequent ally of CP forces in the union, delivered a foam-flecked diatribe against "those gurus of the labor movement" who attempt "to tell the workers what is best for them." What Robinson and other CP supporters really feared was that their own wretched record of sabotaging labor solidarity actions with the oppressed South African black masses would be exposed. In the aftermath of the 1976 Soweto uprisings a membership meeting of ILWU Local 10 passed a resolution calling for a boycott of South African and Rhodesian cargo. But the motion was never implemented due to bureaucratic sabotage. In fact it was Robinson himself (backed by CP spokesman Archie Brown) who moved to "refer" (i.e., kill) a motion which called for immediate implementation of the boycott resolution moved by Stan Gow, publisher of the "Longshore Militant" opposition newsletter, at the August 1976 meeting of Local 10.

Despite their posture as opponents of the apartheid regime in South Africa the Stalinists and their friends in the ILWU bureaucracy have consistently undermined attempts to implement militant labor solidarity with the heroic black masses of South Africa. With their reformist commitment to avoid any confrontation with the bosses these misleaders must inevitably betray the victims of apartheid. Only those who, like the "Longshore-Warehouse Militant" group, uphold a perspective of class struggle rather than class collaboration are capable of defending the interests of the oppressed. ■

ILWU Militants Demand:

Labor Action Against Apartheid!

Motion to the Bay Area Trade Union Conference on South Africa:

Whereas, in the face of the white supremacist South African regime's continuing murderous repression of the black population, resistance to the apartheid system continues to grow; and

Whereas, the black working class of South Africa has the capacity to play the key role in the battle against apartheid terror by stopping production, as has been shown through such tactics as "stay at home" strikes, and thus the recognition of black trade unions would greatly strengthen the workers' hand; and

Whereas, no confidence must be placed in the U.S. government and the multinational corporations like Ford and GM which are accomplices of apartheid and perpetrators of racism in the U.S. and throughout the world, but instead the power of the labor movement must be mobilized internationally for defense of the South African workers and students through concrete acts of solidarity; and

Whereas, consumer boycotts are usually ineffectual token pressure tactics which avoid the power of specific industrial action against the capitalist ruling classes and divestment is a utopian scheme which depends on the racist multi-nationals' "good will"; and

Whereas, such actions as UAW Local 1364's rally in October 1977 calling for "...labor action to force GM to recognize all the trade unions in South Africa" and the labor boycott against all South African cargo undertaken by the ILWU during the week of January 17, 1977 to protest the banning of black and white trade unionists are examples of specific acts of labor solidarity which can provide real support to the anti-apartheid struggle;

Resolved:

1) This conference demands immediate recognition of black trade unions, freeing of union organizers from detention and banning orders, freedom for all victims of apartheid terror, the elimination of all color bars and the smashing of the apartheid regime.

2) To commemorate the Soweto uprising and help win these demands, this conference calls for a two-week stop work action against all cargo and communications to South Africa by the U.S. labor movement and calls on labor throughout the world to join us.

3) This conference calls on all unions in the U.S. and around the world to impose a permanent embargo against the production and transportation of all military goods destined for the apartheid regime.

*****

Whereas, it has become increasingly clear that Carter's "human rights campaign" is nothing but a cover for the U.S. capitalists to conduct a cold-war anti-communist and anti-labor offensive and to support such reactionary regimes as Pinochet in Chile, the Shah of Iran and Voster in South Africa; and

Whereas, Carter's recent foreign policy statements regarding Africa are being used to prepare for another Vietnam, this time in Africa;

Resolved:

1) That this conference go on record opposing any U.S. military intervention in Africa.

2) That this conference go on record as supporting strike action should the U.S imperialists seek to intervene militarily in Africa.

Stan Gow,
Executive Board, ILWU Local 10

Howard Keylor,
Executive Board, ILWU Local 10

Bob Mandel,
General Executive Board,
ILWU Local 6

Peter Woolston,
Steward, ILWU Local 6

Victory to the Guild Strike!

Don't Move That Scab Daily News

JUNE 14, 2 a.m.—For the last three hours the streets and sidewalks around the New York *Daily News* building have been the scene of an on-again, off-again battle between mounted police and striking members of the Newspaper Guild. Hundreds of angry picketers had waited for five tense hours outside the paper's loading docks before learning that approximately 130 out of 160 newspaper delivery drivers would follow the orders of their union leader Doug LaChance to deliver management-produced scab editions of the *News*.

As the trucks rolled out, a cop riding shotgun beside each driver, rocks and bottles flew in the air. Furious strikers chanted "Stop the Scabs!" while the massed cops responded by chasing strikers, throwing them down on the street, beating and kicking them. In the midst of the turmoil cops kept yelling for reporters to put on their police press passes so they could tell which ones were on strike and which ones were covering it.

The Guild's contract with the country's largest daily ran out June 6, but the union leadership "stopped the clock" and continued negotiations until early this afternoon. The strike was forced by the *News* whose provocative list of 15 "giveback" demands—including attacks on job security, sick leave, automation protection, etc.—were clearly designed to break the back of the union.

The *News* management is obviously following the script written by *Washington Post* publisher Katherine Graham during the lengthy and bitter 1975 strike, which crippled the Guild and smashed craft unions at the *Post*. As in that strike, the key to victory or defeat for the *News* workers will be the Guild's ability to prevent production and distribution of the scab papers. Eight unions of the Allied Printing Trades Council have honored the picket lines of the 1,300 Guild members. But LaChance's vile stab in the back has put the strike in grave danger. According to reports from NBC news, LaChance agreed to scab on the Guild in exchange for the *News* bosses' offer to cancel a million-dollar fine owed the *News* for "damages" during a drivers' wildcat last year.

The *News* can successfully deliver the first scab paper in the city's history only because the labor solidarity which won the 114-day typographers' strike in 1963 is lacking 15 years later. When the New York Printers Union struck four of New York City's papers in '63, the newspaper magnates formed a consortium, locked out the typographers at the rest of the papers, pooled resources and tried to prolong the strike as long as possible in order to bleed the printers' strike fund dry. The printers not only held out for 114 days, but with the total support of nine other printing unions they beat down the press barons and won their demands.

The Guild does not exactly have a spotless record of labor solidarity—its scabbing during the *Post* strike helped contribute to that defeat. But deliverers and all newspaper workers must realize that if the Guild is broken it is their unions that will be the next on the chopping block in the nationwide union-busting drive in the printing trades. No union in this industry can stand alone. Newspaper workers must end this vicious cycle of mutual backstabbing. Honor the picket lines! Stop delivery of the scab *News*! Victory to the Newspaper Guild strike! ■

WV Photo

Honor the picket lines! Stop the scab News!

WV Photo

Cops drag off Guild strikers sitting down in front of Daily News delivery vans.

Vote Down Gotbaum's "4 Percent Solution"

In a settlement which came down to the wire, Victor Gotbaum, head of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) District Council 37 which represents some 200,000 city workers in New York City, signed a miserable sellout contract with Mayor Ed Koch. The contract was sealed only hours before Koch flew off to appear before the Senate Banking Committee to plead for $2 billion in long-term federal backing for city bonds. In order to put pressure on the municipal unions to settle, Koch claimed that unless he had an "acceptable" package to take to Washington his chances of securing credit from the federal government, and thus staving off a further round of layoffs and wage slashing, were slim.

The contract that Gotbaum ended up settling for could only be termed atrocious: two chicken-feed 4 percent "raises" staggered over two years (which will end up meaning a pay *cut* of 10 percent or more after taking inflation into account). What's more, the new contract contained nothing about the cost-of-living payments "deferred" by the union bureaucrats during the past three-year wage freeze, and Koch has publicly stated that the city has no intention of paying its employees the money it owes them.

When Koch flew to Washington June 6 to appear before William Proxmire's Senate committee he was still complaining that he had been unable to squeeze out any of the $100 million in "givebacks" of fringe benefits he had demanded from the city unions. Proxmire, who poses as a critic of the New York banks, would prefer that the financial barons chip in more to keep the city solvent. Koch—who fronts more directly for Citibank, Chase Manhattan, Manufacturers Hanover Trust & Co.—wants the federal treasury to guarantee the city's loan payments to the banks.

Both capitalist politicians, however, agree that it is the city workers who will really have to pick up the tab. Koch defended the city's labor contract as "the cheapest package in the country," and Proxmire conceded that 4 percent a year was "modest." "It's cruel," he said, "that it has to come out of the hides of the workers, but that's the way it is" (*New York Times*, 7 June).

If Proxmire has his way, there will be only "seasonal" federal loans to New York and Koch will be forced to carry out the emergency program he outlined during last week's hearings: "I will reduce services in order of priority... we will establish an order of priorities and those services will be eliminated, and there will be massive lay-offs in order to keep our budget going."

Meanwhile, back in Albany, the banks were lobbying to further extend the powers of the Emergency Financial Control Board (EFCB) which already has veto power over all city budgets and non-arbitrated municipal labor contracts for the next thirty years. But the bill, passed by the Albany legislature late last month, provided a "sunset" clause phasing out some of the EFCB's powers after the city had successfully balanced three successive budgets—i.e., never. Incredibly, even this patently absurd stipulation, tacked on as a sop to the unions, was too much for the banks who are insisting it be wiped off the books! In another development Governor Carey's Commerce Commissioner John Dyson proposed, in the spirit of California's Prop 13, that a new state law be passed limiting public employees to 3 percent of the state population—a move which would force the layoff of tens of thousands of state, county and city workers.

In the face of this continuing assault on the living standards of New York City workers, the only concern of the labor bureaucrats has been to maintain an appearance of equality among their separate sellouts. Transport Workers Union heads Matt Guinan and John Lawe—whose proposed two-year contract with its 6-percent raise and 3-percent cost-of-living escalator seemed doomed to rejection by an angry transit rank and file—called for a sleight-of-hand deal to figure in part of the COLA and call it an 8-percent raise without raising the cost to the city!

Along with the call to reopen the TWU contract, Gotbaum's greatest fear was that the Policeman's Benevolent Association, which threatened to strike for a 20 percent raise, would expose his contract sellout by winning concessions he said were impossible. The cops, who are *enemies* of the labor movement, know that they alone can expect favors from a city government which needs their repressive force now more than ever.

Gotbaum, Guinan & Co. have already given away 60,000 jobs, $643 million in benefits and $3.7 million in pension funds (sunk in MAC bonds) by Gotbaum's own figures. City workers will continue to pay the price for the "crisis" foisted on them by a conspiracy of bourgeois politicians and bankers as long as they are "led" by pro-capitalist traitors like Gotbaum.

Vote "no" on Gotbaum's "4 percent solution" and the already-rejected TWU contract! Transit workers should take the lead in a city workers strike against Big MAC and the EFCB! Don't pay the banks—Cancel the city debt service—Expropriate the banks! Dump the labor traitors! ■

RED OR BLACK INTERNATIONAL?

Spartacist League confronts black nationalist professors at Los Angeles conference.

LOS ANGELES "One big turning point. 1917. A new hall game from then on a contest between a red international and a black international." Thus keynote speaker St. Clair Drake staked out the sides in the "50-year debate over the relationship between Marxism and black consciousness" at a UCLA symposium May 18-20. Under the umbrella title "Popular Movements in Afro-American History and Thought," the symposium sponsored by UCLA's Center for Afro American Studies—drew about 100 people to hear some of the most respected black scholars and grand old men of "black studies": Vincent Harding, C.L.R James, St Clair Drake, among others.

Until the Spartacist League took the floor during the discussion period to pose the revolutionary proletarian solution to black oppression, there was no Marxist pole represented The panelists' remarks, though punctuated with Marxist phraseology, were in the main devoted to glorifying black nationalism and Pan-Africanism, as represented by such discredited figures as Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere and even Jamaica's Michael Manley. Concentrating their anti-Marxist fire on the Leninist proletarian vanguard party, the panelists could present no strategy for winning national liberation and socialism, instead limiting their real goal to the idealist notion of a historically transcendent "black culture."

The Spartacist speakers in the discussion period confronted the attacks on Leninism with a sharp defense of the need for an international proletarian vanguard party. "We stand for the *red* international," one comrade told the audience, clearly distinguishing the revolutionaries from the reformist supporters of nationalism and neo-colonialism. Cutting through the days of despairing and defeatist presentations, SL supporters insisted that anything short of the overthrow of capitalism means little more than putting a new black face on the oppression of black working people, that "without a party it is impossible to overthrow capitalism."

The event might have been any other academic symposium, full of the usual self-congratulatory mutual backslapping, except that the participants were devoted to the study of black history and claim to be grappling with the question of black emancipation. These black scholars—who have done some significant research (such as Drake's classic study of black urban life in Chicago, *Black Metropolis*)—feel responsibility to fight black oppression and exercise a good deal more political influence among radicals than the typical denizens of the ivory tower.

And though these academics ignore or reject a program for class struggle, their subject is inherently political. The oppression of blacks is so powerfully posed in the past and present, their struggles so compelling, and the sources of that oppression so obviously rooted in the capitalist social and economic order that the question of black liberation immediately leads to that of revolution So these black scholars must see themselves as immersed in a black "revolutionary" tradition and engaged in "the struggle." St. Clair Drake stated:

> "No black intellectual from 1917 on can avoid coming to terms with Marxism The question now becomes one of what kind of mix How much black nationalism, when and how integrated with Marxism"

NY Public Library

W.E.B. DuBois.

For Drake and other panelists, it was a matter of "mix." But the Pan-Africanist mix is three parts bourgeois ideology and one part Marxist vocabulary as a deceptive garnish—a recipe for support of the aims of capitalism in Africa and elsewhere. Drake is correct when he asserts there is a "contest" between the programs of the red and the black "internationals." But there can be no ideological "mix" of revolutionary Marxism with counterrevolutionary nationalism.

Drake cites the political biographies of several black leaders who seem to him to swim in both streams. His best example is W.E.B. DuBois. DuBois certainly represents the model for most U.S. black intellectuals, and they are indeed his spiritual disciples. For DuBois made an important scholarly contribution to the history of the struggles of black people while an active leader. He came down from the ivory tower to lead the fight against Booker T. Washington and helped found the NAACP. He had identified himself as a socialist before the Russian Revolution and had for a while been a member of the Socialist Party. But while often putting up a hard fight against the black conservatives, DuBois remained an eclectic radical-liberal fellow traveler and black cultural nationalist. When he died in 1964 he was eulogized not only by the Communist Party, which has enshrined him as its own, but also by liberal pacifist M.L. King.

Drake explains that this leading black intellectual died "in Ghana, because that's expressing his blackness, but joined the Communist Party USA the week before he left." That DuBois, who presided over the appeal to paternalist Wilsonian liberalism of the first Pan African Conference, could later join the CP is only an apparent contradiction. In becoming a Stalinist, he only continued the accommodation to imperialism that was expressed in his Pan-Africanism.

Nationalism and "Culture"

Ten years ago, during the turbulent heyday of the black nationalist movement, a forum such as the UCLA symposium would have provoked a tidal wave of interest among black students. Today, the panelists contemplate the calm after the storm without apparent wisdom. Unable to understand that the black nationalist mood was born out of despair of the possibility of racially united class struggle, in the wake of the defeat of the liberal civil rights movement, the black nationalist academics are in an articulate quandry about the disappearance of the radical black movement.

Casting about for a way to reconstitute the dissipated black nationalist movement, Drake proclaims the period since 1974 "a period of reassessment." What he wants to "reassess" are what he terms "the boundaries" between black nationalism and Marxism, wondering aloud whether some loosening of these boundaries might not be in order now. Not unlike the "anti-imperialist" African demagogues, the American black radical academics are propelled toward more of a veneer of Marxist rhetoric to cover the manifest bankruptcy of their utopian-nationalist perspectives.

Panelist William Strickland followed the logic of black nationalism to its appropriately despairing conclusion when he argued that integration constitutes a threat to a distinct "black culture." Indeed, it is the enforced separation of blacks as slaves and their continued forced segregation and brutal ghettoization that has created a "black culture" separate from "Southern culture" and "urban culture." For Strickland, it is this product of oppression which constitutes blacks' "moral edge." In the tradition of the 1960's activists who pushed segregation under the rubric of "community control" (consistent with earlier cult figure Marcus Garvey, who attempted to effect a "Back to Africa" alliance with the Ku Klux Klan), these utopian dreams are reactionary in their political content even when presented by mild-mannered college professors.

It is ironic and tragic that after all the political activism generated in the 1960's in the name of black nationalism, the result is really accurately reflected in this symposium (and many less prestigious conferences featuring the aspiring chairmen of Black Studies departments). As the black nationalist mood waned, all that was viable in that strategy turned out to be some token academic sinecures where the debates over "black revolution" can be conducted in safety.

This total failure of perspective is reflected in the journal, *Black Scholar*. This is a "mix" that works—a marriage of residual black nationalism and Democratic Party officials. With an editorial component which includes Ron Karenga and Shirley Chisholm (not to mention the "détente" with contributing editor CPer Angela Davis), the *Black Scholar* has taken to uncritically publishing the speeches of Patricia Harris, Ron Dellums and even the "sympathetic" speeches of that very non-black elected official, "James E. Carter" (*Black Scholar*, October 1977). Thus, after murderous government persecution and internal political fragmentation destroyed the militant anti-liberal wing of the black nationalist movement—the Black Panther Party—the few black nationalists left are in full flight from the class struggle and have nested in the classroom and the Democratic Party backroom.

Leninism vs. Pan-Africanism

With the death of the black nationalist movement, a number of black intellectuals involved with the movement turned to Pan-Africanism. And what could be more appropriate? Just as American black nationalism was a product of the defeat of the liberal civil rights movement in this country, the Pan-Africanist movement was similarly

a product of despair of revolutionary solutions for Africa.

Born after World War I and the Russian Revolution, Pan-Africanism in its earlier period appealed not to the revolutionary tradition of Lenin and Trotsky but to the various imperialist powers to use their influence to bring about "African independence." Under the impact of the developing independence movements in Africa after World War II, the Pan-Africanists, led by ex-Stalinist George Padmore, became less utopian and more class-conscious—i.e., more consciously counterrevolutionary. They saw themselves locked in mortal combat against Communism on the African continent. Padmore openly invoked the aid of U.S. imperialism against Communism:

> "In this connection of aid to Africa, if America, the 'foremost champion and defender of the free world', is really worried about Communism taking root in Africa and wants to prevent such a calamity from taking place, I can offer insurance against it."
>
> —Padmore, *Pan Africanism or Communism?*

But as the leaders of this effort to "Africanize" the institutions of imperialism became exposed as oppressors of the masses of black Africans, they borrowed more Marxist phraseology (without, of course, adding a jot of the Marxist revolutionary program). It is this fraud that Drake and others want to pass off as a "mix" of black consciousness and Marxism.

Surely Nkrumah is the best example of such a "mix." And indeed the cult of Nkrumah was much in evidence at this symposium. But what was the nature of Nkrumah's conversion to "Marxism"? In 1960 he "mixed" up Ghanian troops with UN imperialist "peace-keeping" forces in the Congo to maintain "unity" against Lumumba, counseling the latter to "unite with your bitterest political enemies" (Colin Legum, *The Congo Disaster*). Having driven Ghana's masses into extreme poverty, discredited by his smashing of the general strike of 1961, Nkrumah was overthrown by a military coup in 1966. Out of power, he began to spout "Marxist" rhetoric against neo-colonial "African socialism."

For Proletarian Revolution in Africa!

It was between ex-Marxist C.L.R. James and the Spartacist League that the most direct political confrontation took place. For it was James, now in his eighties, frail and white-haired, who presented the most energetic and political defense of Pan-Africanism and the most unequivocal attack on Leninism. And it was during the discussion on James' contribution that the aggressive political interventions of Spartacist supporters prompted the symposium chairman to inquire if everyone seeking the floor was a Spartacist and suggest hopefully that perhaps there was a Maoist in the house. As no Maoist came forward to take on the political questions, the debate continued between James and his SL critics.

James' presentation was an obvious attempt to justify his entire political career. James had given up an early interest in Pan-Africanism in the 1930's to join the Trotskyist movement in Britain and then the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP), of which he became a leader under the party name J.R. Johnson. But James was never able to come to terms with the question of Stalinism, and he split from the SWP as the cultist head of the state-capitalist Johnson-Forrest faction. Though he briefly rejoined the SWP in 1946, he again split over the Korean War and rejected Leninism in its entirety to become the patriarch of Pan-Africanism.

With the Hungarian revolution of 1956, James generalized his one-dimensional view of Stalinism to include Leninism and all political parties:

> "The real problem of the mass of people today is not the overthrow of the old order (who anymore believes in it?). It is the fear of what will happen afterwards, whether the inevitable result will be the One-Party totalitarian state."
>
> C.L.R. James, *Facing Reality*

James' foe is still Leninism, but he now attacks it in the name of one or another African bourgeois or petty-bourgeois nationalist. At the symposium he set forth a "fundamental rule" of spontaneist Pan-Africanism:

> "The conception of the party is no longer viable. The party can no longer do what is necessary to move a modern population against a modern imperialist power. The people have to move. The whole population has to move. That's what Guinea-Bissau did. That's what Mozambique and Angola have done. The whole population moved from the bottom. There were no theories, leaders who organized them. They were organized from below."

Smearing the Leninist party as a "handicap" to anti-imperialist struggles, James glorified Nyerere and Nkrumah as "anti-imperialists." After all, he argued, "the imperialists don't like" the emergence of independent states in Africa. A Spartacist spokesman later countered:

> "The capitalists don't like the MPLA, but they still like pumping that oil. They also don't like Machel or FRELIMO, but they like the fact that he sends 100,000 contract workers to South Africa."

NY Public Library

Kwame Nkrumah dances with Duchess of Kent on Ghana's Independence day, 6 March 1957.

It was the Spartacist League which counterposed an authentic Leninist perspective to the defeatist black nationalism of the veteran black academics. SL speakers refused to redefine "Marxism" as the quest for a new flag behind which black capitalist militarists, in collaboration with imperialism, continue the grinding oppression of the working masses:

> "I think it's clear when you look at the history of Pan-Africanism in Africa, in Ghana especially, that Nkrumah was not anti-capitalist. I think Nkrumah was pro-capitalist. I think he acted as an agent for the British imperialists in Ghana. He did not nationalize anything without compensation. In Mozambique, I think the same thing is true of the FRELIMO government. In Angola, it's true of the MPLA which has not made any move whatsoever to nationalize Gulf Oil. Touré broke strikes in Guinea, as did Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana, and Nyerere, in my opinion as well, is simply an agent of imperialism. And I think you should apply the Permanent Revolution of Trotsky . . . Isn't precisely the example of the Russian Revolution and other anti-capitalist revolutions in the world, isn't the lesson that you need a party to achieve this? Lenin showed us that without a party it is impossible to overthrow capitalism. That's the lesson of the Russian Revolution, and that's the lesson the Spartacist League draws in trying to build a revolutionary party."

Another SL speaker drew the connection between James' Stalinophobia and his Pan-Africanism, which both lead inexorably toward a bloc with imperialism.

Were it not for the SL, the UCLA symposium would have been one happy little family of Pan-Africanists discussing the "good old days" in Ghana. But with the SL interventions, all the talk about a "mix" of black consciousness and Marxism went up in the smoke of heated political debate.

Though E. Franklin Frazier in *Black Bourgeoisie* denounced all black leaders as "idle overfed women" and "glamorous men" evading responsibility, black intellectuals in the U.S. have felt their political responsibility and destiny more deeply than their white counterparts in the university. But those among this very crucial layer of black intellectuals who do not want to be added to the long list of "ivory tower cheerleaders for exploiters with black faces" must come to terms with Marxism. And this does not mean some reactionary "mix" à la Nkrumah, but a confrontation with the revolutionary class content of contemporary Marxism – i.e., Trotskyism. It is through this confrontation that the SL seeks to produce political clarification in the necessary process of recruiting a black Trotskyist cadre as an indispensable component of the leadership of the proletarian revolution. ■

WV Photo

"The conception of the party is no longer viable. The party can no longer do what is necessary to move a modern population against a modern imperialist power. The whole population has to move. That's what Guinea-Bissau did. That's what Mozambique and Angola have done."

—C.L.R. James

The Spartacist League is for . . . : "the leadership of an experienced vanguard party that has been tested in the class struggle. The capitalists don't like the MPLA, but they still like pumping that oil. They also don't like Machel or FRELIMO, but they like the fact that he sends 100,000 contract workers to South Africa."

WV Photo

"It's a contest between the Red International and the Black International. No black intellectual from 1917 on can avoid coming to terms with Marxism. The question now becomes one of what kind of mix. How much black nationalism, when and how, integrated with Marxism."

—St. Clair Drake

"I'm from the Spartacist League. We stand for the Red International!"

Carter...

(continued from page 1)

Cyrus Vance and UN Ambassador Andrew Young, who had previously grabbed headlines on their round-the-world diplomatic junkets, were suddenly shoved in the background by Carter's shift to the more bare-knuckled approach Brzezinski had been arguing was necessary to put "bite" into U.S. policy. A year ago Vance dismissed as "dangerous and futile" proposals for a "negative, reactive American policy that seeks only to oppose Soviet or Cuban involvement in Africa" and Young has repeatedly pooh-poohed the importance of the Cuban troops in Angola and Ethiopia. Now, however, Brzezinski clearly had the whip hand, as he called for a harsh "international response" to the "Red Threat" in sub-Saharan Africa and a general stiffening of the U.S. posture toward the USSR.

On the "human rights" front, while such notorious dictatorships as those in Iran, South Korea, the Philippines and most of Latin America (except for the too-outrageous Pinochets and Somozas, who have received periodic slaps on the wrist) continued to receive lavish American favor, Soviet dissidents preaching Western economic and military sanctions against the USSR became the darlings of the White House. The problem for Carter is that his incessant bleatings for "human rights" have not stirred up much enthusiasm in the U.S. pupulace for a real showdown with the Soviets. Moreover, the sharp rise of inter-imperialist economic competition has undermined the U.S.' ability to simply dictate orders to its imperialist allies; growing trade protectionism pits the major industrialized nations at each others throats. Except perhaps for West Germany, none of the U.S.' NATO allies desires to heat up the Cold War and, except where their interests are directly concerned (e.g., France's African neo-colonies), they prefer to avoid confrontations with the Soviets.

If the Kremlin were to draw a hard line in response to Carter's stepped-up anti-Soviet belligerency, Carter might well find himself in a showdown he could not win. There is no indication that the American masses—or the European governments, for that matter—are prepared to support a war in sub-Saharan Africa or even a major standoff in Central Europe. So far, however, the Soviets have been backing down all across the line in hopes of salvaging détente. Undoubtedly under pressure from Moscow, Angola promised to disarm the retreating Katangan rebels, Soviet negotiators agreed to parity in troop levels between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, long a deadlocked issue, and *Pravda* was deliberately soft-pedaling its criticism of Carter.

The Storm Over Shaba

Carter chose to pivot his turn towards a tougher line with the Russians on charges that the Cubans in Angola had armed, trained and promoted the ex-Katangan gendarmes who carried out a successful surprise attack on the copper center of Kolwezi May 13. But Carter immediately ran into difficulty when he couldn't prove it. Soviet foreign minister Andrei Gromyko politely stated that the "information which the president has at his disposal is not correct" and Cuban vice president Carlos Rodriguez more bluntly told the U.N. that Carter's claims were "absolutely false" and "based on impudently repeated lies." Their suspicions aroused both by these vehement denials and the recent publication of a book by the ex-CIA station chief for Angola who revealed the spy agency's repeated lies to Congress and the public about goings-on in that country, members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee asked to see the documentary evidence.

Sounding for all the world like Richard Nixon, Carter stonewalled it. The CIA claimed it feared identifying its sources. The Foreign Relations Committee was refused the dossiers, which were turned over only to the House and Senate Intelligence Committees. While the loyal friends of the CIA on these "watchdog" committees, who regularly believe anything they're told, promptly said they were satisfied (just as the House last week voted the CIA's annual budget without the slightest notion of how much it was—that's a secret, too), the skepticism was not set to rest.

After a three-hour briefing by CIA director Admiral Stansfield Turner, even conservative Alabama senator and head of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee John Sparkman said the "evidence" was "circumstantial" and "by no means conclusive." George McGovern, who read the documents, said he "regarded the sources as doubtful." Meanwhile, the *Washington Post* continued to leak "Deep Throat"-type reports from "high Administration and State Department sources" that the "evidence" would never prove believable.

Der Spiegel

West German chancellor Schmidt, left, with U.S. "National Security" advisor Brzezinski at NATO summit.

The Carter administration was further embarrassed when the *New York Times* revealed on June 11 that Castro had notified the U.S. nearly a month earlier that he had tried to stop the invasion plans when he first learned of them in April. Carter had simply suppressed this piece of information and continued to claim that the Cubans "had done nothing" to halt the raid.

In fact, bogged down fighting Jonas Savimbi's Western-backed UNITA guerrillas in Angola and Eritrean secessionists in Ethiopia, Castro had no interest in broadening his military engagement in Africa or further provoking the West by backing an invasion of Zaire. The Congolese National Liberation Front (FLNC) which carried out the raid is largely composed of ex-military policemen from the Shaba province who needed neither Cuban training nor advice. But Carter needed a "red menace" pretext to help justify U.S. involvement in Shaba and the CIA can always create the "evidence" a chief executive needs. It has, after all, had years of experience, from Santo Domingo to the Gulf of Tonkin.

Though the U.S. has only about $1 billion invested in Zaire, Carter is determined to protect this pro-Western outpost at a time when Russian/Cuban influence is increasing in Africa. U.S. air force C-141 transports were provided to airlift in paratroopers from France and Belgium, the former colonial masters who have a far more substantial $25 billion sunk into Zaire, most of it in Shaba, which provides two-thirds of Zaire's foreign exchange revenues from its copper and cobalt mines. As the Legionnaires and Belgian paras began withdrawing, troops from Morocco, Senegal and Gabon arrived to "stabilize" the situation, again on U.S. Air Force planes, as much to quell the riotous Zairean army as to ward off another invasion.

The "All-Africa" force being built in Shaba, entirely Western-financed of course, was intially proposed by French president Valéry Giscard d'Estaing at a working White House dinner during the NATO summit. At a five-nation meeting in Paris a couple of days later, the military plan and short-term economic aid to Zaire was formally agreed to. The U.S., France, Belgium, Britain and West Germany additionally agreed to reconvene in a week, along with representatives from the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, Saudi Arabia, Iran and, almost as an afterthought, a token delegation of the Zairean government, to discuss long-range economic and military aid to bail out the shattered Zairean economy and the tyrant Mobutu. The oil-rich Saudis and Iranians were to be present not only because of their plentiful cash and strong interest in countering the dreaded Reds, but to serve as arms suppliers. With Israel currently in disfavor with the U.S., the semi-feudal regimes of King Khalid and the Shah stand to become the Pentagon's major pipeline for weapons into Africa. Together with France and South Africa, both are already channeling millions in covert aid to UNITA in hopes of toppling the shaky Moscow-backed regime in Angola (*Observer* [London], 26 March).

For Carter, the major utility of the Shaba furor was to launch a more interventionist African policy. His aides were already preparing a new Presidential Review Memorandum outlining policy options to curb the Russian/Cuban presence. Due in a few weeks, it is expected to include recommendations for aid to UNITA and cutting back trade with the USSR. Meanwhile, Carter began pressuring for a relaxation of legislative restrictions that he claimed "tied his hands," i.e., limited his unrestricted ability to undermine disagreeable or shore-up favored African regimes. The Clark amendment passed in 1975 barring U.S. military involvement in Angola is the principal irritant, though other bills prohibit aid to Zambia, Tanzania and the "radical" Mozambique, all of which Carter might like to get on the payroll to wean them from Soviet influence.

Carter's major fear is that the recalcitrant white supremacists in Rhodesia will push the nationalist guerrillas operating out of Zambia and Mozambique further toward the Russians and perhaps carry the other "front line" states into the Soviet orbit as well. Both Britain and the U.S. would vastly prefer to dump the Salisbury "transitional" government to avoid this. Promising support to "majority rule" in Namibia and Rhodesia, Carter pointedly warned the Soviets not to impede "peaceful" settlements in both countries. What the U.S. president did not mention was the vicious apartheid regime in South Africa itself. Though the West is willing to see—and figures it can manipulate—even moderately "radical" nationalist regimes in Rhodesia and Namibia, the economic and political commitment to the deeply entrenched Afrikaners will be strengthened by Carter's push against the Soviets and Cubans. Prime Minister John Vorster, who has been getting prickly under Andrew Young's criticism, hailed the sudden "change of opinion in the West about the Marxist onslaught against Africa" and even volunteered to send troops to join the "All-Africa" fire brigade in Zaire! Though his offer will not be taken up, Vorster knows which way the wind is blowing: Carter's occasionally stated "concern" about "human rights" in the hellhole of apartheid will recede as the "Red Threat" becomes more clearly the main target in Africa.

Playing "The China Card"

The African uproar also served to tighten up the U.S.-China alliance against the Soviet Union. In Peking, Brzezinski poured vitriol on the Soviets and Cubans, only to be exceeded by Chinese foreign minister Huang Hua. Huang quickly flew off to Zaire to praise Mobutu for leading "a just struggle to safeguard national independence against a new aggression being perpetrated by Soviet Socialist Imperialism" and promise the dictator Chinese support and aid. On his way to Zaire, Huang stopped off in New York to hail imperialist intervention in Africa, telling the UN that the Soviet Union, "is more aggressive and adventurous than the other superpower; it is the most dangerous source of a new world war and is sure to be its chief instigator."

It is their fundamental and shared hostility to the Soviet Union that lays the basis for the U.S.-China alliance which has been shaping up since Nixon visited Mao in 1971 while American B-52's carpet-bombed North Vietnam. The Maoist bureaucrats were quite willing to overlook the imperialist rape of Vietnam in order to court the Americans, and Nixon correctly saw the possibility of driving the wedge deeper between the competing Stalinist cliques in Moscow and Peking. Though both regimes are based on the abolition of private property, the narrow nationalist outlook of "building socialism" in their "own country" leads the Stalinists to repeatedly stab each other in the back. The vastly weaker position of the Chinese has led them directly into the arms of the U.S.

From his side Carter clearly perceives the advantages of a rapprochement with China in order to counter the Soviets globally and strengthen the U.S. in Asia. Despite widespread predictions of an American collapse in the Pacific after the disastrous rout in Indochina. In fact, the U.S. has held its own. The rate of U.S. troop withdrawals from Korea has been cut back (though revelations that up to 100 Congressmen were on the take from the Korean CIA have been embarassing), close ties to the Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines have been maintained and the Vietnamese and Cambodians, backed by their respective Russian and Chinese mentors, have been kept busy warring with each other.

The great plans of the Trilateral Commission (the imperialist think tank which boosted its leading figures into the Carter cabinet and which Brzezinski chaired) for closer ties with the Japanese have, however, fallen on hard times. The enormous U.S. trade deficit with the Japanese, combined with charges of Japanese "dumping" of steel, autos and electronics on the American market, has cooled relations and made Washington

less inclined to rely on or re-arm Japan, Inc.

Brzezinski's trip was a significant step towards sealing the bloc with China. Brzezinski told the *New York Times* (28 May) that, "The basic significance of the trip was to underline the long-term strategic nature of the United States relationship to China." Stressing the "parallel interests" of the U.S. and China, Brzezinski and his aides exchanged long presentations with the Chinese on the world situation, briefed them in depth on the state of the SALT talks and explained in detail presidential memorandums and security directives that are still secret from the U.S. public. As an expression of gratitude for the closer relations achieved, the U.S. reversed an earlier decision and decided to sell the Chinese highly sophisticated airborne scanning equipment which can be adapted for anti-submarine warfare, material that is still being denied to the Soviet Union on military security grounds.

Though China's "anti-imperialist" credentials are somewhat tarnished by its courting of a host of right-wing governments, including Iran, Chile and now Zaire, it is still useful to Washington to have Chinese diplomats running around deriding the Soviet Union, apologizing for U.S. imperialism and promoting more NATO spending. The abiding weakness of such pronouncements is that only Peking's most loyal running dogs take them really seriously. For example, *The Call* (5 June), organ of the slavishly Peking-loyal Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), was probably one of the few newspapers in the U.S. or the world to actually quote the official Zairean news agency as a credible source on the details of the Shaba events or to claim that, "The entire operation...was masterminded from beginning to end by the Soviet Union...," a claim so preposterous that even Jimmy Carter and the CIA were not prepared to make it.

UN Disarmament Follies, NATO Girds for War

While the Soviet/U.S. tensions heated up, the UN Special Session on Disarmament wore on in its irrelevancy. Meanwhile, Carter brought the SALT talks with the Soviets to a halt, both to punish them for their "adventurism" and because he was not interested in agreeing to any restrictions right now anyway. Though Carter hysterically summoned the entire Washington press corps to the White House to denounce a June 1 *Washington Post* front page headline announcing the Administration's "freeze" on the negotiations, it was clear to everyone that this was exactly what had happened. Though the Soviet Union was bending over backwards to entice the U.S., offering a total ban on all new missile systems, allowing the U.S. concessions on the range of its Cruise missiles and considering restraints the U.S. had been demanding on the Soviet Backfire bomber, Brzezinski declared a haughty "no compromises" position that effectively stalled the talks. "If they [current U.S. proposals] are not accepted," he said, "we will wait until they are accepted."

Like all capitalist disarmament hoaxes, the SALT talks were intended to tie up the opposition while furiously developing new weapons and technology outside the terms of the agreement. Thus, during the tenure of SALT I, the U.S. achieved a three-to-one advantage in nuclear warheads by deploying multiple warheads (MIRVs) on its Minuteman III and Poseidon ICBMs. The other "crowning achievement" of SALT I, the banning of anti-ballistic missile defense systems (ABMs) was agreed to only after a consensus that MIRV development had rendered the ABM ineffective anyway.

While the Soviets have made gains in overall "throw weight" of their nuclear arsenal, technological developments in missile guidance have maintained the U.S. advantage. The particularly ominous feature of the 1980's generation of U.S. ICBMs is their *extreme* accuracy. The maneuverable re-entry vehicle (MARV), for example, is projected to have an accuracy measured in several dozen yards after a flight of 6,000 nautical miles. Such precision is certainly not necessary to annihilate the Russian population and industry. It is meant for the Soviet missile silos. This reality undermines the conventional fiction that U.S. nuclear strategy is simply to deter attack through the threat of a devastating response. After all, it makes no sense to knock out the Russian silos after their missiles have been fired. What the U.S. is clearly striving for is rather a *nuclear first strike capability*.

Ever since the days of John Foster Dulles, the threat of "massive retaliation" with nuclear weapons has been the U.S.' big club against the Soviet Union. The threat remains today the real muscle behind NATO. But U.S. development of a first strike capacity, if it is not countered by the Soviets, will enable the imperialists to transform their anti-Communist ravings and long-held desire to "roll back Communism" into an immediate murderous threat as never before.

While striving for this killing potential, the U.S. is also seeking to gear up NATO's conventional might, which was weakened by the $150 billion the U.S. diverted to the Vietnam war. The Warsaw Pact currently has a three-to-two superiority in manpower and vastly outguns NATO in artillery and tanks. To counter this, over a year ago, at the last NATO conference in London, Carter began chiding his allies to increase their level of defense spending. At the summit in Washington, Carter got their commitment to boost weapons allocations by 3 percent a year in order to overhaul the NATO war machine. The U.S. pledged to pick up more than half the $60 to $80 billion the Long Term Defense Plan is expected to cost.

The main problem with NATO however is that it is 1978, not 1949. The once-absolute dominance of the U.S. voice has been shaken by the revival of inter-imperialist economic and political rivalry. At the same time, the European economies, still recovering from the worldwide depression of 1974-75 and paying quadrupled oil prices, are haunted by unemployment and inflation far worse than in the U.S. And the Europeans are none too happy about the U.S.' refusal to stem the falling value of the dollar against their currencies, which makes European exports more expensive and thus cuts into their share of world trade. All of this makes the Europeans less willing to snap to attention every time the U.S. commands. Though Carter prodded NATO into pledging increased weapons spending for the next 15 years, there is widespread skepticism that all or even most of the member countries will actually follow through.

The strains and weakness in NATO make it, for the foreseeable future, an untrustworthy military force in Europe at the level of a full-blown conventional war. Thus, the U.S. must continue to plan, as it has in the past, on the immediate use of its thousands of tactical nuclear weapons, backed up by its ICBMs, in the event of war with the Soviet Union. Carter re-emphasized this in his statement at the NATO summit, "Let there be no misunderstanding: the United States is prepared to use *all* the forces necessary for the defense of the NATO area."

Soviet Stalinists Cling to Détente

While Jimmy Carter has been on a Cold Warrior rampage, the Soviet press has tried to avoid drawing any conclusions about his overall aims, hoping that he will yet turn out to be a "sensible" bourgeois like Richard Nixon, whom they could work with. Soviet spokesmen have instead focused their attack on Brzezinski, labeling him an "enemy of détente" who is feeding the president bad advice. Though *Pravda* finally objected to Carter's Naval Academy speech as containing "impermissible outbursts," even this account blamed Brzezinski's influence.

The attempt to coddle Carter while blasting Brzezinski is a classic example of the Stalinists' historically futile policy of seeking to find the "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie which can be trusted and allied with to "keep the peace" as against the pro-war reactionaries. But Brzezinski is not some bizarre right-wing nut who sneaked into the White House and somehow mysteriously hypnotized Carter. He was picked for the job and now has the president's ear because he more consistently advocates the anti-Soviet policies which are fundamental to U.S. strategy.

There can, of course, be periods of greater or lesser overt confrontation in U.S.-Soviet relations. Détente came into vogue while the Vietnam War raged, because the Soviets were quite willing to not make a fuss over American savagery there and the U.S. was too bogged down to want to escalate tensions with the USSR directly. But the fundamental lines of U.S. foreign policy are dictated by the basic conflict between the expansionist drive inherent in capitalism, which seeks to overturn the socialist property forms established by the Russian Revolution and reopen the vast potential market of the Soviet bloc for imperialist exploitation. Moreover, despite its weakened position the U.S. is still the dominant imperialist power and thus is more influenced by such basic global considerations than are the regional powers, who are more interested in improving their short-term advantages over rival capitalist states.

The Stalinists' dogged faith in détente did not begin when Brezhnev and Nixon signed the 1972 "Basic Principles of Mutual Relations" which declared that "there is no alternative to peaceful coexistence...." This outlook has dominated Soviet policy since the victory of the Stalin faction in the 1920's. Stalin's heirs in the bureaucracy continue to believe that they can construct "socialism in one country" if they can just neutralize the imperialist West. Hence their reliance on détente, disarmament schemes and conciliation of U.S. imperialism wherever it seems necessary and possible.

Contrary to Carter's fear about "Red uprisings" in Africa, the Soviets have no interest in spreading genuine social revolutions which might provoke the West and weaken their own bureaucratic straitjacket on the Soviet masses. The Kremlin bureaucrats do, of course, seek to gain influence abroad, but they do so by backing petty-bourgeois nationalists or currying favor with capitalist regimes on the outs with the major Western powers. When these "allies" of the moment kick sand in Russia's face and turn back to the imperialists' embrace—as has happened in Ghana, Guinea, Somalia and Egypt, just to mention recent examples in Africa—the Soviets simply try to latch onto a new set of "friends," like the bloody Ethiopian Derg or the Angolan regime which survives with Soviet aid and the revenues of Gulf Oil.

Far from safeguarding the defense of Soviet Russia, these policies constantly undermine it. Illusions in détente pushed by Brezhnev & Co. only mislead the world's working masses, not the imperialists. The West has been able to exploit the dramatic reversals suffered by the Kremlin, as in Egypt, just as it gains points by exploiting the very real domestic crimes of the bureaucracy. The recent trial of pro-Western dissident Yuri Orlov, sentenced to seven years imprisonment for "anti-Soviet slanders," was a gift to the imperialist propaganda mills and fit right into Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign.

The inevitable war threats of U.S. imperialism will not be stopped by mere diplomatic deals or more arms control treaties, but by proletarian revolutions which disarm the rapacious capitalist class once and for all. Trotskyists defend the Soviet degenerated workers state from imperialism because of the gains of the Russian Revolution that have been preserved in spite of the bureaucracy's policies. But we also call for political revolutions, from Moscow to Peking and Havana, to dump the Stalinist bureaucracies which imperil that defense and make a mockery of socialism. The reforged Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution, is the necessary answer to Carter's Cold War threats and the specter of nuclear holocaust. ■

The Gospel According to Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn

Wyman/Newsweek

A message from Carter's spiritual adviser and high-priest of the great crusade against godless, communistic Russia, delivered with pomp, circumstance and great applause at the June 1978 Harvard University commencement.

"Your shortsighted politicians who signed the hasty Vietnam capitulation seemingly gave America a carefree breathing pause; however, a hundredfold Vietnam now looms over you. That small Vietnam had been a warning and an occasion to mobilize the nation's courage. But if a full-fledged America suffered a real defeat from a small Communist half-country, how can the West hope to stand firm in the future?"

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Vietnam/ China...

(continued from page 3)

(because of its potential military uses). Peking is now denouncing Hanoi as an instrument of "Soviet hegemonism" in southeast Asia. (Moscow returned the insult in a 1 June *Pravda* editorial charging Peking rulers with "great power hegemonism.") Already there have been reports of isolated bloody incidents and some deaths on the Sino-Vietnam border. The main beneficiary of the reactionary policies pursued by the Peking bureaucracy is of course U.S. imperialism, which increasingly is turning towards China as it heats up the cold war against the USSR.

As for the economic policies of the Vietnamese bureaucracy, the nationalizations were certainly inevitable, particularly given the extreme *laissez-faire* approach of the previous three years. However, it is not our task to give advice to these Stalinist bureaucrats. The recent abrupt shift in economic policy recalls the brutal 1956 North Vietnam land collectivization campaign which led to several isolated peasant revolts and a mass exodus (mostly of Roman Catholic villagers) to Diem's puppet regime in the South. Such bureaucratic methods of carrying out necessary social transformations are characteristic of Stalinist rule and are further proof of the fact that the Stalinists came to power through *military* victory, not through workers' uprisings, in the course of which (as in Russia) many of the native capitalists would undoubtedly already have been expropriated.

It is possible that regardless of the method and pace of expropriations, there would have been a mass exodus of Vietnamese Chinese to the capitalist countries of Southeast Asia as well as China. However, a genuinely communist government in Vietnam would want to retain the relatively well-educated Chinese minority and to use their talents in a collectivized, planned economy. Moreover, the integration of the Chinese minority would counter Vietnamese national narrowness and the centuries-old hostility between the Ammanite and Han peoples.

While of course Trotskyists support the expropriation of the capitalists, the precise ways in which a victorious proletarian state carries this through depend upon specific circumstances. In any case, it is the working class itself, through democratically elected soviets and a Leninist vanguard party, which must wield the power and determine the decisions of the central state apparatus regarding economic policy. Only through a workers political revolution establishing such organs of proletarian democracy by overthrowing the parasitic bureaucracies, from Hanoi and Peking to the Kremlin, will it be possible to put an end to the bloody nationalist conflicts which oppress the working people and make a mockery of the Stalinists' claims to be constructing socialism. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

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Hanging Judge Hits Philip Allen with 10 to Life

The California courts' racist vendetta against Philip Allen was played out to its vicious finish in late May as the young black student was sentenced to *10 years* in prison for second-degree manslaughter in the killing of a Los Angeles County deputy sheriff. Allen, who is 5 ft. 3 in. tall, was convicted of killing a deputy with another deputy's gun while he was being beaten by four burly cops! He is obviously the innocent victim of an outrageous cop frame-up and a kangaroo-court proceeding designed to cover up the real criminals.

For three-and-a-half years the Partisan Defense Committee has campaigned in defense of Philip Allen. The PDC has argued for a class-struggle defense and the mobilization of broad sectors of labor and the left. It has warned that reliance on the capitalist courts for "justice" is a strategy not for victory but for defeat. Unfortunately, the Philip Allen Defense Committee pursued instead a policy of passive reliance on the courts in the hope of getting a reduction in Allen's sentence. This hope was dashed when vindictive Judge Laurence J Rittenband, who declared that "Philip has not sufficiently repaid society for his deed," upheld Allen's original sentence of ten-years-to-life, with eligibility for parole only after two years in jail.

Allen is scheduled to go to prison on June 19. His mother Ellery Allen says, "We will continue to fight to get a new trial." The Partisan Defense Committee fully supports the continuation of the fight to free this innocent victim of a racist frame-up, and it continues to press for an *effective militant defense* based on mass support and exposure of the racist nature of class "justice."

Fight the frame-up—For mass protest now against Allen's jailing!

Free Philip Allen Now!

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Stearns...

(continued from page 2)

out the region.

Meanwhile, strikers' report continuous harassment by the state. Following the April 20 shooting death of one of the scabs, detectives have been snooping all over Stearns. One miner told *WV* that he came home to find his house ransacked by the cops who brazenly admitted that they were searching for a weapon to pin the rap on him. Another striker's well was searched from top to bottom with a police TV camera. When miners from Tennessee appeared at the picket line recently, several were arrested, allegedly for throwing rocks at the strikebreakers who are protected by both the State Police and professional gun thugs packing semi-automatic rifles!

For 23 months the Stearns miners have held out with little more from the International than $100 per week strike benefits. Ignoring the lessons of the thirteen-month organizing drive at Brookside which triumphed only after a five-day nationwide "memorial period" shutdown, Miller has stood idly by while Bonnyman, the cops and courts tightened the screws on the Stearns strikers. By refusing to demand a contract at the Justus pit as a condition of settling with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association in the recent national strike, Miller squandered the best opportunity to win the strike for union recognition.

Militant miners must rely on their own organized strength and not the so-called mediation of federal labor "experts" to win this fight. Nor should strikers place any confidence in the courts, which have amply demonstrated their pro-company loyalties throughout the protracted struggle. UMWA militants should demand massive rallies of miners from across the Appalachian coalfields to assemble the desperately needed pickets for a total shutdown of the Justus pit. Militant tactics which won at Brookside in 1974 can win in Stearns today. Victory to the Stearns strike! ■

Rockport Miners...

(continued from page 2)

brought against any of the area's coal operators and their gun thugs or against the state cops who damaged the pickets' cars as the strikers were led off to jail and harassed the miners throughout the strike—even buzzing their homes with helicopters. As for the "law-abiding" operator Teagarden, he currently faces charges himself for running government safety inspectors off his property with machine guns. And the only "justice" for the widow of John Hull, murdered February 3 on the picket line by a scab, was the bill for an autopsy which she neither requested nor authorized.

The enormous turnout on the first day of the hearings resulted in the closing of the nearby Kingsbury mine, owned by Amax Coal, Peabody's Spur mine and Old Ben No. 2 mine. The massive appearance of UMWA members was spontaneous, a display of working-class solidarity with the victimized militants pointing to the need for a successful class-struggle defense "which puts all faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the justice of the courts" (American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon, writing of the policy of the International Labor Defense in 1927 during the international campaign to save the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti). The entire U.S. labor movement must rally to the defense of the Rockport 194. Union meetings, rallies and demonstrations must demand: drop all charges against the Indiana miners! ■

Drive the Nazis Out of Chicago!

The following motion submitted by Marc Friedman, publisher of the class-struggle opposition newsletter "Labor's Struggle," was approved at the June 11 regular membership meeting of United Auto Workers Local 6 (International Harvester, Melrose Park, Illinois) by a vote of 31 to 12.

Whereas, the planned Nazi march in Skokie on June 25 is an outrageous provocation to that largely Jewish community and its thousands of survivors of Hitler's concentration camps; and

Whereas, the immediate goal of these home-grown Hitler lovers is the fomenting of race hate and organized racist terror against the black population of the Marquette Park/Engelwood area and their ultimate goal is to be stormtroopers to smash the labor movement and to carry out genocide against blacks, Jews and other minorities; and

Whereas, for the past two years the Skokie village officials and others have pursued a purely legalistic strategy of relying on the courts to stop the Nazis when in fact the bosses' courts will ultimately protect the Nazis, as was shown by the court ruling permitting the Nazis to march on June 25; and

Whereas, the experience of this Local in mobilizing the membership to defend the home of brother C. B. Dennis against racist violence and defending brother Bennie Lenard after he was brutally beaten by racist cops shows further that the courts and cops of the capitalist state cannot be relied upon to protect victims of racist terror; and

Whereas, the Chicago Federation of Labor and Industrial Union Council voted last Tuesday to organize a counterdemonstration of organized labor at Skokie on June 25 citing the "...vicious racial and anti-trade union philosophy..." of the Nazis;

Be it resolved, that UAW Local 6 mobilize a mass, militant contingent in Skokie on June 25 at the site of the Nazi march under the slogan "Drive the Nazis Out of Chicago!" as part of a city-wide mobilization of all organized labor, Jewish groups and the black and Spanish-speaking communities. In order to ensure that these racist labor haters will be prevented from marching, this mobilization should not be merely a "moral protest" but should demonstrate decisively that the Chicago labor movement will not tolerate the presence of the Nazis on the streets of Skokie or anywhere in the Chicago area

Workers Vanguard Forum

NAZIS IN SKOKIE:

How to Smash the Fascist Threat

Speaker: Paul Collins
SL Central Committee

Friday, June 23, 1978 7:30 p.m.

Room 306, Herman Crown Center
Roosevelt University

Sponsored by Spartacist League/U S

Donation $1 00

CHICAGO

NMU...

(continued from page 12)

only way we can secure the things we need.

"The Caucus members received enthusiastic applause along with other members who rose to condemn the sellout pact Wall's crew was pushing for the companies. The few flunkies of the officials who tried to speak in support of the contract could not conclude their remarks without being interrupted by loud booing and jeering from the rest of the membership. Having tested the waters, not one union official dared take the floor to discuss the contract—except for N.Y. Agent Rich, who had to make the report.

"After discussion was abruptly ended, one of the bureaucrats' typical razzle-dazzle mayhem-type vote counts was taken, with patrolmen shouting out arbitrary numbers from non-specified 'sections' of the auditorium. This in itself simply provoked a din of angry protest from the membership as they watched the engineered confusion to swindle them out of jobs, hard cash, benefits and conditions. The vote, by a show of hands, was unquestionable: overwhelmingly opposed to the contract, by a margin of almost two to one.

"Agent Rich was noticeably nervous as he barely reduced some of the irate clamor to announce his phony tally: '136 in favor and 123 opposed'!! When the officials admit such a close vote it always means they were thoroughly defeated; but this vote was *ridiculously* absurd. An outcry exploded from the membership. Gene Herson, prepared for the officials' tricks to try for a sudden adjournment, jumped to the microphone, holding it with one hand, while holding the plug in the outlet with the other hand, and called for 'a division of the house,' denouncing the false vote.

"The master-at-arms was right behind Herson yanking at his arm to unplug the mike while 'recording secretary'/patrolman Zeidel prepared to kick Herson in the head. The Caucus and supporters leapt to Herson's defense while demanding a recount. The national officers, including Vice President J.C. Hughes and Secretary-Treasurer Martinez, quickly moved into the fray, which in turn brought the rest of the membership and officers down the aisles as utter bedlam broke loose. As the shouting subsided the officers declared that the meeting was adjourned, while the Caucus and the overwhelming majority of members declared the contract was voted down.

"A petition for a special meeting for a full discussion and fair contract vote was circulated by the Caucus and other active members....

"What is significant is that the membership demonstrated it has the capacity to fight. It is this potential for *membership action* that the Caucus seeks to lead along the lines of a class-struggle program to win lasting gains for NMU seamen."

—*Beacon* supplement, 12 June

A Caucus of a New Type

Since the hotly contested union election of 1973, the Militant-Solidarity Caucus has been the only organized opposition inside the NMU. Convinced that its chances of getting into office were nil, the much larger Morrissey grouping evaporated after that vote. With the brief spurt in shipping (prompted by the Vietnam War) winding down and thousands of additional jobs lost due to the lay-up of passenger ships, the beleaguered seamen faced massive unemployment with a reactionary union leadership unwilling to defend the seamen's interests. Concerned only with his lawsuit against the NMU officers and treasury, Morrissey disappeared altogether after winning a settlement of more than $100,000 in 1977. Only the M-SC continued to fight against the betrayals of the leadership.

The M-SC did not merely seek to articulate the anger of the ranks but also put forward a fighting alternative to the defeatism of the Wall regime, whose program for jobs was limited to stealing them from other workers—raiding other unions and support for protectionism. The Caucus demanded jobs for all through a shorter work period at no cut in pay and organizing the runaway flag ships. In the current elections and contract period, the Caucus candidates demanded a real fight against the capitalists, calling for an industrywide strike of seamen and longshoremen against the bosses and pointing to the need to expropriate the parasitic shipowners with no compensation.

In contrast to the usual union "reform" caucus, which comes to life only at election time to fight over cushy jobs, the M-SC has fought to lead seamen in struggle, both on internal union issues and broader social questions. In the early 1970's the Caucus led demonstrations of seamen against the lay-up of passenger ships and discrimination against lower-seniority (Group 2) seamen. It has intervened vigorously against racial discrimination, calling on the NMU (which has a high percentage of black and Spanish-speaking members) to initiate a labor/black defense to protect school children being bused in Boston. During the recent dramatic 110-day coal strike it exposed the bureaucracy's willingness to allow coal to be carried on NMU contract vessels on the rivers and called for hot-cargoing of scab shipments. Stressing the need for international solidarity, it called for U.S. out of the Panama Canal and independence for Puerto Rico.

Caucus chairman Gene Herson, 35, who has been shipping NMU for 14 years, founded the *Beacon* in 1968 as an outgrowth of a dispute which erupted in Morrissey's Committee for NMU Democracy. Morrissey had tried to censor articles on the Vietnam War, racism and the Democratic Party, thus producing the split. Morrissey's entire campaign oriented to currying favor with the liberal bourgeois press, and pursuing the unprincipled practice of calling on the capitalist government to intervene in the NMU against the union bureaucracy, à la Arnold Miller in the Mine Workers. In fact, during the 1973 NMU presidential election campaign Miller came to New York to hold a press conference endorsing Morrissey; sitting like Edgar Bergen between the two incompetent "reformers" was Democratic Party bigwig lawyer Joe Rauh, who masterminded both operations and particularly their common reliance on the capitalist government.

While the Caucus has untiringly fought against the opportunist perspective that shipwrecked the large opposition movement in the NMU in the late '60's and early '70's, the other "dissident" candidates who ran in the current elections were at best capable of nothing more than serving up warmed-over Morrisseyism. One such candidate was Roy Rydell who received over 1,000 votes in union-wide balloting for New York patrolman (equivalent to a business agent). Rydell was backed by *Labor Today*, published by Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD) which is politically supported by the Communist Party (CP). The Communist Party itself has a long history in the NMU. At one time effectively the leadership of the union, its class-collaborationist policies—particularly during World War II when its support for the war led it to vigorously support the no-strike pledge and even turn in militants to the government in order to suppress any outbreak of struggle—paved the way for the demagogic Curran to launch a red purge which led to the expulsion of hundreds of leftists from the union. In the 1973 elections Rydell and TUAD backed Morrissey although Morrissey had earlier been a hatchet-man for the bureaucracy in the red purge and refused to oppose the union's anti-red clause.

Rydell ran a thoroughly opportunist campaign in which he simply endorsed popular demands such as more vacation days and restoration of the 20-year no-age pension. He systematically ignored any controversial issues such as the union's steady-man system, under which a minority of seamen "homestead" a ship for seven or eight months while the majority of seamen are mostly unemployed surviving on relief jobs. This system encourages sweetheart deals with management, leading to the erosion of union conditions and is justly resented by militants. Following in the footsteps of Morrissey (whom he has never repudiated), Rydell failed to oppose racism, demand support for busing and school integration, mention a word of criticism of the capitalist parties or oppose the bureaucracy's vicious support for protectionism. To cap it all off, Rydell claimed to run as an "independent" yet confined his "criticisms" of Wall & Co. to such milquetoast verbiage as complaining that they took the "wrong approach."

Although Rydell (a charter member of the NMU) is well aware that the maritime unions were built through militant struggles against the companies, he has consciously opposed any call for strike action against the bosses. During the contract negotiations Rydell pandered to widespread anti-strike sentiment in the ranks, many of whom are fearful that any militant action undertaken by the present corrupt leadership would end in disaster. The M-SC has answered this legitimate concern not by giving up but instead calling for democratic election of a contract/strike committee to prepare for an industrywide strike embracing all the maritime unions. Rydell's answer to Wall's sellout deal was to send it back for "renegotiation"—thus implying that the reactionary Wall regime is capable of "persuading" the companies to grant seamen what they need—without engaging in any struggle!

NMU Elections and the Left

For the most part the American left has simply sought to ignore the decade of principled struggle by the Militant-Solidarity Caucus in the National Maritime Union. In the 1973 elections most of the left backed the liberal Morrissey against Wall, sneering that the M-SC was too small and insignificant to merit any support. In fact, what they really believe is that it is impossible to achieve any influence in the labor movement by building a principled, programmatically based opposition. Instead the fake lefts have consistently thrown in their lot with big-name reformist oppositionists like the Millers, Morrisseys and Sadlowskis.

The large vote for the Militant-Solidarity Caucus in the recent NMU elections demonstrates that you don't have to be opportunist to win authority with the ranks. And yet, with the exception of *WV*, the left ignored the NMU election. This is not because the M-SC is "too small" to warrant the attention of outfits like the CP, the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) or the social-democratic International Socialists (I.S.). It is because the M-SC's principled struggle is directly counterposed to the reformists' defeatist line—and exposes it—that the CP/SWP/I.S. *et al.* refused to support the caucus candidates.

The successful campaign of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus is a verification of the revolutionary program pursued uniquely by the Spartacist League: building a left-wing opposition in the unions which draws a hard programmatic dividing line between itself and all wings of the trade-union bureaucracy. In 1973 most of the left, reformists and centrists alike, whined that the M-SC was dooming itself to irrelevancy, isolating itself from the ranks of seamen by refusing to support the liberal union-suer Morrissey. In fact just the reverse was true. When Morrissey showed his true colors, the prestige and authority of the Caucus increased markedly. It won real respect for telling the truth and refusing to surrender principles.

It must be noted that because of the absence of social struggle in this section of maritime, hard-hit by demoralizing job losses, the Caucus has not yet had an opportunity to demonstrate in practice that its leadership and program are capable of winning real victories over the class enemy. It is also necessary to go beyond willingness to vote for a class-struggle candidate to actual demonstration of support for its program by active participation before it can be said that the M-SC has built a mass base in this union. But the successful campaign and the consistent course pursued in the NMU by the Militant-Solidarity Caucus point the way forward for all class-conscious workers, demonstrating, in a modest fashion, the possibility of winning support on the basis of a hard fight against all brands of trade-union reformism. ■

Election Statement

—reprinted from The NMU Pilot—*1978 Special Election Issue*

WV Photo

Gene Herson

NMU oppositionist since 1966. Organized NMU Militant-Solidarity Caucus, founded *Beacon*. Officials' collaboration with companies/government lost jobs, no-age pension, conditions. Seven and off! Increase manning scales, day-for-day vacations. Only joint maritime strike action, including longshoremen, can win jobs. Flag-waving cargo quotas pit U.S. against foreign seamen. Instead, organize runaway ships. Union democracy, seamen must run NMU; oppose using courts against union. Autonomous union for shoreside workers. International workers solidarity; boycott military cargo to Chile, South Africa. End racial and sexual oppression. No support to Democrats, Republicans—for a workers party based on unions, and workers government.

WV Photo

Jack Heyman

Organizer of NMU Militant-Solidarity Caucus. Support Herson for President. Oppose Wall administration's sellout policies. For joint maritime strike action for jobs. Organize runaway ships. End union raiding. For genuine maritime unity. No SIU merger unless guarantee of no loss in benefits, conditions, democratic rights, and racial equality. Wall sacrifices our conditions for company profits—instead, nationalize shipping without compensation, maintaining full union rights; seamen's control of shipping. End group system. Officers' salaries no higher than seamen's. For labor/black defense guards to smash Nazi/KKK hoodlums; support busing for integration. Independence for Puerto Rico. U.S. out of Canal Zone.

WORKERS VANGUARD

10 Percent of Seamen Vote for Class-Struggle Opposition

Militants Make Big Gains in NMU Elections

One thousand members of the National Maritime Union (NMU) cast their ballots in the recent NMU elections for candidates of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus (M-SC) running for the union's two top national positions. While the NMU bureaucracy pads its totals with the ballots of unrelated shoreside workers, the militant challengers to the reactionary Shannon Wall regime won fully *10 percent* of the vote among deep sea, river and Great Lakes NMU sailors. Not only is maritime a strategic industry, but this impressive showing is the first time since the 1940's that a genuine class-struggle opposition has won such significant support in a national union election. The results of the April-May balloting register the fact that the M-SC has become the generally recognized opposition in the NMU.

Caucus candidates Gene Herson and Jack Heyman won 995 and 1,067 votes respectively for the offices of NMU president and secretary-treasurer. Both came in second, well behind the incumbents but *ahead* of more traditional would-be bureaucratic "reformers." Herson received more than twice as many ballots as Eli Wier, a former supporter of Jim Morrissey, the liberal dissident who garnered wide publicity in the late 1960's for his court suits against long-time NMU president Joe Curran. Moreover, in key East Coast, Gulf and West Coast ports where the Caucus' program and its ten-year record of consistent struggle are well-known, the M-SC candidates received a significantly higher percentage than the national average. *Thus in the Port of New York, Herson won 316 votes for president against 1,485 for Shannon Wall—16 percent of the port total for the M-SC against Wall's 76 percent.* In San Francisco, New Orleans, San Pedro (Los Angeles) and Port Arthur, Texas—ports where the M-SC publication, *The Beacon*, was distributed during the campaign—the Caucus candidates received up to 12-17 percent of the vote.

As a *Beacon* supplement dated 12 June noted, the M-SC's strong vote—triple the total received by Herson when he ran for president against Wall five years ago—came "despite a sustained barrage of red-baiting directed at our Caucus throughout the union." Even though a significant level of anti-communism persists in the union as a residue of the red purge of the late 1940's and early '50's, "*one seaman in ten voted for candidates who were persistently labeled 'communists and left-wingers'*" by the NMU tops. The M-SC candidates did not pull their punches in the face of these McCarthyite smear tactics, running on a full class-struggle program including demands for an industrywide maritime strike, repudiation of protectionism in favor of international organizing, defense of busing, labor/black defense guards against Nazis and KKK, and "No support to Democrats, Republicans—for a workers party based on unions, and workers government."

Storm Over Contract Sellout

A further confirmation that the M-SC is now seen as *the* opposition in the union, by ranks and bureaucracy alike, came at a June meeting of the Port of New York where a tumultuous rank and file booed, shouted and voted down by almost a two-to-one margin the sellout contract which Wall & Co. are trying to claim was "approved" by the membership. This year's settlement followed the same course as previous contracts, trading off a modest increase in wages against a failure to provide any defense against a massive company onslaught against jobs through automation and runaway shipping that has decimated the ranks of the union. A major complaint at the NY port meeting was the way the companies are cutting back on jobs by continually reducing manning scales, not just on the automated container vessels but even on many of the older boom ships, without a peep of resistance by the NMU officers.

Militant-Solidarity Caucus leaflets New York NMU hall. WV Photo

A particularly unpopular item in the new contract was the pension clause. Only six years ago NMU seamen could retire at any age after 20 years service at $250 a month. But the precipitous decline in jobs has greatly weakened the union pension fund: some 14,000 pensioners are supported by 13,000 active seamen sharing 6,500 deep sea jobs. The result has been one cutback after another in pensions, so for anything over the minimal $250-a-month benefit, 25 years' service is required, moreover, seamen cannot collect payments before age 55. The new contract was another slap in the face to the NMU membership (average age 51) for whom the pension is of prime importance. For each additional $20 monthly increase in pension benefits, seamen would be required to work an extra year. In effect the seamen, not the maritime companies, paid for even the minimal pension increases contained in this contract ("The Contract Stinks! Vote It Down! Tie 'Em Up!" M-SC leaflet, 5 June).

Prior to the June ratification meeting at the Port of New York the M-SC had undertaken a vigorous campaign for rejection of the new sellout deal. A caucus leaflet emphasized that there was an alternative:

> "The contract of the SIU [Seafarers International Union], West Coast seamen, and West Coast longshoremen (ILWU) all expire next month. This provides a powerful opportunity to take a major step forward. Together, seamen and longshoremen can shut down the docks and win a major victory against our common enemy, the shipowners."
>
> *Beacon* supplement, 22 May

By the time the meeting began the ranks in New York were furious. The Caucus mobilized supporters and active union members to defeat the sellout. Speaker after speaker rose to denounce the contract while the few members who attempted lamely to defend the agreement were angrily hooed down. An M-SC leaflet described the scene:

> "Caucus member Jack Heyman led off the discussion in the June 5 special meeting on the contract, pointing out that the proposed agreement offers no real gains and in fact keeps seamen far behind the rest of unionized labor. When another Caucus member, Bill Savery, got the mike he stressed that a joint strike of all maritime unions is the

continued on page 11

WV Photo

M-SC marching in Boston in 1975 raised slogan for "Labor/Black Defense Squads" to smash racist attacks.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 210 30 June 1978

Skokie Pullback No Victory

Labor Must Drive Nazis Out of Chicago!

Courts Okay Brownshirt Marches in Jewish Suburb, Southside Ghetto

CHICAGO With the recent Skokie court decisions, the capitalist judges have handed Frank Collin's punk brownshirts what they wanted all along: cop-protected free access to the streets and parks of Chicago for organizing murderous racist terror Federal judge George Leighton ruled June 22 that the Chicago Park District could not require an insurance bond from the Nazis, thus opening up Marquette Park as a staging area for Collin's thugs. It was in this ethnic stronghold of white racism that the Nazis managed to lead "white power" mobilizations against open housing marches two years ago. The quick court action was part of a deal made with the Nazis to call off their threatened June 25 provocation in the heavily Jewish suburb of Skokie.

Collin, a sociopathic little creep who fashions his hair and politics after Hitler and dreams of a second holocaust, was delighted with the Skokie-for-Marquette tradeoff. He declares the Nazis will indeed rally in Marquette Park July 9 "I'm more interested in Marquette Park. It's our home base. It's only a stone's throw from our headquarters, and I can't speak there," he complained as he set forth his conditions for the deal

Backed up by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) in the courtroom and in the press, the Nazis have played the "human rights" angle for all it is worth. Sitting at his desk in "George Lincoln Rockwell Hall" in front of his giant swastika flag and flanked by uniformed stormtroopers, the "little Führer" crowed to reporters that the decision guaranteed the Nazis' "rights":

> "It was pure agitation to restore our right to free speech This agitating pressure has now worked. I have decided that because our rights were restored, the demonstration scheduled for Skokie is cancelled."
>
> —UPI, 22 June

What has "now worked" for Collin is the capitalist state—the

continued on page 2

UPI

Chicago cops mobilize to defend two-bit Führer Collins (with bullhorn) and his Nazi scum from angry protestors.

A Ruling-Class Squabble

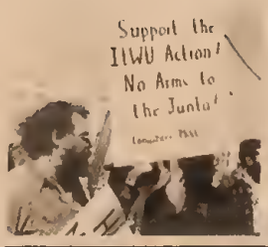
Right Wing Whips Up Tax Revolt Fever

"Slash taxes!" is the new rallying cry of middle-class backlash in America The June 6 landslide vote for the Jarvis-Gann amendment (Proposition 13) in California, which slashed property taxes 60 percent for big business and homeowners alike, has touched off an explosion of aggressive right-wing politicking and sent elected officials across the nation scrambling to jump on the budget-cutting bandwagon

This outburst against high taxes and government spending is fed in part by widespread grievances against spiraling taxes and government corruption and inefficiency. With inflation at record levels in recent years, many small homeowners have seen their property taxes triple, quadruple, even quintuple over the past ten years. But

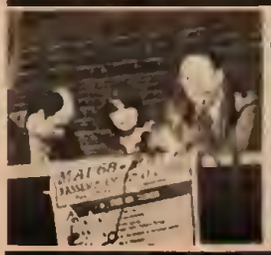
continued on page 8

Newsweek



ILWU Stops Bombs to Chile 3

Behind the JDL Turn 4



"Eurotrotskyists" Fête Euro-communists 6

Thousands Massed, Scab Trucks Stopped

Strikers Backed Down Daily News

Labor solidarity and militancy won the day for the Newspaper Guild when, after three days of strike against the New York *Daily News*, management was forced on June 17 to abandon an aggressive assault on journalists and other newsroom employees. One of the most electric strikes in NYC during recent years was marked by three tense days in which the striking Guild members were joined by thousands of angry fellow workers in surrounding the *News* headquarters building on East 42nd Street almost 'round the clock.

Groups of "strollers" tied up traffic as they slowly crossed and recrossed intersections; hundreds of militants harassed scab drivers at the loading docks, occasionally tossing bottles; one driver very nearly received an unforgettable lesson in the consequences of strikebreaking, and two delivery vans were torched before the strikers managed to stop the trucks. But by then the *News* bosses had had enough and decided to bide their time until a better opportunity.

The turning point in the five-day strike came on the third day when rank-and-file pressure forced the president of the Newspaper and Mail Deliverers Union, Doug La Chance, to call out the delivery drivers and join eight other craft unions in support of the 1,340 Guild strikers. In the face of this unanticipated union militancy, the *News* owners resumed negotiations and quickly agreed to a contract which deleted the lengthy list of so-called "retrogressions" in union benefits, job security, automation protection and pay raises which they had originally demanded.

It was the *News* publishers who forced the walkout by rejecting a contract proposed by federal mediators (and approved by the Guild) which would have included cutbacks in sick pay and other benefits. In demanding numerous unacceptable "givebacks," such as a proposal to award 75 percent of all pay raises on the basis of management-determined "merit," the *News* owners' goal was obvious: to provoke a strike which would weaken the power of the Guild and craft unions to block future automation and union-busting attempts. "In the entire time I've been here," one reporter observed, "I've never seen management so intent on a strike" (*New York Times*, 16 June).

For many years the printing trades unions have been steadily ground down by massive automation and attacks on union-enforced work rules. In a series of lengthy strikes at such papers as the *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner* and more recently the *Washington Post*, newspaper unions have either been crippled or outright broken. The key in each of these defeats was the ability of the publishers to print and distribute scab-produced papers. The *News* followed this pattern by importing live-in strikebreakers from Chicago and the notorious Publishers Association scab-training school in Oklahoma City. If management had succeeded in printing and delivering their scab paper the very existence of the Guild as an effective union would have been called into question.

Monaster/N. Y. Daily News

Daily News delivery truck burning near the News building before drivers agreed to honor Newspaper Guild picket lines.

Victory or defeat for the Guild strike thus hinged on the willingness of ten other unions at the *Daily News* to honor Guild picket lines. Strikebreaking by one or more unions has unfortunately been the rule and not the exception in newspaper strikes. During this *News* strike printers in the International Typographical Union betrayed their union brothers and scabbed from the outset. But eight other craft unions whose contracts had expired along with the Guild's honored the picket lines. Despite their support, however, management and scab labor succeeded in producing a reduced-size paper on June 13, the first night of the strike. The question in everyone's mind was whether or not the drivers, whose contract had already been negotiated, would deliver it.

Two thousand picketers chanted "Keep 'em out!" as Doug La Chance, the drivers' union leader, walked past police lines into the *News* garage Tuesday night. Half of the *News*' 760 drivers failed to report for work but 176 of those who did obeyed La Chance's order to scab and trucks began pulling into the loading docks at about 11 p.m. One hundred fifty cops were on hand to hold back the picketers and usher the scab trucks out onto the street. The scab-herding cops quickly moved in to drag off and arrest strikers who tried to block the trucks and nightstick-swinging mounted police repeatedly charged the picket lines. As each truck careened out of the loading dock and swerved down Second Avenue, a squad car with flashing lights shot out after it to escort the scab trucks past the angry strikers. By the next morning less than half the usual circulation had been delivered.

On the picket lines the next day, Wednesday, June 14, the mood was sour and angry. Cheers greeted Guild units from the *Times* and *Post* as they joined the line but strikers were bitter about the police violence. Many swore they would never support the threatened New York police strike. Several strikers were nearly trampled as mounted police charged into a group of "strollers." One man was beaten and arrested just for crossing the street without permission. Two strikers were struck by cars that night—one after dodging ice cubes and fruit thrown from the roof of a luxury apartment building.

After hours of closed-door meetings a group of drivers emerged to join the picket line at 10 p.m. carrying hand-lettered signs reading, "This Driver Supports the Guild." Rumors were flying, however, that La Chance had ordered the drivers to scab in exchange for a promise by the *News* to write off the huge damages assessed against the Deliverers Union by a court in the aftermath of a drivers' wildcat last year. At 11 p.m., as on the previous night, the trucks began to pull out, dispatched by a detective with a walkie-talkie. Strikers succeeded in trapping one truck and pulled the driver out of the cab. Only a police charge saved the scab from his well deserved reward. Just two blocks away a striker had been knocked to the ground with a metal pipe by a scab driver returning from deliveries. At midnight more drivers defected to the Guild side of the picket lines, to the cheers of the strikers. The night's business ended at four in the morning when two *News* trucks parked nearby were allegedly firebombed.

On the third day of the strike, June 15, the management of the *Times* entered the fray by canceling their contract with the Guild and announcing their solidarity with the *News* bosses by unilaterally ending the closed shop and dues check-off rights of the union. In addition, the *Times* hinted that it would shut down and lock out *Times* workers if the strike continued. However, pressure continued to mount on La Chance to call out the drivers. After a meeting in the *News* garage the drivers walked out with their fists in the air at 10:20 p.m. and jubilation spread through the Guild ranks. "We're gonna win! We're gonna win!" they shouted. A chorus of picketers addressed the scabs in the printing plant. "Back to Oklahoma! Back to Oklahoma!" The *News* didn't even attempt to publish that night and attention shifted to the negotiations which had resumed the previous day. Late Friday night a contract was approved by Guild negotiators and ratified by an overwhelming majority of members on Saturday.

The strike ended as a partial victory for the Guild only in the negative sense that the worst of the *News* owners' demands were rejected and the Guild was not weakened in a long losing strike. But the contract is *worse* than even the federal mediator's proposal! Sick pay, severance pay and medical benefits were all reduced. In addition all future employees will be hit with lower wages, reduced job security and other cuts in benefits. Most importantly, the eight craft unions that honored Guild picket lines returned to work without a contract. Whatever these workers may win without a strike would surely have been improved if the picket lines had stayed up until *all* workers had settled.

The Guild's partial victory is most impressive when compared with the long string of broken newspaper strikes culminating in the *Washington Post* debacle—and is a real tribute to the trade-union militancy of the *News* workers. But the basic question in this industry, job security in the face of massive automation, was not settled in the *News* strike and will not be settled without a fight for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay. This struggle, in turn, can be waged only by fighting for a class-struggle leadership in the newspaper unions. ■

Skokie...

(continued from page 1)

courts, cops, troops and prisons which wait for any "disrupter" of the Nazis' "right" to organize racist terror and anti-Semitic provocation. Just how well it worked was demonstrated within days after the court decision. At the Nazi victory rally June 24 in the downtown Loop, 800 Chicago cops protected Collin's 25 stormtroopers by cracking heads and arresting some 14 of an estimated 2,000 anti-Nazi demonstrators.

The Nazis arrived at the Federal Plaza in a police paddywagon and emerged from the Federal Building behind a solid wall of riot-helmeted cops who surrounded them on three sides. The counterdemonstration—a pale reflection of the confrontation which had been brewing between the Nazis and community groups, leftists and labor organizations over Skokie—consisted primarily of the hard core of right-wing Jewish Defense League supporters and a broad range of leftists.

As the Nazis goose-stepped behind their cop escort, the crowd surged toward the police line. Eggs, wooden staves and debris began arching over the wall of cops, striking Nazis (who were armed with wooden shields) and photographers. Several times the cops beat their way forward to drive back the crowd, while plainsclothesmen and federal marshals picked out individuals and dragged them away.

Swastikas in the Land of "Human Rights"

The showdown which was shaping up for Skokie had become a national issue. The Nazi mobilizations were debated in the highest bodies of government, which decided that the Nazis' "human rights" were to be secured at bayonet-point if necessary. It is no surprise that the swastika comes wrapped in the stars and stripes.

The word went down from Washington: let the Nazis organize. And so it was done. For the ACLU, which has acted as the consistent civil libertarian defender of fascists from Camp Pendleton to Far Rockaway, the decision was "a ringing victory for democracy." The *New York Times* (25 June) was similarly wont to let freedom ring for the Nazis, editorially "gratified that his [Collin's] right to speak has been upheld." The *Times* editors echoed the developing liberal consensus: "As for the Nazis, let them march."

For the bourgeoisie and the Nazis, the real victory consisted in defusing the momentum toward what might have been the largest anti-fascist mobilization in this country in decades. Skokie had become a focus for

continued on page 9

First U.S. Union Action Since '73 Coup

ILWU Stops Bombs to Chile!

SAN FRANCISCO, June 25 —*For over a month, a shipment of 21 crates of bomb assemblies bound for the blood-drenched Chilean junta has been stranded in the Bay Area, thanks to the exemplary action of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU)!* The refusal of ILWU longshoremen to load the deadly cargo on any ship marks the first time since the CIA-backed Pinochet junta overthrew the democratically elected Allende government, outlawed trade unions, and jailed and killed tens of thousands of Chilean workers that an American trade union has implemented such a genuine act of solidarity with their Chilean class brothers.

According to an account carried in the ILWU *Dispatcher* of 16 June, the union learned via a phone call from an anonymous longshoreman of the presence of the cargo at Pier 32 in San Francisco, where it was awaiting the arrival of the Prudential Lines ship, the SS *Seajet*. The *Dispatcher* asserts that on May 31 the ILWU notified the Crescent Wharf and Warehouse, the employer responsible for loading the cargo, that they would not handle the bombs. (In fact, however, the ILWU policy was not made public until two weeks later.) Meanwhile, the cargo had been moved from the San Francisco docks and was again "discovered" by the ILWU ostensibly through another anonymous tip—to be at the Oakland Army Base, where it was awaiting another ship.

When the ILWU action became front page news in the *San Francisco Examiner* on 18 June ("ILWU Halts Bombs to Chile"), a U.S. Air Force spokesman in Washington tried to defend the shipment on the grounds they were merely "practice bombs" with no explosive charges! But the ILWU rightly continued to refuse to load the cargo. A few days later, a spokesman for the Oakland Army Base announced that "As of now, they are not going to be loaded, period, on any ship" (*San Francisco Examiner* 23 June).

In a statement issued June 14, ILWU president Jimmy Herman asserted that the refusal to work the military cargo was in accordance with past ILWU policy, including convention resolutions authorizing a boycott of all shipments of cargo to Chile. This self-congratulatory claim is a complete phony. For the past few years, the ILWU International has repeatedly ignored calls for dockworkers' action against the Chilean junta. For instance, when the International Transport Workers Federation issued a call for a two-day boycott of Chilean cargo on 18 September 1974, the ILWU International did nothing to mobilize the ranks, and in Los Angeles ILWU president Harry Bridges personally ordered the unloading of Chilean cargo. It was only the efforts of militants who later formed the "Longshore Militant" group, along with picket lines initiated by the Spartacist League, which stopped Chilean cargo in L.A. and San Francisco in that two-day period.

As recently as May 25, the Local 10 executive board voted down a motion by "Longshore Militant" publishers Stan Gow and Howard Keylor demanding that the bombs be hot-cargoed. Gow and Keylor first learned of the shipment on May 20—a full three days before the ILWU ostensibly got its anonymous tip! when now retired Communist Party (CP) docks leader Archie Brown mentioned the presence of the bombs during a rally against the Chilean torture ship *Esmeralda*. Five days later Gow and Keylor presented their resolution:

> "21 crates of bomb fins are sitting on the dock at Pier 32 consigned to be shipped to the Chilean Air force on the Prudential *Sea Jet* June 4. Local 10 will not handle this shipment of military goods to the Chilean Junta (by executive action).
>
> "This Local refuses to load any military cargo for shipment to the Junta which destroyed the trade union movement and suppresses the Chilean working class."
>
> "Longshore Militant," 2 June

Without batting an eyelash, and with hardly any discussion, the executive board majority routinely voted the motion down. But the heat was on. On June 2 Gow and Keylor issued a leaflet blasting this treachery and demanding an end to the inaction of the bureaucrats. While the *Dispatcher* now asserts that the union informed the stevedoring firm as early as May 31 that it was not handling the bombs, the ILWU membership was kept in the dark until mid-June. The Local 10 executive members who earlier voted against the Gow/Keylor motion are now walking around with egg on their faces, while Local 10 secretary-treasurer Herb Mills, who was not present at the May 25 vote, is belatedly and hypocritically praising the "progressive" tradition of the ILWU.

Whatever the truth about the murky chronology of events that underlie the abrupt reversal in ILWU policy, what seems unmistakable is that the actions of Jimmy Herman & Co. have been closely synchronized with a shift in the attitude of Democratic Party leaders toward the Pinochet dictatorship. After a period of pressuring the junta to adopt cosmetic reforms, the Carter administration has recently begun openly expressing displeasure with Pinochet—an obvious invitation to a palace coup to overthrow the tyrant the U.S. helped install. Herman's June 14 press release announcing the boycott was swiftly followed by an endorsement from Senator Ted Kennedy, just returned from Geneva and a meeting with Chilean exiles participating in a widely publicized hunger strike initiated in Santiago, whose purpose was to pressure the junta into disclosing the whereabouts of over 2,500 "disappeared" political prisoners. Kennedy piously urged the Carter administration to halt the shipment of bombs "at least until the human rights situation is clarified in Chile."

The bureaucrats "discover" international solidarity only when it coincides with U.S. imperialist hypocrisy. Both ILWU International and Local 10 officers have been quick to note that the boycott had the backing of Senator Kennedy. And in a later press release, dated June 21, Herman declared: "We hope to get the White House and the State Department to take a very close look at what they are doing to further involve the U.S. in support of a brutal military regime—the final answer must come from the White House."

In line with this, State Department spokesman John Trattmer announced in Washington that the bomb shipment "will not be loaded while this assessment of the human rights situation is going on" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 24 June). The same day as this statement the U.S. recalled its ambassador to Chile, officially because of the foot-dragging of the Pinochet regime (not to mention that of the FBI/CIA) in the investigation of the assassination of Orlando Letelier two years ago. Presumably after the U.S. "assessment," the bomb shipments will be resumed unless longshoremen take matters into their own hands.

As for the role of the Stalinists, they pursued their usual course of tailing the ILWU bureaucracy. When Archie Brown's associate Billy Proctor was approached by Gow and Keylor at the *Esmeralda* rally May 20 for a joint appeal to Local 10 and the International to hot-cargo the bombs, Proctor refused, urging instead moral appeals to Carter and declaring: "We have to support President Carter against the U.S. military, which is getting out of hand!" ("Longshore Militant," 2 June)

Of course, after the ILWU officials reversed their policy, the Stalinists hailed what they had opposed! On June 24 a demonstration of about 75 people took place at the Oakland Army Base to support the ILWU action. The rally was addressed by such speakers as CPer Archie Brown, ILWU bureaucrat Herb Mills and a representative of Chile Democrático, which politically supports the Chilean popular front. The Stalinists, trade-union hacks and Chile Democrático all have in common their kowtowing to bourgeois politicians and the capitalist legal order. In fact, it was the illusion, sowed by the Allende government, that the Chilean military would abide loyally by the constitution that left the working masses unprepared and defenseless before the savage coup carried out by Pinochet and his generals.

Demonstrating their deep hatred for those who challenge and expose their reformist treachery, the rally organizers attempted—unsuccessfully—to exclude contingents from the Spartacist League, the "Longshore Militant," the Militant Caucus of ILWU Local 6 and the Committee for a Militant UAW. Stalinist goon Tony Wilkinson, a member of the Local 6 executive board, denounced the class-struggle contingents as "fascist," while Billy Proctor of Local 10 objected to their signs and chants, at one point trying to grab the SL megaphone. (The SL banner read "Support ILWU Action—No Pop Front Illusions—For Workers Revolution in Chile.")

The hot-cargoing of the bomb shipments is certainly a step forward by the longshoremen. But genuine international labor solidarity cannot be consistently carried out by reformists who tie themselves to the dictates of the imperialist U.S. government, which helped engineer the bloody 1973 coup and which tomorrow will again seek to throttle the Chilean masses. Real solidarity can be achieved only through an independent class policy: No faith in the imperialist Democratic Party! No popular front coalitions with the bourgeoisie! Boycott all military goods to Chile! For workers revolution in Chile! ■

Karen Kerschen

WV Photo

ILWU refused to load bomb casings (left) destined for Pinochet junta. At June 24 support demonstration (right, Stalinists tried to censor slogans against popular frontism.

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Behind the JDL "Turn"

How Jewish Backlash Aided U.S. Neo-Nazis

On 9 May 1969 the well-known black militant James Forman was supposed to appear at Manhattan's prestigious Jewish synagogue, Temple Emanu-El, to demand "reparations" for the centuries-old oppression of his people. That day a small group of young men armed with lead pipes and baseball bats stood in front of the Temple and said they would "break both Forman's legs" if he showed up. He didn't.

Shortly thereafter this little-known group placed an ad in the *New York Times* (24 June 1969) headlined "Is This Any Way for Nice Jewish Boys to Behave?" The answer:

> "Maybe there is only one way to get across a clear response to people who threaten seizure of synagogues and extortion of money. Maybe nice Jewish boys do not always get through to people who threaten to carry teachers out in pine boxes and burn down merchants' stores."

Thus the world was introduced to the Jewish Defense League (JDL).

Last month, almost nine years later, the JDL once again placed an ad in the *New York Times* (28 May). This time, however, the target of the JDL's hostility was quite different:

> "We have watched the rise of anti-semitism in America over the past decade, and we are frightened. We see Nazi parties springing up around the country and gaining momentum each year . . ."
>
> "In view of this, our National Board has decided that for the present and foreseeable future, that our main priority will be fighting the Nazis in this country."

This seemingly significant shift in activity represents not so much a change in the nature of the JDL as in the political climate in the country since the late 1960's. And the anti-black, anti-communist JDL helped create the present political climate in which "white power" fascist groups are growing.

UPI

JDL contingent at Skokie demonstration against Nazis last year.

Jews Join the White Backlash

While the JDL gained international notoriety by its attacks on Soviet diplomats in the early 1970's, it originated primarily as an anti-black nationalist organization. The emergence of this right-wing para-military Jewish organization was in the main a reaction to the aspirations and activities of late 1960's black radicalism. Even more so than other white urban ethnic groups, the demands of black militancy affected the traditionally liberal and heavily middle-class Jewish community. A large proportion of merchants, landlords, etc. in poor black neighborhoods were Jews and they were a natural target of the ghetto outbreaks of the 1960's. Even more importantly the path out of ghetto squalor for a small percentage of black youth through the public colleges and a career in the government bureaucracy threatened the narrow economic base of the Jewish middle class. Black demands for a larger share of college admissions and civil service posts affected the Jewish population more than the Italian, Irish, Polish, etc.

The most important confrontation between black nationalism and the "Jewish community" was the 1968 New York City teachers' strike (which occurred a few months after the JDL was founded). In the name of "community control," a black school district superintendent in Brooklyn, Rhody McCoy, attempted to break the heavily Jewish United Federation of Teachers (UFT) in his district and turn the teaching staff into his personal fiefdom. This fit neatly into plans by New York's liberal mayor, John Lindsay, and the Ford Foundation to bust the power of the UFT and set minorities against the unions by decentralizing the school system. The Spartacist League was one of the few left organizations which defended the organized labor movement against this major attack by black petty-bourgeois hustlers and their bourgeois liberal allies.

In this period when blacks and Jews were clawing at each other over jobs, college placements and social services, the Spartacist League strived to turn black militancy instead against the *capitalists*. One of the black demands which furthered the growth of the JDL was that admissions to New York City's public colleges be proportional to the ethnic make-up of the high school student population. While we critically supported this demand as preferable to the class- and race-biased "merit" system, we campaigned for open admissions, no tuition and a state-paid stipend for all students.

The kind of appeal which the JDL made to the economic insecurity of the Jewish middle class is indicated by its founding leader, Meir Kahane, in his book, *The Story of the Jewish Defense League* (1975):

> "Merit was the only yardstick that guaranteed hundreds of thousands of lower middle-class Jews the opportunity to make a living. Now Blacks (and following them, other ethnic groups) were demanding an end to the system and calling for reverse discrimination and quotas, a return to the *numerus clausus* of Europe that had seen Jewish opportunity limited to their percentage of the general population."

The JDL was the terrorist wing of the Jewish backlash. Formed in May 1968, its first public act was picketing New York University to demand the ouster of John Hatchett, head of the school's Afro-American Student Center. Hatchett, a black nationalist, had been dismissed as a New York public school teacher in part for denouncing Jewish "domination" of the educational bureaucracy. In early 1969 the JDL broke up a meeting of the New Left-Stalinoid Freedom and Peace Party which featured Leslie Campbell, Jew-baiting leader of the Afro-American Teachers Association, a black nationalist group out to destroy the UFT. A few months later JDL goons marched onto the largely Jewish Brooklyn College, beat up some SDSers, forced their way into the dean's office and warned him not to give in to the demands of "Third World students." Throughout this period the JDL operated vigilante squads to bring "law and order" to the Jewish neighborhoods of Brooklyn and Queens.

Terrorist Wing of International Zionism

However, the JDL was more than another ethnic "white backlash" group, a Brooklyn Jewish version of the South Boston Marshals. Its leadership had global political ambitions and connections. Meir Kahane was not only a veteran Zionist agitator, but also a professional anti-communist. The original JDL manifesto contained an attack on the left and black radicalism that could have been written by a more literate version of Spiro Agnew or Ronald Reagan:

> "The Left has arisen with startling speed, nourished by youthful boredom, personal rebellion, the search for new excitement and meaning, the lashing out against parental, school and all other authority. Seizing upon a universal desire for peace, plenty and justice, the Left cynically uses the young to attack authority, destroy order, incite hatred and bring closer the day that democracy and freedom perishes. Tyranny and totalitarianism is the Left alternative.
>
> "A minority of Black Nazis has suddenly arisen to declare war on white skins in an obscene and ironic duplication of the worst of Klansm. This movement would destroy its own people even while vowing to destroy white America. Its baggage is intellectual know-nothingism, brute force, the molotov cocktail and the incendiary speech."
>
> Jewish Defense League,
> *A Manifesto*

A year before he formed the JDL, Kahane co-authored *The Jewish Stake in Vietnam* under the pseudonym of Michael King. When the black nationalist wave ebbed in the early 1970's, most local right-wing white ethnic groups folded up. In contrast, the JDL turned toward another target, exchanging its lead pipes for fire bombs.

While most Jews in the U.S. and West Europe have greater or lesser sympathy for Israel, few intend to go there and settle. The only potential significant pool of Jewish emigration to Israel is in the Soviet Union. In the early 1970's right-wing Zionists in the U.S. and Israel were determined to force the mass emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel. Some Russian Jews did want to emigrate to Israel and were prevented from doing so by the Soviet bureaucracy. Many Soviet Jews who did go to Israel discovered that they didn't like the Zionist "Promised Land" and tried to re-emigrate to the U.S., West Europe or even back to Russia. However, right-wing Zionists conspired to force the Kremlin to *encourage* Jewish emigration. Moscow obliged in order to appease Western public opinion.

What we had here was a genuine international Zionist conspiracy against the USSR, and Kahane's JDL was at the heart of it. In the early 1970's these Zionist criminals waged a campaign of violent harassment and terror against Soviet diplomatic, economic and cultural activities in the U.S. and also West Europe. In 1971 Kahane publicly proclaimed: "The life of every Russian here will be made miserable" (quoted in *The Story of the Jewish Defense League*). Actually, the JDL's terrorist tactics were not limited to harassment. Kahane's gang attempted to make the lives of Soviet citizens in the U.S. not only miserable, but shorter.

- In January 1971 a fire bomb exploded in the Soviet embassy's cultural building in Washington, D.C.
- In April 1971 Soviet trade offices in Amsterdam, Holland were fire bombed.
- In October 1971 four shots from a high-powered rifle were fired into the Soviet UN mission in New York City.
- In June 1972 the offices of Sol Hurok, a major promoter of Soviet cultural events in the U.S., were fire bombed. One woman was killed and thirteen other people injured. After each of these terrorist acts, the police or newspapers were called by people who

Der Spiegel

Russel Kelner at JDL office in 1974 threatened to kill PLO leader Arafat with .38.

used the JDL slogans "Free Soviet Jewry" or "Let My People Go."

While its terrorist acts against the USSR were capturing front page headlines throughout the world, the JDL was also using its weapons against American leftists who agitated against Zionist repression of the Palestinian people. Our own organization had occasion to defend itself against Kahane's armed thugs. In early 1973 the Spartacist League/Revolutionary Communist Youth (predecessor of the Spartacus Youth League) initiated a united-front defense campaign for members of two Israeli leftist organizations who had been imprisoned and tortured. A few days before a planned demonstration outside the Israeli UN mission, we received a call in the name of the JDL threatening to "kill" all "the commies." We were not cowed by the Zionist thugs and the demonstration took place as scheduled. In the middle of the demonstration JDLers armed with iron pipes and brass knuckles charged from across the street. They were effectively repulsed with only slight injuries to the anti-Zionist protesters.

While reportedly one policeman was seriously injured by the JDL attack, the Zionist gangsters involved were only charged with "disturbing the peace." In general, these self-avowed Zionist terrorists were treated exceptionally leniently by the U.S. authorities, except when the Soviets really turned on the diplomatic pressure. For example, on public television JDL leader Russell Kelner threatened to kill Yasir Arafat when the Palestinian leader visited the UN in 1974. For this act he was given a one-year suspended sentence! One can imagine what would happen to an American leftist who publicly threatened to assassinate Chilean butcher Augusto Pinochet on a visit to Washington.

The JDL, Israel and American Fascism

The JDL arose out of a convergence of extreme right-wing Zionism and the Jewish component of the white backlash—a kind of cross between the Stern Gang and the South Boston Marshals. However, Zionism and American Jewish communal politics do not always march arm in arm. Kahane himself is an extreme Zionist fanatic, and not only in the sense that he wants to exterminate any and all possible enemies of the Israeli state. He stands for the immediate "return" of all Jews everywhere to Israel. While the JDLers are all hard-line right-wing Zionists, most have no more desire to emigrate to Israel than does the rest of American Jewry. The JDL was founded primarily to preserve the economic and social position of the Jewish population *in this country*.

In 1972 Kahane put his doctrine into practice and emigrated to Israel, where he allied himself with Begin's right-wing opposition bloc. Since then Kahane's provocations have embarrassed successive Israeli governments. In late 1972 he was arrested and charged with smuggling arms to followers in Europe for anti-Arab terrorist actions. In July 1973 he was arrested again, this time for conspiring to disrupt Brezhnev's visit to the U.S. He admitted instructing his followers to bomb the Soviet embassy in Washington and kidnap Russian diplomats. For this he was given a two-year suspended sentence for "conspiring to damage relations between Israel and the U.S."! More recently he has been involved along with the Gush Emunim in trying to establish settlements of Zionist fanatics in the West Bank.

Although Kahane has returned to the U.S. for lengthy stays since 1972, his political concerns have basically been Israel-centered. In 1974 he resigned as official head of the American JDL, saying he would remain its "spiritual leader." However, Kahane's increasing distance from the New York-based JDL was not so much geographical as political.

Following the 1973 Near East war and Arab oil boycott, the Nixon/Kissinger regime put increasing pressure on Israel to give up most of the occupied territories. Like most right-wing Zionists, Kahane reacted with violent outrage to America's "betrayal" of Israel. Upon returning to the U.S. in late 1974, Kahane attempted to turn the JDL into essentially the far right wing of the Israel lobby. In 1975 he set up another organization, Committee Against Israeli Retreat, whose slogan "Not One Inch!" (of occupied Palestinian land) displaced the JDL's earlier slogan of "Never Again!". Kahane's main activity during this time was a petition campaign for the dismissal of Henry Kissinger as secretary of state.

Many JDLers evidently did not share Kahane's Israel-centered political outlook. They viewed the JDL primarily as the militant defenders of American Jews against *their* specific enemies. In the late 1960's black radicals and their left and liberal allies were seen as the main enemies of the "Jewish community," but by the mid-1970's black nationalism and the New Left were rapidly fading memories. The politics of the country were shifting increasingly rightward, in part as a result of the earlier white backlash. In this more favorable climate of opinion, fascist organizations were growing and becoming far more aggressive. The JDL began to see in the Nazis a serious, deadly threat to American Jewry.

Around 1975 Kahane's views and those of the mainstream JDLers began to diverge. He wanted the JDL to devote itself to pressuring Washington to support Israel; they wanted to turn their energies more against the Nazis. As an extreme ideological Zionist, Kahane is and must be fatalistic about the triumph of anti-Semitism in the U.S. In *The Story of the Jewish Defense League* he writes: "... so long as one gentile lives opposite one Jew, the possibility of a Holocaust remains." For Kahane the growth of American Nazism can be slowed, but it cannot ultimately be stopped. The only possible salvation for Jews is their own national state—Israel.

Last July the rift between the Israel-centered Kahane and the American Jewish communalists in the JDL led to an organizational parting of the ways. Since then Kahane has publicly criticized the JDL's anti-fascist militancy. He even claims that militant JDL attacks on the Nazis help the Hitler-lovers grow by publicizing their existence (!):

> "... the Jewish militant groups who protest Nazis and demonstrate against them, do enormous harm for they do indeed give the Nazis publicity. One of the grave mistakes I railed at (from Israel) was a JDL demonstration in Philadelphia against Nazis. What happened was that not only did the press and television turn out to announce to previously ignorant sympathizers that a Nazi office existed, but the neighborhood poured out also to fight the JDL."
>
> *Jewish Press*, 24 February 1978

In turn, the JDL has implicitly criticized the period of Kahane's leadership for misdirected priorities, or rather lack of any:

> "Many people have been asking where the Jewish Defense League is going since our break from Meir Kahane last July... When JDL was originally conceived, its purpose was to protect Jews from the growing anti-semitism in this country through physical action. However, JDL was more than a tough street gang—it was an idea and philosophy based on 'Ahavat Yisrael,' the love of Jewish people wherever they were. Based on this theory, we could not ignore the cries of our brethren behind the iron walls of the Soviet Union or fenced inside the ghettoes of Damascus. JDL launched a full scale program on almost every international issue that dealt with Jewish suffering. In doing so, however, we wandered far from our original intent. Looking back, we have no regrets about the diversity of our priorities—we only regret there weren't more Jews involved with this smorgasbord of Jewish problems...."

Dukes/New York Times

Former JDL leader Meir Kahane speaking at 1975 rally in New York City.

This position paper by the JDL national director, Bonnie Pechter goes on to state, "for the present and foreseeable future...our main priority will be fighting Nazis in this country" (*New York Times*, 28 May).

In the past the JDL has also periodically physically attacked the Nazis; in that sense its present activity is not a change in line. However, heretofore the JDL's anti-fascist activities have been very much secondary to its attacks on black radicals, Soviet diplomats, Arabs and anti-Zionist leftists. In making its main priority fighting the Nazis, the JDL has by no means shed its nature as a terroristic organization of *ultra-rightist* Jewish communalists. At Brooklyn College the JDL continues to act as unpaid administration goons against the Puerto Rican nationalists and their Maoist allies (see "Police Riot at Brooklyn College," *Young Spartacus*, Summer 1978). However, in the near future class-conscious workers and revolutionary socialists may well find themselves in common protest action with the JDL against the small but growing American fascist movement.

However, revolutionary socialists do not seek out united fronts with the JDL. We do not want to give respectability to this dangerous group of Zionist terrorists, implying they are simply anti-fascist militants. Also the virulently anti-communist JDL is capable to turning against leftists in the context of anti-Nazi actions. Furthermore, a Leninist revolutionary vanguard seeks to mobilize the labor movement against fascism, while the JDL is committed to adventurist tactics which often involve attacks on the police who are protecting the Nazis.

Why American Fascists Must Attack the Jews

Because the JDL was the most aggressive, violent anti-communist organization in the U.S. in the early 1970's, many left groups raised the cry of "Jewish fascism." As Marxists, we rejected this superficial view. In an article entitled "Jewish Defense League: Jews and American Fascism" in the March-April 1972 issue of the *Revolutionary Communist Youth Newsletter* (forerunner of *Young Spartacus*), we pointed out that Jews will be the victims, not the shock troops, of American fascism.

> "Drawing on Christian fundamentalism, American fascism will be deeply anti-black and anti-Semitic. Thus Nixon's support for Billy Graham and George Wallace's drive for power based on racist and populist sentiment are far more ominous portents, within bourgeois democracy, than the JDL and Leroi Jones."

We further pointed out the nationalism of the JDL, unlike that of the "white power" fascists, was not simply the chauvinism of the oppressor:

> "Right-wing Zionism bases itself partly on the numerically insignificant small Jewish businessmen who exploit the black ghetto, and partly on those Jewish skilled workers and petty bourgeois who feel threatened by the desire of black people for good neighborhoods, college education or civil service jobs. But the JDL—with its slogan of 'Never Again,' referring to the Nazi extermination of the Jews—also bases itself, ideologically and emotionally, on the historic oppression of the Jews and their insecurity in a Christian society."

Given the intense black-white polarization in late-1960's America, many Jews believed that they were now part of the dominant majority, safe in the U.S. from reactionary anti-Semitism. This was a major factor in the American Jewish community's rightward political motion in the past decade. However, the notion of a "white community" was always a fiction. Anti-Jewish prejudice remains significant in American society. For the dominant Anglo-Saxon Protestant section of the ruling class, Jews are a good deal less than white. The attitude toward Jews in the dormitories of West Point (the training ground for the trigger-men of the American ruling class) is not much more liberal than it was in the military academies of Kaiser Wilhelm's Germany.

It is obvious that the rightward motion in this country, associated with Carter's religious fundamentalism and Cold War anti-Sovietism, encourages the growth of fascist groups. It is less obvious to many that fascist groups should attack the Jews, at least at the present time. It is of course recognized that blacks will be the main target of the fascists. One often hears the notion in the radical/liberal milieu that if the Nazis were smart, they would concentrate on attacking the blacks and leave the Jews alone. After all, present-day American society is very different from Weimar Germany.

However, the Nazis' announced march into Skokie was not just a mechanical copying of Hitler's movement, having no relation to American social reality. The fascists' attacks on Jews are not so much a substitute for attacks on blacks, as complementary to them. Even white racists know that blacks are poor and powerless. Demagogy about welfare chiselers aside, no one believes that "shipping the blacks

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French LCR Defends "Socialist" Generals and Admirals

"EUROTROTSKYISTS" FÊTE EUROCOMMUNISTS

It was a Pablo's dream come true: a star-studded gallery of Eurocommunist notables, prominent social democrats, "progressive" generals and Soviet dissidents, all brought to you courtesy of the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR). Not content with the company in the little cesspool of "far-left" opportunism, these pseudo-Trotskyists have been looking for an opportunity to jump into the reformist swamp of class betrayal where they can swim with the big boys. They saw their chance and leaped with both feet, turning the LCR's *Rouge* Fête into a gala weekend in honor of Eurocommunism. More than 10,000 attended the May 27-28 gathering at the Porte de Pantin on the outskirts of Paris, entitled "May 1968 - May 1978 Reform or Revolution?"

The LCR lost no time making clear which it was for. In this grand celebration of classless "democracy," they courted the right-wing Communist Party (PCF) dissidents, who in recent weeks have become the darlings of the bourgeois press, and defended "socialist" officers of the French imperialist armed forces against enraged protest from the audience. Guests of honor at the "fraternal debate" included noted French Eurocommunists Jean Elleinstein, Jacques Frémontier and Jean Rony, "premature Eurocommunists" Roger Garaudy and Fernando Claudin, an official delegation of the Spanish Communist Party (PCE), French Socialist Party (PS) national secretary Gilles Martinet, Ukrainian dissident Leonid Plyushch and military reserve officers air force General Béeam and Admiral Sanguinetti.

The bourgeois press took note of the unusual event. *Le Monde* of 30 May observed that the weekend gathering "made it possible for representatives of the families of the left and the far left to begin the dialogue." Even the *New York Times* (4 June) covered it, commenting that "A new current is stirring in the French left, bringing together representatives of a broad sweep of views from extremists to ecologists and moderate reformers in opposition to Communist Party orthodoxy." And although the presence of the PCE delegation stayed the hand of the French Communist Party from taking direct reprisals against the PCF dissidents who participated, this did not stop *L'Humanité* (29 May) from furiously denouncing the meeting as "a factional undertaking directed at the Communist party, its policies, principles and leadership."

The weekend fête was indeed designed to capitalize on the current uproar in the PCF, which has spilled over into a heated public controversy, as leading party intellectuals have taken to the pages of *Le Monde*, the leading French daily, to denounce the PCF leadership as responsible for the recent electoral defeat of the Union of the Left. Neo-Stalinist philosopher Louis Althusser published a four-part *copyrighted* series entitled "Things Can't Go On This Way in the Communist Party," and historian Elleinstein deputy director of the PCF's Center for Marxist Studies, called in *his* series for dropping the name "Communist" as a liability before French public opinion. At the *Rouge* Fête the LCR provided a platform for the most thoroughgoing Eurocommunists seeking to pressure those CPers resistant to exchanging pro-Soviet Stalinist reformism for anti-Soviet social-democratic reformism.

Le Bolchevik

From left, "premature Eurocommunist" Fernando Claudin, LCR leader Henri Weber, Ukranian dissident Leonid Plyushch and translator, French CP dissident Jean Elleinstein and French Socialist Party National Secretary Gilles Martinet. Elleinstein hailed "the original path toward socialism" which "is neither that of Stalin or Mao, but which is also not that of Lenin or Trotsky... the Eurocommunist path."

Although at first glance the speakers' platforms at the fête appeared contrary to nature, there was in fact a political logic uniting PCF right wingers with LCR "far leftists": both accused the Communist Party leadership of being responsible for the March 19 electoral defeat of "the left" by breaking the "unity momentum." This charge, raised by a "Declaration of 100" PCF militants (*Le Monde*, 17 May), is the theme of a propaganda barrage initiated by PS leader Mitterrand and picked up by virtually the entire bourgeois press. It ignores the fact that the PCF's reflexive "hardening" came in response to threats to its electoral base by the Socialists and indications from Mitterrand that the PCF would have little effective power in a Union of the Left government. Thus the Pabloists and super-Eurocommunists find common ground on the rightist program of unconditional unity of the reformist bureaucrats.

Commenting afterwards on the star-studded weekend, the LCR's first crack at the big time, LCR leader Alain Krivine underscored the significance of the *Rouge* Fête.

> "For us this was not a publicity stunt or a factional operation, but the application of a policy for which we have been fighting for years and years, frequently against the stream: the policy of the unity of the working people in action against the common enemy. The breach has been opened, the precedent set, nothing will be the same as before."
>
> *Rouge*, 30 May

Eurocommunism and the State

Santiago Carrillo

General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain

The path of Eurocommunism leads straight across picket lines, into the arms of Carter's "Human Rights" On book cover, PCE leader Carrillo scabbing on Yale strike.

Discovery of "Eurotrotskyism"

Leading off the discussion on Eurocommunism Elleinstein reaffirmed his support to a Union of the Left and declared that "unity is debate." This was music to the ears of the LCR, which had been seeking debates with the PCF ever since well before the March elections. Elleinstein also called for joint action between the Eurocommunists and the LCR, between "we who are in the Party and you who are a vital force but who today are feeling the dead end you are in." But the basis for such collaboration, he specified, must be:

> "...a line which of course is neither that of Stalin nor of Mao, but which is also not that of Lenin or Trotsky, a path which is the original path toward socialism imposed on us by history and is precisely, I'll say it, the Eurocommunist path."

This meant, said Elleinstein, first of all support for "representative democracy" and the "extension of public liberties." He added, "I think that in many respects Rosa Luxemburg was right in 1918 in criticizing certain aspects of the Russian Revolution," endorsing in particular her claim that "lack of representative

democracy" would lead to "the domination of a bureaucracy."

"Eurocommunism," said the PCF historian, "implies total independence from the Soviet Union." The representative of the PCE, Malo de Molina, declared that it "assumes the negation of the model of the Soviet revolution, the model of class against class, and the model according to which one must end up with the destruction of the state." Neither here nor at any time in the weekend did the LCR defend the Leninist "model" or even mention the need for defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialism.

There were a few murmurs from the audience when Molina praised the Italian Communist Party's austerity policy as a "theoretical innovation" and went so far as to oppose cost-of-living escalators as "inflationary." LCR spokesmen attacked this apology for the anti-working-class, wage-cutting policies of the Andreotti and Suárez governments, but refused to criticize the policies of the French Union of the Left. Not only did they fail to denounce this coalition as a popular front, tying the working class to the bourgeoisie, but throughout the weekend these fake-Trotskyists hardly even mentioned the Communist-Socialist-Left Radical bloc which has dominated French politics for the past six years.

In contrast there was stormy applause when PS national secretary Martinet, an ex-Stalinist and Krivine's father-in-law, denounced anti-Trotskyism as "the anti-Semitism of the workers movement." Fernando Claudin, the former member of the PCE central committee expelled in 1964 for ultra-reformist positions similar to those of the present-day Eurocommunists, went even further, suggesting that the debate be extended to include "Eurotrotskyism," since they were in the presence of "non-sectarian" Trotskyists:

> "...this is perhaps the sign that there is also a 'Eurotrotskyist' phenomenon, that is a certain opening of Trotskyism toward other currents of the communist movement."

In response, LCR leader Daniel Bensaïd returned the compliment and went out of his way to demonstrate the compatibility of "Eurotrotskyism" with social-democratizing Eurocommunism. Thus he defended the Pabloist perversion of Trotskyism against charges of "underestimating the struggle for democratic rights" by saying: "It seems there is agreement—everyone says 'representative democracy, democratic rights,' and we defend them too...." Bensaïd also solidarized with Rosa Luxemburg's critique of the Russian Revolution for "limiting freedom of the press, limiting freedom of association, which leads to sclerosis of democracy" and approved of Elleinstein's use of this reference which has been cited for decades by social democrats as part of their attack on Leninism.

In answer to Claudin's opposition of parliamentary to non-parliamentary forms of democracy, Bensaïd made a fundamental and far-reaching revision of Leninism on the central question of the state:

> "You will find the debate on the articulation of parliamentary democracy and grassroots democracy with Lenin vs. Kautsky on the subject of the constituent assembly in Russia, you will find it between Rosa Luxemburg and Lenin on the same problem, you will find it in Trotsky, you will find it broadly among some people who are coming back into style today, and not by accident, that is the Austro-Marxists like Adler. However (left-wing) social-democratic they were at the time, they said that parliamentary forms and forms of self-organization could cohabit, but that the forms of self-organization must have the last word. ... As for us, we say it is necessary to take the question to its conclusion and say which should predominate."

So ...instead of smashing the capitalist state, and with it bourgeois parliamentary forms of government, to replace it with the proletarian democracy of soviet rule, it is necessary to *combine* them, to "*articulate*" them; and like the Austro-Marxists, this arch-Pabloist says that it is simply necessary to specify that forms of "grassroots democracy" should predominate over parliamentary forms!

The reference to Austro-Marxism is, as Bensaïd remarks, not an accident. Together with the German Independent Social Democrats, the Austrian Socialist Party was the mainstay of the ill-fated "Second and a Half International" set up in reaction to the proclamation of the Comintern, and Friedrich Adler was its architect. As far as the "cohabitation" of parliamentary and soviet democracy, this program was actually carried out by the Austro-Marxists, who used their domination of the Vienna Workers Council to prevent any revolutionary attempt to sweep away the institutions of capitalist rule. In Berlin, where the Spartakusbund had found support among sectors of the proletariat, this "articulation" was achieved by the bloody massacre of the January 1919 uprising and the assassination of Luxemburg and Liebknecht! Bensaïd will no doubt say that there the wrong element predominated, but it was only because the Independent Social Democrats refused to call for all power to the workers councils, instead hoping for peaceful coexistence between the councils and the national assembly, that the "majority" social-democratic butchers Ebert, Scheidemann and Noske could carry out their bloody work, eventually suppressing the workers councils as well. These are the fruits of the tradition with which the "Eurotrotskyists" solidarize!

Comrade Bensaïd has a history of getting carried away with whatever is the current line of the majority of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec), as when he proposed importing to Europe the USec's guerrillaist policy for Latin America. However, in this case he is simply making explicit the capitulationist policy toward Eurocommunism authored by the USec's top theoretician, Ernest Mandel. Thus in the introduction to his book, *From Stalinism to Eurocommunism*, Mandel refers to the Eurocommunist current as analogous to "classical Social Democracy of 1910-1930, which should not be confused with contemporary Social Democracy." Social Democracy *before* World War I, the world historic event which marked the passage of social democracy to the camp of defense of the bourgeois order? Without saying so explicitly, Mandel is implying that the Eurocommunists have not yet definitively betrayed.

As for Bensaïd's defense of "representative democracy" and political pluralism, this is already foreshadowed in the USec resolution on "Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" (*Inprecor*, 7 July 1977) in which the Pabloists reject the Trotskyist position of democratic rights for all parties standing on the gains of the October Revolution, instead calling for "freedom for the defenders of reactionary ideologies [presumably including fascism] to defend these ideas, [for] ideological cultural pluralism" even for active counterrevolutionaries, just so long as they are not caught bomb-in-hand. The remarks by Bensaïd during this debate constitute a deliberate attempt to present a common platform on which the Eurocommunists and Pabloist "Eurotrotskyists" can "cohabit": namely, left-talking social democracy, formally independent of the Second International and modeled on post-World War I Austro-Marxism.

Defending the Popular-Front Butchers

While Bensaïd's discourse on the "articulation" of bourgeois and proletarian democracy provided the political framework for a Eurocommunist/"Eurotrotskyist" lash-up, it was in the forum on the army that the LCR most vividly demonstrated the depths to which it will descend in order to gain admission to the reformist swamp. Krivine, Bensaïd & Co. have been assisting in the formation of a Committee for Rights and Freedoms in the Military Institution, organized by the bourgeois League for the Rights of Man with the participation of two ranking reserve officers, General Bécam and Admiral Sanguinetti. These two general staff officers had star billing in the oh-so-fraternal "debate" on a podium chaired by the LCR leadership.

Sanguinetti, who had run for parliament in March on the PS ticket, justified attempts to "democratize" the army on the grounds that it would be more "efficient" in "maintain[ing] order." Likewise, he pleaded for a draftee army as necessary to provide the numbers necessary for such tasks as "search-and-destroy operations in Algeria." After a supporter of the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, protested the scandalous composition of the speakers platform, the LCR chairman of the session denounced "the 'insults'

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The "Progressive" Generals vs. The LTF

The following exchanges took place in the forum on the army at the Rouge fête sponsored by the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire. On the platform were "socialists" General Bécam and Admiral Sanguinetti, who were repeatedly confronted by our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France.

Becam: "What do I think of the wars I participated in? Well, we participated in the World War in '39 to '45... What helped the people who carried out these operations [bombing missions] not to pose these problems about what they were doing was the risk they ran. Because in spite of all the bombing gear they ran an absolutely enormous risk during the war and only one out of two survived...."

LTF: "Bombed the German proletariat with a little risk—that's what you were doing!"

Becam: "It was a question of beating German fascism ..."

LTF: "Hamburg was German fascism?!"

Becam: "...and I do not regret this war at all, absolutely not. Then I was in the Indochinese war...."

• • • •

Sanguinetti: "A draftee army is better able to maintain order... You need numbers to search and destroy. When we had to carry out search and destroy operations in Algeria, our strength rose to two million men ..."

LTF: "It's a scandal, the way the speakers platform is composed..."

Chairman of the session protests: "... against the insults addressed to the Admiral inside this hall."

Becam: "An army cannot be really efficient if it's not democratic ... There was a certain democracy in the Wehrmacht, that's why it was so efficient ...But you have to watch out for workers militias, they risk becoming even less democratic than the army ...There is an example of a workers militia: the German SA. A workers militia can rapidly resemble the SA...."

[Cries of protest in the hall]

LTF: "That's what comes of making blocs with the General Staff ...This man is consciously fighting against the working class. He just said it. He bombed the German proletariat, with no regrets."

Spokesman of Ligue Trotskyste de France denouncing presence of French imperialist officers at Rouge fête. At rear on podium, General Bécam, Admiral Sanguinetti.

Tax Revolt...

(continued from page 1)

basically it is an explosion of pent-up petty-bourgeois resentment against the traditional conservative bugbears of big government, big labor (in this case, unionized public employees) and big welfare rolls. One Jarvis fan, a southern California grandmother, brought out into the open the implicit racist appeal that lies just below the surface of the "tax revolt" fever, remarking: "It's these social services that annoy the heck out of me—social services for the colored, the Mexicans and so forth. Who wants to pay it all in taxes that go for things like that?" (*Newsweek*, 19 June).

Howard Jarvis himself, sponsor of Prop 13 and long-time director and lobbyist for the Los Angeles Apartment Association, has become a new middle-class folk hero to such types, who roar approval of his down-home homilies like, "The only way to cut the cost of government is not to give them the money in the first place." (The latest southern California fad is a pop wristwatch featuring Jarvis' walrus-like profile, which is reportedly outselling the more classic Mickey Mouse model.) But the outcry over taxes has quickly gone far beyond the affluent L.A. suburbs.

In June primaries around the nation opposition to government spending was the common theme in a series of upsets. One of the biggest was the defeat of veteran liberal Republican Clifford Case of New Jersey by brash young conservative Jeffrey Bell, who campaigned almost entirely on his strong advocacy of the Kemp-Roth proposal, which calls for a 30 percent cut in federal income taxes over three years. In Cleveland and Columbus, Ohio (and in Illinois) voters rejected school tax increases, even though warned that without them many schools would be forced to close in the fall. Meanwhile, a constitutional amendment to ban federal deficit spending has actually been approved by 23 state legislatures! Congressmen in Washington, always attentive to the polls, took a look at the June 6 primaries and in one week slashed roughly $1 billion from various federal programs.

Many conservative politicians have seized on the great "taxquake" with jubilation, sensing in it the best gut-level emotional issue since "law-and-order." But the Democrats are hard on their heels, with everybody from small-town mayors and California governor Jerry Brown, who's heard "the voice of the people" and is quickly learning to love Prop 13, to President Carter joining in to praise "the people's" wisdom.

Governor Brown, whose run for re-election as governor this fall is a warm-up for the 1980 presidential elections, executed a deft spin on Prop 13, which he had opposed before its victory. He righteously reminded the nation that it was he who "began the effort at government frugality, and what I hear out of this vote is that people want more of it." Jettisoning his own pet projects to heat the state capitol with wood chips and launch California's own space satellite, Brown announced "bone and marrow" cuts to offset the expected loss of some $7 billion in state revenues resulting from the property tax cut. These included, a ban on hiring and a wage freeze for all state workers, an across-the-board 9.8 percent cut in all state operating expenses and a $256 million cut in support to health and welfare programs.

San Francisco mayor Moscone was empowered by the board of supervisors to lay off 2,000 city employees, eliminate overtime pay, rescind an $11 million pay hike for 16,000 employees and double city transit fares. In Los Angeles, Mayor Tom Bradley initially announced an immediate cut of 8,300 employees, which is now being "negotiated" with labor tops. Across the state municipalities instantly began shutting down public playgrounds and libraries, canceling summer school programs, laying off fire fighters and other local government employees.

The initial cutback fever seems to have subsided recently, as Brown has let it be known that $5 billion in surplus state revenue will be made available to cover the gap. Estimates of mass layoffs have been drastically revised downwards, so Moscone, for example, currently projects laying off "only" 200 workers. However, the state legislature has moved to impose a freeze on any cost-of-living increases for both government workers and welfare recipients, who together make up ten percent of California's population.

Taking Money from the Left Pocket Instead of the Right

The politicians' chorus of approval at the California voters' decision is for the most part sheer ballot-box opportunism. Many are no doubt grinding their teeth in private, as their precious fiscal and legislative pork-barrel wheeling and dealing has been rudely undercut by the voter referendum. Such "popular referendums," particularly on vital questions like money, are in fact not at all popular with bourgeois politicians.

The reaction of many leading capitalist spokesmen who don't have to worry about getting elected has been wary if not out-and-out disapproving. Speaking for the "responsible" bourgeois establishment, such organs as *Business Week* and the *New York Times* warned against the dangers of drastic measures like Prop 13. The *Times* (19 June) has taken the sober world statesman approach, warning "Anti-Tax Movement Poses Danger to Foreign Aid Bill," while *Business Week* of the same date points out that the amendment is riddled with inequities. The 1 percent property tax assessment, for example, is good *only* so long as no moves or improvements are made, so that "A new homeowner could pay double or triple the property tax of a neighbor who has not moved for years."

Further, *Business Week* noted, "Most cities will probably also boost fees for services, such as refuse collection. Los Angeles and other cities are studying a 'license fee' on the salary of employees who work there, the state's supreme court upheld such a fee, of 1 percent, in Oakland last month. Thus, if politicians show their usual resourcefulness, it may well be that Jarvis-Gann's net fiscal impact will be to pull money from the taxpayer's left-hand pocket instead of the right." In San Clemente, where Richard Nixon stands to save some $27,600 in taxes on his hideaway, they've already instituted a new $160-a-ride (!) charge for ambulance service.

The Spartacist League called for *abstention* at the California polls on Proposition 13 (and Proposition 8, a more moderate version cooked up at the last minute by Governor Brown), because the issue involved is at bottom a dispute within the capitalist class on how to finance their government, in which the working class does not take sides (see "California Property Tax Squabble," *WV* No. 208, 2 June). While calls for "tax revolts" are a favored theme of ultra-rightist demagogues trying to find a mass base of opposition to "welfare state" measures, socialists are not for high taxes, which will inevitably fall heavily on the working population. As long as the government controls the money supply, it can always finance any level of expenditure it feels necessary. Through deficit spending, Lyndon Johnson spent tens of billions for the Vietnam War without new taxes. Thus the present tax squabble is part of a broader argument between the liberal inflationists and the right-wing deflationists which has dominated bourgeois economic policy since the Great Depression.

The position of Marxists in such debates is quite clear. As Leon Trotsky wrote over 40 years ago:

> "In this period of social crisis, of economic shocks, *inflation and deflation are two complementary instruments for throwing on to the people the cost of decaying capitalism.* Bourgeois parties organize formidable discussions on the question: is it better to cut the workers' throats with the saw of inflation or with the simple knife of deflation? Our struggle is directed with the same energy against the saw and against the knife." [emphasis in original]
>
> "The Belgian Dispute and the De Man Plan," in *Writings, 1934-35*

Strike Against Layoffs!

The credibility of the current layoff/cutback scare has been somewhat diminished by Brown's discovery of the state surplus. However, the politicians' eagerness to seize the knife and begin hacking away at social services and jobs demonstrates quite clearly that it will be the working class and poor who must pay if any cutbacks are to be made.

The amendment is now being challenged in the courts on at least five counts and it is, at best, unclear that it will be upheld. Between 1960 and 1976 five of the seven California initiatives passed by the voters were totally or partly overturned by the courts. But in the meantime the capitalist politicians are trying to use Proposition 13 to demonstrate their "fiscal responsibility." Rallies and meetings have already been held by some AFT and AFSCME locals in Los Angeles. However, up to this point, union leaders have channeled all opposition to "Prop 13" layoffs and cutbacks into court suits. This legalism has provided Jarvis, Gann et al with the convenient pretext to paint the unions as the real enemy of small property owners.

Now is the time for labor to rally the support of large sections of the petty bourgeoisie who are also threatened by the proposed cuts in social services. For a statewide strike to stop the cutbacks and layoffs! Don't be fooled by the Prop 13 scare! Cancel the debt service on city and state bonds! For a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

JDL "Turn"...

(continued from page 5)

back to Africa" would improve conditions for lower-class whites.

It is different with the Jews. They are highly visible in the upper reaches of American society—in the mass media, high finance, the universities, the Washington elite (from Bernard Baruch to Henry Kissinger). The notion that the Jews really run the country (indeed the world) is widespread among lower-class whites, particularly those from Protestant fundamentalist and ethnic Catholic backgrounds. And, of course, U.S. support to Israel strengthens the notion of a powerful international Jewish-Zionist conspiracy.

The fascists' attacks on the Jews provide the *populist* element in their appeal. If only we get rid of the Jews, they say, and replace them with a "real white man's government," things will get better. Many decades ago the German social democrat August Bebel said: "Anti-Semitism is the socialism of fools." This is still true. In attacking the Jews, the Nazis seek to channel the economic discontents of white petty bourgeois, lumpenproletarians and backward workers in a reactionary direction. American fascists attack the blacks because they are economically below those they appeal to, the Jews because they are a vulnerable target above them.

Zionism: Suicide for Jews

The JDL was part of—in some ways in the vanguard of—the white backlash. And under the slogan "Free Soviet Jewry," the JDL turned out to be the advance guard of Jimmy Carter's "human rights" crusade against "Soviet totalitarianism." But the most consistent haters of black militancy, the most bitter and violent enemies of the left and the workers movement are the fascists. Where Meir Kahane puts down the lead pipe in order to lobby for Israel a Frank Collin picks it up. The fact that Collin intends to use it to beat Kahane's erstwhile followers to death does not change the fact that the JDL helped create the climate in which Nazis and other fascist groups could reassert themselves after some years of quiescence.

The JDL's specific contribution to the growth of fascist groups is but one aspect of a larger historic truth: Zionism means suicide for the Jewish people. In 1937 when Hitler's atrocities were spurring the Zionist immigration into Palestine, Leon Trotsky commented in an interview with a liberal Yiddish paper:

> "But the facts of every passing day demonstrate to us that Zionism is incapable of resolving the Jewish question. The conflict between the Jews and Arabs in Palestine acquires a more and more tragic and more menacing character."
>
> Leon Trotsky, *On the Jewish Question*

Despite 30 years of Zionist war victories and the build-up of a powerful Israeli war machine, the Hebrew-speaking people in the Near East are closer to annihilation today than they were in 1948. *Israel is a death trap for Jews.* It does not have the long-term military and economic strength to dominate its Arab neighbors, and the U.S. alliance which the Zionist leaders have depended upon in the past is not a blank check to create the Greater Israel, stretching from the Euphrates to the Nile, of which Begin and Kahane dream. The arrogant racialism and expansionism of the Zionist state invite "the Holocaust" of an all-out Arab "holy war" to drive the Jews of Israel "into the sea," which could even trigger the ultimate Holocaust of nuclear incineration, engulfing the rest of humanity in World War III.

In the U.S., too, Zionism breeds anti-Semitism. The Jewish community's intense solidarity with their "own" national state of Israel reinforces fascist propaganda that Jews are an alien, unpatriotic element in American society. As Washington shifts toward a more pro-Arab stance, ruling-class opponents of the Israel lobby, like General George Brown, will make little-disguised appeals to popular anti-Semitism. "American foreign policy should not be controlled by the Jewish vote," is likely to become a more prominent theme in American politics. Already the fascistic National States Rights Party puts out a bumper sticker: "Oil, Yes—Jews, No." How many Americans will make serious sacrifices for the cause of Jewish nationalism?

The connection of anti-Semitism with imperialist militarism, religious obscurantism and the political right wing has long been well known. That is why the Jewish population in Europe and the U.S. has traditionally been left-of-center politically, with a disproportionate number of Jews participating in the socialist movement. In the past decade the pyrrhic victories of the Israeli state and narrow-minded ethnic politics have caused the American Jewish community to swing right. The JDL is the most extreme expression of this rightward motion. But neither aggressive Jewish communal militancy in the U.S. nor Israeli militarism offers a future for Jews. As long as Jews live in this racist capitalist society they will live in the shadow of another Auschwitz. Only the victory of proletarian socialist revolution can destroy fascism once and for all. ■

Skokie...

(continued from page 2)

the confrontation, a symbol of a continuing battle to stop the racist and anti-Semitic provocations. That this fascist band meant to brazenly wave its blood-stained swastikas in the faces of the survivors of Hitler's death camps was justly seen as an unendurable provocation. It was a provocation not only against the Jews of Skokie, whose hatred of Nazism is burned permanently in memory as it is burned into the forearm. It was also a provocation against the black population, most immediately threatened by the stirrings of genocidal reaction, and against foreign workers, leftists, unionists, anyone labeled "social deviants" and others who make up the Nazis' mass "hit list" for cyanide chambers, flaming ovens and concentration camps.

Jewish organizations, some black groups and the left, with support from the labor unions, had promised to mobilize upwards of 50,000 for an anti-Nazi counterdemonstration. For the first time in years, the powerful organized labor movement was talking about fighting fascism, the Chicago Federation of Labor had sponsored the planned mobilization, and out-of-town unions including Detroit's massive UAW Local 600 were considering sending buses to Skokie.

As the mood of confrontation built, the Nazis' fear of being crushed and humiliated in Skokie became evident as Nazi henchmen talked of "suicide" and Collin threatened his bully-boys with expulsion if they refused to show up in Skokie. Splits in the Nazi front were developing as the government came to their rescue. Washington therefore jumped at Collin's offer to trade the Skokie provocation (temporarily) for permanent free access to Marquette Park. The Justice Department's "Community Relations Service," formed in the mid-1960's as flak-catchers for local racist officials, intervened behind the scenes to find "alternatives" to the Skokie march. According to Midwest director Richard Salem, the point was to "avoid a Skokie demonstration" (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 9 June).

No Tradeoffs! Defend Skokie and Inglewood!

The "tradeoff" and court decision were heralded by Skokie mayor Albert Smith as "a victory for the freedom guaranteed by our fathers" (*New York Times*, 25 June). The liberal Jewish organizers of the counterdemonstration termed Collin's cancellation a "great victory for decent morality and humanity" (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 23 June). Their parochialism shading over into criminal indifference to the Nazi menace to the city's blacks, they canceled the counterdemonstration—with *not a word* about Marquette Park! The reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) chided the liberal organizers for not turning the planned counterdemonstration into a "victory celebration." But for whom the "victory"? Certainly not the blacks near Marquette Park.

The Skokie tradeoff is a direct threat to the blacks of Chicago's Southside. Inglewood-area blacks have been a target of Collin's racist gang for years. Blacks have also been trickling into the previously all-white Marquette Park area, which has been the site of massive racist mobilizations. During protests against segregated housing organized by the small religious-pacifist Martin Luther King, Jr. Movement in the summer of 1976, racist mobs wearing Nazi-supplied "white power" T-shirts assembled on a daily basis in the park for terror forays into nearby Inglewood. Blacks going to work in local steel plants were assaulted. And the cops arrested community residents who defended themselves.

The startling danger signal in the Skokie-to-Marquette shift is the collapse of the anti-Nazi momentum now that Collin has shelved Skokie in favor of "business as usual" fascist marauding—i.e., terrorizing blacks. And the "leadership" of the disorganized and defenseless black community has no response to make except to imply a government/Jewish "conspiracy against black residents of Marquette Park" instigated by the Justice Department (*Chicago Defender*, 21 June).

The main target of the Nazis' frontal assault is the black population. But for the liberal Jewish organizations to imagine it is only when the Nazis march in Skokie that they are threatened recalls the middle-class Jews of pre-Nazi Germany who thought their patriotism would save them (after all, it was the Communists who were the real target ...). The question of Skokie or Marquette Park is not a choice for Jews or blacks—or anyone who would defend democratic rights. Whether it is in Skokie or in Inglewood that they stick up their swastika, so long as the Nazis are free to maraud, neither the Jews nor anyone else will ever really be safe.

No Reliance on the Capitalist State!

Throughout the fight to keep the Nazis out of Skokie, the community organizations, liberals and reformists have pursued the suicidal course of relying on the capitalist state. The ACLU, with its "it can't happen here" confidence in the neutrality of the bourgeois government, is simply the most consistent of the liberals. But it is paying for its consistency as its members—properly repelled by the organization's defense of the Nazis' "civil liberties"—are quitting in droves. The SWP, which has in the past called for "free speech" for fascists and denounced the Spartacist League slogan of "No Platform for Fascists" as "ultra-left," is cynically beating a tactical retreat and has taken to sparring with the ACLU over the issue.

But that the state has once again exposed its anti-democratic indifference to the rights of the oppressed has not stopped the reformists from preaching faith in the government to "ban the Nazis." The Illinois Communist Party is demanding "a law to outlaw racism in our state.... The City Council and state legislature should take immediate forceful action" ("Skokie: The Time to Stop Nazism Is Now"). Appealing to the anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade, the CP wails that Carter "says nothing about the people of Chicago and their human rights" (*Daily World*, 22 June). In fact, Carter did insure the "human rights" of *some* people in Chicago just as he defends such rights internationally—the "rights" of the ultraright wing.

The argument now underway between the ACLU liberals and the anti-Nazi liberals and reformists is really a tactical debate over how best to pressure the capitalist state to defend against the threat of fascism.

Revolutionaries do not call upon the state to ban fascism. We do not want the bourgeois state to mediate the application of general bourgeois-democratic rights, which would invite the state to use the Nazis as a pretext to use any such laws against the left and workers movements. But neither do we defend the Nazis against bourgeois repression and, unlike the SWP, we are not at all delighted that the Skokie law was struck down as part of government efforts to legitimize the Nazis.

Mobilize the Organized Labor Movement!

The mass outpouring of opposition to the Nazis over Skokie came only after months of newspaper publicity and various false starts. Moreover, it stands in sharp contrast to the previous lackluster response to the increasing boldness of the Nazis and the Klan, which has been due in large measure to the bureaucratic stranglehold which mutes the power of the only force capable of decisively crushing fascism: the organized labor movement. True to their pro-capitalist purpose, the labor bureaucrats depend entirely upon their "friends" in the Democratic Party, the legislature and courts. Their criminal failure to militantly mobilize the integrated labor movement against fascism is a mortal danger to every worker.

A resolution passed by UAW Local 6 (International Harvester) calling for a mass militant mobilization of Chicago labor went beyond moralistic tokenism and bureaucratic do-nothingism to point the way forward toward an alliance of organized labor with minority-group organizations to smash the fascist menace. Adventurist confrontations by small groups of leftists, which inevitably run up against the armed might of the state, are no substitute for the organized power of the working class.

In the absence of any such action, it is no wonder that groups like Collin's Nazis have found fertile soil in which to plant their seeds of race hate. These groups are more visible today than they have been in years. And their growth and aggressiveness are linked to the increasing racist sentiment fostered by the Carter government.

The Nazis cannot fail to understand which way the wind is blowing. Busing is dead. Capital punishment is very much alive. The ERA can't pass. The anti-black Bakke campaign against "reverse discrimination" has general liberal respectability. Anita Bryant's anti-homosexual crusade continues to win victories. The Nazis know they can recruit in such a climate—in the racist anti-busing milieus of South Boston, Louisville, Cleveland's near West Side and Chicago's Marquette Park. They seek to appear as the consistent and action-oriented faction of this generally racist mob.

Today, the Nazis' intention of a second holocaust remains a sick fantasy in the fevered brain of Collin and other Hitler-lovers. For the moment his group and others like it exist as isolated gangs on the lunatic fringe of the ultraright, attracting the criminally insane and varieties of sociopaths. But under circumstances of economic and political crisis, the Nazis gain the help of a section of the ruling class and can grow into a mass movement of intimidation and genocide. Then they are called into action to crush the organizations of the working class. In the meantime, they do not simply wait. Anywhere they are allowed to exist, they organize terror raids upon their intended victims. They must be stopped now.

The working class and its allies have a vital interest in smashing fascism while it is small. And the organized labor movement has the power to do so. All that is lacking is the leadership.

Organized labor must drive the Nazis out of Chicago! ■

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French LCR...

(continued from page 7)

addressed to the Admiral inside this hall." Thereupon, General Bécam intervened praising the "democracy" of Hitler's Wehrmacht (!) and warned against workers militias as potentially less democratic than the army. His horrible example? The Nazis' SA!! Again LTF comrades protested, now accompanied by shouts of disapproval throughout the hall.

In a subsequent intervention during the debate an LTF spokesman again denounced the presence of these professional butchers of the Vietnamese and Algerian peasants and workers:

> "The question is, what is there to debate with ex-officers, generals who defend the bourgeois army, who are for the defense of the fatherland, when you are an organization that says it is socialist, that even claims to be Trotskyist. As for an ex-general, an ex-admiral, so long as they haven't renounced their past I think these characters still merit the name given them by the soldiers' committees themselves, namely *crèvures* [roughly "butchers," the worst insult a soldier can make to an officer in the French army, punishable by long stretches in the stockade]."

A second LTF comrade linked the LCR's incredible call for an "alliance of the workers movement, the soldiers movement, the career officers" to the Pablo-ists' capitulation to popular frontism, and counterposed the revolutionary Trotskyist program of opposition to collaboration with the class enemy:

> "Obviously the question of the army is the key question for a popular front. The LCR, if it wants to maintain its alliance with the popular front, its essentially popular-frontist policy, is compelled to have a reformist policy toward the army. Which, moreover, explains why they have also abandoned all their guerrillaist postures, while today they take the side of the bourgeois state against the Red Brigades in Italy. ...
>
> "The question for Trotskyists is essentially the question of the officers. What is the officer caste? The officer caste is precisely the last bastion of the bourgeoisie. And that's what the reformists never want to touch. Today the LCR wants us to believe that the officer caste...can be split between the elements in favor of the proletariat and those in favor of the bourgeoisie. The officer caste is selected, educated and structured to destroy the organized proletariat. And the Trotskyist program is the destruction of the officer caste ...
>
> "The objective of Trotskyists in the army is to effectively defend the democratic rights of soldiers in the army—but we link the defense of democratic rights with the goal of the destruction of the bourgeois army, the destruction of the officer corps, the constitution of workers militias, the creation of a Red Army with nuclear arms against the imperialist armies that will intervene. And we will struggle also for the creation of a Trotskyist party which can lead the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeois army!"

In a recent special issue of *Inprecor* devoted to the May 1968 events, the USec announced that its analyses in the post-1968 period had been too optimistic and called for Communist-Socialist parliamentary governments as the axis of its propaganda in southern Europe. In an interview Bensaid remarked that "everyone now agrees" that the elusive "new mass vanguard" "will be radicalized mainly in the reformist parties and the unions" (*Inprecor*, 25 May). Hence the USec's new orientation toward Eurocommunism. If Eurocommunists like PCF leader Carrillo and PCF dissident Elleinstein are ready to renounce Leninism, and "Eurosocialists" like Spanish leader Felipe González renounce Marxism, then in order to get into the act Mandel & Co. are prepared to take off their tattered fake-Trotskyism as the price of admission in this obscene political striptease. ■

CWA...

(continued from page 12)

dues increase because to vote a dues increase to the CWA International would for many local officials be an act of political suicide.

For his part, Watts made it very clear that the dues increase was needed if the CWA tops were to pursue business as usual—i.e., to confine the CWA to being a lobby, pressuring phony "friend-of-labor" Democratic Party politicians to throw the unions a few crumbs.

While disgruntlement with Watts' policies was widespread, the only fundamental opposition to the CWA brass, which offered a sweeping and counterposed program to Watts' hat-in-hand collaboration with the phone company, was led by delegate Jane Margolis of CWA Local 9410 in San Francisco. Margolis, a founding member of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), a class-struggle opposition group in Local 9410, led off opposition to the Union's financial report, denouncing Watts & Co.'s complete prostration to Ma Bell's attacks (see box). Margolis went on to note that the key issue the convention should be discussing was not a dues increase but the drastic loss of

WV Photo

Jane Margolis

jobs. She called for "a union offensive to fight for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay."

Watts Defends Jimmy Carter

In his opening remarks to the convention, Glenn Watts defended his strategy of banking on the good will of the Democratic Party and imperialist chief Jimmy Carter: "...CWA has a proven friend in the White House. Jimmy Carter's record as President has indicated that although he is by no means in labor's hip pocket, as the saying goes, he is basically sympathetic to the interest of working people, and his record thus far has proven that." This is Watts' judgment *after* Carter invoked Taft-Hartley to crush the miners strike; *after* he threatened phone workers with a Taft-Hartley injunction in 1977; and right on the heels of Carter's threat to use federal troops to break a postal workers strike should one occur.

As in the past the CWA tops invited a few "friends-of-labor" Democrats to address the convention. These "honored guests" were San Francisco mayor George Moscone and California governor Jerry Brown. "Yes," Moscone hypocritically bragged, "we are proud to be known as the finest trade-union city in the country." What he didn't tell the delegates was that just two years ago he had locked out striking city craft workers and forced them to accept pay cuts of up to 25 percent.

Jerry Brown, for his part, also put on his "friend-of-labor" mask, pointing out that he had even worked one summer as an unorganized telephone messenger. Referring to the recently passed Proposition 13 property tax cut and the budgetary crisis it has created, Brown observed, "...for every problem there is an opportunity. For every lemon there is a lemonade." After making a mercifully short, though typically demagogic speech, the busy governor rushed off to attend to making his "lemonade". He called a press conference to announce that he was freezing the wages of some 220,000 state workers, tearing up contractually mandated cost-of-living raises.

In a leaflet addressed to the delegates, the Militant Action Caucus attacked the CWA bureaucracy's subservience to the Democratic Party.

> "Make no mistake about it. There is a connection between CWA's prostration before AT&T and the International's slavish courting of government officials and Democratic Party politicos. Anyone serious about mounting serious strike action must be prepared to take on not only the Bell System, but also the capitalist government with its courts, scabbering cops, judges, strikebreaking injunctions and troops. The government is not for the working people, or even a neutral arbitrator, but exists to protect the interests of the big capitalists. Carter's strikebreaking actions against the coal miners' strike are but one example."

Counterposed to Watts' strategy of relying on the Carters, Moscones and Browns, the MAC called for the convention to prepare for a solid nationwide phone strike to protect CWA jobs and working conditions. The MAC leaflet went on to explain the need for the unions to stop supporting the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties and to instead launch a workers party to fight for a workers government and a planned economy.

MAC members attending the convention told a *Workers Vanguard* reporter that their leaflet and Margolis' speech were very well received by a number of delegates. Particularly popular was a MAC-initiated proposal to amend the union constitution to give CWA locals the unrestricted right to strike over working conditions and grievances.

Gary Adkins, a building steward and delegate from Local 11501 in Los Angeles tried to get this amendment on the floor during the agenda point devoted to constitutional amendments. But Watts arrogantly ruled the motion out of order, claiming that it would be frivolous to allow discussion since the delegates had not had proper time to consider the proposal. Margolis however told *WV*, "The amendment was circulated to everyone attending the convention and was endorsed by more than 30 local presidents and chief stewards." The CWA convention rules permit constitutional amendments to be submitted from the floor, but Watts wanted no challenge to the "no-strike" clause in the CWA contract with Bell.

While the rejection of the dues hike showed that Watts could not steamroller the convention, it was also an easy act for many delegates. Yelling about dues is a fairly standard method for lower-level union bureaucrats to curry favor with the ranks without really challenging the leadership's sell-out policies. A measure of the fact that few delegates were prepared for a sharp *political* break with the Watts regime was the routine and near-unanimous support for the rest of the CWA president's proposals, which ranged from minor changes in the union constitution to endorsement of such meaningless reformist sops as the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Act to support for chauvinist proposals to toughen up the "Buy America Act." It was very clear from the standing ovation given Jerry Brown and from the fact that only two delegates voted against a proposal to honor Hubert Humphrey that deep illusions still exist concerning the Democratic Party.

Watts has been a particularly avid supporter of Carter's "human rights" crusade. Thus on June 15 the ex-Red Army general turned demoralized anti-Communist Pyotr Grigorenko was a featured speaker at the convention and a useful front man for Watts' attempt to whip up support for the foreign policies of U.S. imperialism.

Watts' flag-waving did not go unopposed, however. Following a report on a CWA position paper on foreign policy, MAC member and delegate Margolis took the floor and called on the delegates to reject the report:

> "There has been concern and discussion here from many union members on the American Institute for Labor Development and Operation South America. on the Board of AIFLD sit, besides representatives of several unions, six representatives from Anaconda Copper, United Fruit, Chase Manhattan Bank and ITT, and the AIFLD sets up company unions in Latin America. there has been CIA money funneled into the AIFLD.
>
> "What is the interest of these corporations in Latin America, Asia and Africa? They are the same corporations behind the right-wing offensive to build a union-free environment here in the United States."
>
> "Daily Proceedings..."
> 16 June 1978

MAC had distributed another leaflet documenting the CIA connections of the AIFLD and demanding the CWA break all ties with this cover for imperialist intrigue.

> "The real story of the AIFLD is to be found in the prisons and torture chambers of the military juntas in Chile and Brazil, where thousands of unionists are still imprisoned, and thousands more have been executed....
>
> "This is the organization Glenn Watts is treasurer of. This is the organization CWA gives thousands of dollars to every year. The banner of CWA has been stained with the blood of thousands of workers in Latin America."

Some 30 delegates joined with Margolis in voting against the resolution while hundreds abstained. This is the first time to our knowledge that a CWA foreign policy statement has met with any opposition at a convention.

This is also the first time in the CWA's history that a class-struggle oppositional grouping has won representation at the union's convention. While the MAC grouping won limited support on some issues for its positions, it is clear that it is a very small pole that must make every attempt to link up with like-minded militants in other areas of the country if a class-struggle opposition seriously capable of challenging the bureaucratic misleadership of the Watts regime is to be forged.

Only through the fight for a class-struggle program can the discontent of the ranks with the CWA bureaucracy be channeled into a militant policy against the companies and the government. This requires patience and painstaking work in explaining this program to the membership. ■

"Not One More Cent for Kneeling to the Phone Company"

reprinted from Daily Proceedings and Reports, 40th Annual Convention of the CWA, 13 June 1978

DELEGATE JANE S. MARGOLIS (Local 9410) I am speaking against the Phillips amendment. I am opposed to any dues increase. I would be for a dues increase if we had seen action to defend our members.

The main reason we are in this bind today in our union is the loss of jobs. Everyone knows that a hundred thousand jobs have been lost in the last four years.

I'd be for a dues increase if we had had a national strike which would have won real job security for our members, which would have stopped the company offensive to reduce the work force.

I would be for a dues increase if the Union had fought against absence control; if we had paid sick leave I'd be for a dues increase if the Union had stopped forced overtime, and if we had the legal right to strike to defend our members in defense of grievances.

But I know where the money will go. It will go to more of the same. Layoffs have not been opposed under this leadership. There has been an increase of firings. We have not been able to stop absence control. And money is going into supporting strikebreakers, anti-labor politicians, Jimmy Carter who brought the Taft-Hartley against the miners' strike, who were fighting for the right to strike and for health care. (Applause)

Money is going into anti-labor politicians who threatened to use the troops against the upcoming mail strike. And Jimmy Carter actually threatened to use the Taft-Hartley against a national phone strike.

So I am for money to build a strong, militant union, but not one more cent for inaction and kneeling to the Phone Company. (Applause and "Boos")

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Inland...

(continued from page 12)

Sadlowski/Balanoff forces proved to be no different from their hidebound adversaries in the McBride camp, both ordered the Steelworkers across the picket lines.

The picket line is the battle line of the class struggle. Its message is simple: don't cross. Whenever these lines of elemental labor solidarity are breached, workers are lined up on the bosses' side and directly pitted against other workers in struggle. There is a simple, widely recognized term for such activity—scabbing. And the Steelworkers bureaucrats who implemented this policy at Inland are nothing less than scabherders

The strike at Inland began June 13 after the Bricklayers, who perform crucial maintenance and construction work on the plant's furnaces, had worked without a contract for eight-and-a-half months. The key concern of the 285 Bricklayers, in addition to fairly modest contract proposals, was reversal of the 22 disciplinary layoffs meted out to members of their union last year for refusing to work forced overtime and walking off the job. Unlike many other unions (such as the USWA), Bricklayers Local 6 has the contractually guaranteed right to refuse overtime. By seeking to encroach on that right, Inland also thought it could teach a lesson to the Steelworkers, who have been subjected to a cost-cutting campaign of speedup and massive layoffs throughout the industry. The company was also eager to reinforce the authority of the hated "no-strike" Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) with the Steelworkers, so it dug in on the walkout/discipline issue and provoked the Bricklayers strike.

With months of notice that the strike might occur, the bourgeois media reflected the company's fears that picket lines might shut down the entire plant. Numerous articles appeared in April, May and June in local newspapers, citing Bricklayers secretary-treasurer James Teuell saying he expected the Steelworkers to honor the picket lines and that he was working closely with the Local 1010 and District 31 leaders. The *Hammond Times* (20 April) warned, "Another strike threat is taking shape, and it could shut down Inland Steel." A nervous Inland management sent letters to all 18,000 USWA members at the plant, claiming it was making "fair and equitable" offers to the Bricklayers at the negotiating table.

Inland had plenty of reason to be scared. Unlike any other major steel company, the sprawling Indiana Harbor complex is Inland's only steel producing plant. In addition, construction work on a new blast furnace—slated to be the largest in North America when completed—was halted by a strike of Operating Engineers at the same time the Bricklayers were out. Had the Steelworkers honored the picket lines, it would have brought the entire company to a dead stop. As one of the striking Bricklayers told *WV*, "If they'd all just stay home for one day it'd be over."

But Inland had trusty allies at every level of the USWA bureaucracy. On the day the Bricklayers walked out and set up small picket lines on the access roads leading to the mill gates, Local 1010 president Bill Andrews announced, "The International Union has instructed us to honor the binding contract." Andrews said that any steel workers who respected the picket lines would do so "on an individual basis and without union sanction." Local 1010 officers set the standard for the ranks, crossing the picket lines day after day.

But at least two members of Local 1010 refused to cross the picket lines and stood up to their leadership's miserable capitulation to the company. In an interview with *WV*, militants Anwar and Thurtell told us what had happened:

Anwar: "The Bricklayers were fighting our fight, too. If the company could make them work more overtime and get away with it, they'll do it to us next. Already they force us to put in extra hours, sometimes double shifts, in the most incredibly unsafe conditions."

Thurtell: "Look at the coal miners. One of the things that has made them so strong is that they never cross a picket line. That's what our union ought to do."

WV: "What happened when you raised this issue in your union?"

Anwar: "We went to our local meeting, just a couple of days after the strike started. Steve and I tried to present a motion calling on the local officers to tell the members not to cross the lines and for the District to back us up. After all, all these guys were elected claiming to defend the right to strike."

Thurtell: "But now that they're in office, it's a different story. President Andrews got up and read us a letter from the International's attorney directing the local to take all the necessary steps to persuade the members to report to work. In short, that equals organized scabbing. We were accused of being "irresponsible" and violating the contract. Hell, the company violates the contract every day and the union honors their right to do whatever they please. But they won't honor a picket line."

Anwar: "After about a half-hour of debate, Andrews just ruled the motion out of order and refused to even take a vote. Sadlowski and his guys ran promising 'union democracy'—some democracy!"

The next day, June 16, a District 31 conference opened at Chicago's Pick-Congress Hotel and it was more of the same—and then some. Early in the proceedings on Saturday Anwar went to a floor microphone and began, "The Bricklayers strike at Inland requires immediate action by this conference." But at the very mention of the strike, a clot of supporters of the National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee (NSRFC), a caucus supporting Sadlowski/Balanoff which is uncritically hailed by the Communist Party, began shouting, "Not a delegate! Shut off his mike!" A grateful Balanoff had the floor microphone clicked off, told Anwar to sit down and ordered him escorted off the floor

Under pressure from at least some of the delegates, however, Balanoff finally relented near the end of the conference, allowing Anwar to address the body "for a statement only." "We won't consider any resolutions," he warned. Anwar explained the situation at Inland and pointed to the stirring example of the miners' strike: "The miners' strike showed that strikes do work if workers stick together and honor each others' picket lines." But as soon as Anwar referred to the motion for honoring the picket lines, Balanoff interrupted, "I'm not going to let this motion on the floor." When Anwar concluded with a plea for a delegate to place the motion on the floor for a vote, Balanoff demonstrated his support for union democracy by hastily adjourning the conference.

Back on the Picket Line...

The striking Bricklayers were not too surprised by the backstabbing of the USWA bureaucrats. Referring to the Balanoff/Sadlowski/Andrews crew, one striker told *WV*: "It's kind of hard to put pressure on an organization [the USWA] that doesn't give a shit about their own membership."

But though abandoned by the fake-progressives in the USWA District 31 leadership, the Bricklayers were not without resourceful tactics of their own. Increasingly disgruntled with their own union leaders, who kept urging avoidance of real mass picketing to shut Inland down, militant strikers resolved to up the stakes. When they turned out in force at 6:30 a.m. June 19, about 30 of the Bricklayers handed out 5,000 flyers to steel workers containing the resolution authored by Anwar and Thurtell urging respect for the picket lines. The rest assembled at the gate leading to the blast furnace construction site. Though jittery Inland security guards shouted at the gathering crowd of construction workers to proceed to work, none crossed the picket line. Five squad cars of East Chicago police were brought in, with a paddy wagon in tow, but still the line held firm. When Anwar and Thurtell joined the pickets, carrying signs reading, "Support the Bricklayers strike—Don't cross their picket lines" and "Balanoff/Sadlowski/Andrews: Picket Lines Mean 'Don't Cross'," cheers and applause went up from the strikers.

The Bricklayers victory, secured that very day, should put to shame the cowardly traitors in the USWA hierarchy. But these hardened sellouts will, no doubt, simply slough it off, just as Balanoff tried to downplay the issue of the Bricklayers strike at the District 31 conference, though the *Gary Post Tribune's* Sunday edition (18 June) devoted its report on the conference entirely to the clash over the pickets at Inland.

In attempting to excuse their strike-breaking activity, the Balanoffs and Sadlowskis will doubtless find plenty of support among their fake-left enthusiasts, who jumped on the "reform" bureaucrats' electoral bandwagon. Having based their hopes for increased influence in the labor movement on snuggling up to left-talking "progressives," these so-called "radicals" are loath to abandon their mentors over something so "trifling" as crossing a picket line. The Local 1010 militants told us they had approached a number of these fake-militants at the District 31 conference, trying to find a delegate to present their motion:

Anwar: "I talked to Rodi Schneider, who is chairman of our local Strike Support and Boycott Committee and is with the NSRFC. Schneider told me he'd been crossing the picket lines, which is a hell of a thing for a guy who's supposed to be in charge of strike support, and that he didn't support our motion. I also approached Simon Kent, a delegate from Southworks, Local 65. He was busy handing out the *Steelworker* and said he couldn't put up our motion because he had another motion to present. But, funny thing, he never took the floor of the conference to present another motion. It was just a dodge not to confront Balanoff. You'd think, especially after the miners' strike, these guys would get the importance of not crossing a picket line. But they don't."

The apologists for the USWA bureaucracy in the NSRFC and the *Steelworker* group, which is endorsed by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party, turn their backs on such basic labor principles as not crossing picket lines in order to curry favor with the bureaucrats. They deserve the contempt and scorn of Steelworkers no less than do the Sadlowskis and Balanoffs who lead them around by the nose. Only if the rank and file are won to follow the leadership of militants, such as those at Inland, who know what a picket line means and show real solidarity, can the USWA become a fighting union instead of defending the bosses, as the entire bureaucracy, from McBride to Sadlowski, shamelessly does. ■

Gary Press Reports Inland Strike

Reprinted from Gary Post-Tribune, 18 June 1978

CHICAGO—A second attempt for an official United Steelworkers resolution to urge 18,000 members employed at the Indiana Harbor plant of Inland Steel Co. not to cross union bricklayers' picket lines failed Saturday.

Bricklayers Local 6, whose contract with the company expired last Oct. 1, has been on strike since negotiations reached an impasse last week. About 200 bricklayers, who took a strike vote last April 13, are involved

William Andrews, president of USW Local 1010 at Inland Steel, had said his local, the largest in the Steelworkers union, would support the striking bricklayers, but he also said the cooperation doesn't include an official decision to cross picket lines, since the USW has a binding contract with the company.

However, some members of his local have said it would be union sacrilege for any organized worker to cross another union's pickets. Two active supporters of Bricklayers Local 6—Keith Anwar and Steve Thurtell, who have been honoring the picket lines at the cost of losing wages and at the risk of losing their jobs—proposed a resolution at the Local 1010 meeting last week calling on Local 1010 to instruct its members to honor the picket lines and to demand that USW District 31 "commit its full resources and efforts to the support of this policy."

Andrews declared the proposed resolution out of order last week. He explained that Local 1010 members are bound by the basic agreement with the company and the local union can't go on strike just for sympathy.

At the USW District 31 conference at Chicago's Pick-Congress Hotel Saturday, Anwar addressed delegates and pleaded for the same resolution.

District 31 Director James Balanoff ruled his plea out of order.

Striking bricklayers met Friday to consider the latest development in the labor dispute, and The Post-Tribune learned the members decided to continue the strike. They thereupon returned to the picket lines.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Picket Line Showdown Wins Strike at Inland Steel

CHICAGO The power of an angry picket line won a sudden victory June 19 for striking skilled tradesmen at Inland Steel's huge Indiana Harbor plant. After nearly a week on strike had failed to budge Inland's negotiators, who were assisted by the scab-herding policies of officials of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) who told the 18,000 steel workers at Inland to cross the craft unionists' picket lines, 80 members of Bricklayers Local 6 turned out early Monday morning prepared for a showdown.

Squared off against private guards and city cops rushed to the scene, the strikers set up a solid picket line at a crucial gate, shutting down construction work on a massive new blast furnace. Over 200 craft unionists and laborers honored the picket lines. The show of force caused Inland, which had stonewalled it through almost nine months of "negotiations," to capitulate the same day. The company agreed to the strikers' main demand: clearing the records of 22 workers given disciplinary layoffs last year.

WV Photo

Striking Bricklayers picket Inland Steel Co. plant in East Chicago.

The Bricklayers' successful picket line was joined that morning by two Inland steel workers, members of USWA Local 1010, who had been waging a fight to swing the power of the Steelworkers behind the strike. Keith Anwar and Steve Thurtell walked the lines and, in solidarity with the Bricklayers, demanded that their union officers instruct the membership not to cross the lines. However, both at a Local 1010 meeting and at the annual conference of USWA District 31, held in Chicago, June 16-17, the USWA "leaders" gaveled the issue of respecting picket lines "out of order."

The Bricklayers won their strike with no thanks due to the "dissident" wing of the USWA bureaucracy which runs District 31 and is led by former district director Ed Sadlowski. When Sadlowski challenged Lloyd McBride last year for the Steelworkers presidency, he invoked the nostalgia of 1930's "bare-knuckled unionism" and claimed to be for the right to strike. Jim Balanoff, past president of Local 1010 and Sadlowski's hand-picked successor as District 31 chief, echoed the same rhetoric (and promptly appointed "Oil Can Eddie" his executive assistant when Sadlowski's electoral bid failed). Once in office Balanoff/Sadlowski have done everything to sabotage a fighting policy for Steelworkers: refusing to call for an industrywide strike when the basic steel contract expired and when the companies instituted mass layoffs, and allowing USWA members to handle scab ore and coal during the militant iron and coal miner strikes. And when the picket lines went up at Inland Steel, the liberal

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Militants Fight For Jobs, Right to Strike

Dues Increase Stopped at CWA Convention

SAN FRANCISCO Many of the 3,300 phone workers, including the 1,800 delegates, attending the 40th annual convention of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) held here last week (June 12-16) must have come away from this convention feeling frustrated and disappointed. The Bell system, which is hated by just about everyone who uses a telephone and suffers endless gouging rate increases, has laid off or dismissed over 100,000 phone workers in the last four years and plans to slash tens of thousands more jobs through increased automation. Yet instead of using the convention to hammer out a program of union action to fight for jobs and improved working conditions, union president Glenn E. Watts spent four out of the five days of convention time trying to sell reluctant delegates on his proposal to jack up union membership dues.

It was no sale! After four days of parliamentary maneuvering and haggling, of motions, amendments, amendments to amendments, points of order, divisions of the house and a roll call vote, the delegates finally decided to table the question of union finances indefinitely. The Watts regime, which had been promoting the dues increase for months, was handed a stinging vote of no confidence.

In large part the delegates, many of them local union officers, voted to reject any dues increase out of fear of their memberships back home. Across the country CWA members are disgruntled with a union leadership that sabotages strike actions and stands by while Bell management slashes jobs and degrades working conditions. Watts didn't get his

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WV Photo

President Watts at the podium at recent Communications Workers convention in San Francisco.

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 211 14 July 1978

Racist Supreme Court Upholds Union-Busting

Bakke Backlash

The Supreme Court continued the codification and legitimizing of the mounting racist backlash with its Bakke decision on June 28. Fresh from dumping court-ordered busing and sanctioning ever more sharply segregated school districts, the court struck down a minority admissions quota at the University of California at Davis medical school and ordered the admission of Allan Bakke, a 38-year-old NASA engineer.

The Allan Bakke case is more than the story of an over-age would-be medical student. Over the past year his case has become a legal battering ram in the reactionary assault on the democratic gains of blacks and other minorities made during the 1950's and 1960's. The cries of "reverse discrimination" first raised by mobs of racists in the streets were echoed from the editorial offices of the major capitalist newspapers and journals to the antechambers of federal court rooms. In a Berkeley, California demonstration last October a gang of Nazis put the issue most clearly with their banner: "Bakke=White Power."

With the recent history of racist reaction backed up by government attacks on social services, employment and democratic rights for blacks and other minorities, it is not surprising that the high court ruled in favor of Bakke. The decision marks an important setback for blacks, minorities and the entire working class. While the court's verdict will not result in any immediate return to the lily-white student bodies of years past, the ruling clearly gives the green light to racist forces who, charging "reverse racism," are forcing the gradual reduction of minority enrollment.

Affirmative Action Means Union-Busting

Although the court outlawed university admissions quotas in the Bakke decision it was careful to preserve the legal basis for the government's affirmative action programs in employment. In a case decided later in the same week (Communications Workers of America v. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission) the Justices let stand a lower court's approval of the affirmative action program at AT&T, the largest single such program in the U.S. When Attorney General Griffin Bell announced that the Bakke decision "confirms our position and what we've been doing," he made clear that the Supreme Court's message in the Bakke and CWA cases is that affirmative action, so long as it is accomplished by "goals" or "guidelines" instead of quotas, is a legitimate means by which the capitalist state can continue to subvert hard won trade-union gains in the name of combating racial discrimination.

Though it may appear otherwise to the liberal and leftist enthusiasts of affirmative action, there is no real contradiction between the Supreme Court's "no" to school admissions quotas and its "yes" to affirmative action on the job. While the government has absolutely no commitment to integration (quite the opposite in fact), the ruling class and its courts and cops do have a stake in hiring programs for minorities and women which weaken the power of the trade unions. Affirmative action promotion and hiring goals usually require bypassing union hiring halls and overriding union seniority systems, two important labor conquests against the arbitrary authority of the bosses.

The distinction between affirmative action in education and employment is obviously appreciated by the Justice Department. The court's unanimous decision to let the CWA ruling stand, giving approval to AT&T's massive violations of union seniority, was an affirmation of the Justice Department's policy of obtaining the "voluntary" compliance of employers with court orders mandating race and/or sex goals in hiring and upgrading. The decision implies, as the *New York Times* observed, "that the government would continue to view quota systems in employment discrimination in a different light from the kind of university admissions quota the Justices struck down...in the Bakke case" (*New York Times*, 4 July).

Affirmative action in employment arose as a divide-and-rule policy by the bourgeoisie in response to the mass black agitation and ghetto upheavals of the 1960's. The Nixon administration, beginning with its Philadelphia Plan for the construction trades, sought to turn the seething discontent of the impoverished black masses against the organized labor movement. And the socially reactionary, racist Meanyite bureaucracy served as a particularly easy target for liberal and even right-wing bourgeois anti-union demagogy in the name of minority rights.

April 15 anti-Bakke protest in Washington, D.C. WV Photo

The Justice Department's aggressive advocacy of affirmative action in employment will surprise only those readers who have been taken in by the myth that affirmative action is another anti-discriminatory reform. In the past several years the real, albeit tokenistic reforms, such as busing for school integration, have succumbed to racist attacks with the approval and participation of the courts and Justice Department. The government wants to preserve affirmative action in employment only because it sees in affirmative action a useful tool to weaken the unions and pit minority workers against organized labor.

Black Liberals and the Bakke Decision

The response of the mainstream black liberal organizations to the Bakke decision has been ambiguous and confused. NAACP head Benjamin Hooks first declared that the decision was "a clear-cut victory for affirmative action." Under pressure, Hooks later stated that the official NAACP position is that Bakke represents "a victory and a defeat." Vernon Jordan of the

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Liberal Stalinist in East Berlin

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Coal Miners: Hate Miller, Hate the SWP!

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Death Wish in Crown Heights

Herman's Longshore Contract Stinks

Vote No and Strike!

SAN FRANCISCO On July 1, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) president Jimmy Herman announced a tentative contract agreement with the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) to replace the three-year pact which expired only hours before at midnight, June 30. Herman's giveaway contract will, if he succeeds in bamboozling the membership into ratifying it, speed the already precipitous decline of the union's strategic and hard pressed Longshore Division.

Herman is faithfully following in the footsteps of former ILWU president Harry Bridges, whose notorious "mechanization and modernization" contract in 1961 opened the door for an employers' offensive that has destroyed thousands of longshoremen's jobs. The new contract proposal is nothing but a wholesale capitulation to the maritime bosses' demand of fewer men to do more work. Now is the time—indeed, it is long overdue—for longshoremen to call a halt to the bosses' job stealing, to vote "no" and to organize for immediate strike action!

The situation confronting the union remains quite dangerous. Herman, Rubio, McClain & Co. have the membership working completely in the dark, with unconfirmed reports that the contract has been extended. While the employers have allegedly agreed to wait until the membership votes before acting, the possibility exists that at the first sign of major resistance the employers will refuse to renegotiate and immediately lock the union out, catching the membership unaware. The stage could be set for a rerun of the disastrous 1976 ILWU warehouse strike. Then, the warehouse membership was suddenly out on strike with no warning several days after the contract expired. Many Local 6 members discovered they were on strike only by seeing pickets at other houses while on their way to work. That lack of preparations led to massive police scabherding, picket lines which leaked like sieves and endless arrests.

Herman's refusal throughout the long negotiations to seriously prepare the union for a strike only emboldened the PMA negotiators, who took a hard line on everything, including flatly rejecting the diversionary sop which Herman was ballyhooing at the beginning of negotiations. Thus, the key demand of the original Officers' Report—calling for a beefed up Pay Guarantee Plan (PGP), as the "cornerstone of our job security program"—was simply dropped. Despite the Coast Caucus's demand for a 40-hour guarantee, calculated weekly, with no cap on PGP payments, the PGP fund remains virtually the same.

Similarly, Herman's gimmick of a Container Royalty Tax to help stem the loss of jobs simply disappeared! The ranks' concern to stop extended work shifts (compulsory overtime, frequently in violation of the contract) was ignored, as was the popular call for a shorter workshift. There is also no mention of manning scales nor any cost-of-living allowance for pensions or wages (the COLA for wages was cut out in the 1975 contract)! These were both Coast Caucus demands. Needless to say, no-strike/arbitration machinery remains intact.

But perhaps the most ominous development is the new contract's provision for more "steady men" (who work steadily for one employer rather than rotating through the union hiring hall) and more specialized highly skilled workers, combined with a marked widening in the wage gap between skilled and non-skilled. As mechanization has drastically cut the available jobs, the income gap between "steady men" and "hall men" has widened considerably, exacerbating antagonisms and undermining union solidarity. For several years, the ranks have been demanding abolition of the "steady men" clauses. Both the S.F. and Seattle locals voted to make it a strike issue this year. But the new contract would not only *strengthen* the steady man category, but would undermine traditional coast wide unity by providing *separate steady men agreements* for the three major ports (Los Angeles/Long Beach, San Francisco, Seattle). In addition, for the first time the ILWU would officially sanction the steady man category. Previously the practice was tolerated, but henceforth the steady men will be *jointly certified* by the union and the PMA.

Despite rhetoric from Herman about doing away with the notorious Supplement 3, it has not only been retained but strengthened. Supplement 3 permits the designation of ports as Low Work Opportunity Ports (LWOP) leading to forced transfers and, more importantly, to deregistrations (layoffs). To try to insure that LWOP procedures are not obstructed by local militancy as happened in San Francisco last year, the new contract specifies that the power to designate LWOP ports lies with the Joint Coast Labor Relations Committee (JCLRC), thereby by-passing the locals altogether. Thus, if the employers' scheme to play steady men against hall men and port against port takes hold, the JCLRC will have the unobstructed contractual right to lay longshoremen off.

With all these incredible giveaways, it is clear that the only way Herman can sell the contract is by lying and spreading defeatism about striking. The 30 June issue of the *Dispatcher*, headlined "Big 3-Year Dock Pact," boasts of the wage boost of $2.55 over three years and improvement in pension and health and welfare benefits. Then the article hints vaguely at "breakthroughs in the ILWU's effort to improve job security," and "important modifications in the rules governing the employment of steady men," without ever spelling out the provisions which will, in fact, mean less work in the hiring halls. Even though Herman announced a settlement on July 1, the contract has yet to be distributed to the membership. (Longshoremen in L.A. report one copy was posted in the Local 13 union hall, while Local 10 has yet to take even this token step.)

Instead, the Coast Caucus, stacked with various local officers, will first peruse the contract beginning July 10 and then make a recommendation to the membership. (In a major departure from past practice, the negotiating committee is dominated by International officers.) During the negotiations, the Caucus had been under discipline against "leaks" to the membership, and virtually nothing has appeared in the local labor or bourgeois press about the negotiations or the settlement. This secrecy has been typical of the entire negotiating process; making the ILWU look more and more like most other highly bureaucratized unions in the U.S. Needless to say, the employers are not in the dark: "actual copies of the agreement were being distributed to top management by the union and the PMA" (*Daily Commercial News*, 5 July).

In the ILWU's key San Francisco Local 10, Herman has been aided in this conspiracy of silence by the former "oppositionists" who now hold local office—such as Local secretary-treasurer Herb Mills and president Larry Wing. The collapse of the fake "opposition" has given Herman & Co. a free hand in sealing off the membership from the negotiations. And the local fakers have aided in dispersing the restive ranks through such ploys as holding the special April pre-Caucus contract demands meeting as a Saturday meeting (rather than a stop-work meeting) with virtually no publicity.

At that meeting, Wing ruled that in the absence of a quorum the membership could take no action on contract demands. Yet at all the previous membership meetings the officers had refused to allow other contract issues to even be discussed. Doubtless they were afraid of a continuation of the militancy displayed early in the year when the Local 10 membership overwhelmingly voted to make abolition of steady men a strike issue.

In their drive to rob the ranks of any control of or even influence over the negotiations, the Local 10 leadership has been aided by Communist Party supporter Bill Proctor and his close collaborator Leo Robinson, who have all along refused to call for a strike. When Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, Local 10 executive board members and publishers of the class-struggle opposition newsletter "Longshore Militant," sought to expose the Caucus's refusal to designate any of the key demands as strike issues, Robinson, anxious to justify his actions as a Caucus delegate, argued that first you see what the employer is willing to offer, then you set your strike demands. But the prostrate posture of the union negotiating committee encouraged the employers to hardline it on virtually *all* union demands.

While Herman and his lackeys have done nothing to prepare for a strike, the employers of the PMA have made it clear that they *are* prepared. Longshoremen have reported that the PMA has done the best stockpiling job ever, with a sudden surge in shipping activity for two months before the contract expired. According to the *San Francisco Chronicle* (1 July), some cargo was diverted to East Coast ports or to Vancouver, Canada in anticipation of a possible strike. In Los Angeles, the U.S. government made clear its anti-strike preparations by announcing that all agencies of the government were prepared to

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Contract Voted Down Again

Strike NYC Transit Now!

NYC transit workers have done it again. On July 6, after the bureaucrats had tried every trick in the books to demoralize them, the ranks of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 voted for the second time to reject their sellout contract. This time they voted "no" by 10,825 to 8,506. But never ones to say die, the Guinan/Lawe TWU leadership simply added in the votes of some 5,000 workers who are not employees of the Transit Authority (T.A.) and have nothing to do with the T.A. contract. Then the bureaucrats blithely declared the contract had been voted up.

Since March 29 the TWU ranks have had nothing but delaying tactics, double talk and tricks from their leaders whose efforts in the service of the T.A., Mayor Koch, Governor Carey and the Wall Street banks never cease. First the TWU in March voted unanimously to authorize a strike when the contract ran out, only to have Guinan "stop the clock" on the negotiations. This made a mockery of the union's commitment to "no contract, no work." Then, after the ballots in the first ratification vote were returned with what everyone knew was a sure "no" vote, the bureaucrats along with so-called "dissidents" of Concerned Transit went to court and got the ballots impounded. Guinan subsequently stalled for more than a month in sending out the second ratification ballot for fear another rejection could reopen the city workers contract. And when six weeks later they still came back marked "no," he simply stuffed the ballot boxes and stole the vote!

Transit Workers! How long are you going to put up with this flim-flam? You have already rejected the contract twice! Do not be stopped by Guinan and Lawe, some of the sorriest sellouts running any trade union in New York City. Just as bad are the pathetic collection of would-be bureaucrats and union-suers in the various "Concerned Transit" groups who have shown that they too, like the TWU leadership itself, will go to any lengths to head off a strike. Rather than mobilize the angry TWU ranks in *strike action* against the bosses, these fake oppositionists drag the union into the bosses' courts. Indeed these groups are so enamored of capitalist "justice" that last week they had no less than three suits running at the same time. Transit workers must place no reliance in the courts—part of the same government that has put New York city workers on bread and water rations—but must rely on their own tremendous power.

The contract has been voted down *TWICE!* No Contract, No Work! Strike NYC Transit *NOW!*■

Spanish Cops Murder LCR Member, 135 Injured

Fascist Corrida of Death in Pamplona

JULY 11—As thousands of tourists assembled for the yearly running of the bulls, the Spanish authorities in the Basque city of Pamplona unleashed a far more lethal antagonist: the Francoist police. A violent cop rampage through the crowded streets left one left-wing militant dead—shot through the head—and at least 135 injured. The running battle began when police charged Basque nationalist demonstrators who paraded around the Pamplona bullring with a banner reading, "Amnesty! Freedom!" The fighting lasted for ten hours and continued after the funeral march of several thousand yesterday for the slain militant, Germán Rodríguez, a 27-year-old member of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR).

A *New York Post* correspondent on the scene when the shooting began tells the harrowing story:

> "I watched in horror as riot police turned the celebrated festival of San Fermin into an orgy of shooting this weekend . . .
>
> "Down in the arena, I saw 15 young Basque separatists unfurling a banner demanding amnesty for prisoners. There was a disturbance as other youths tried to restrain them, and protests were shouted from the stands. There was a scuffle. Nothing serious.
>
> "Without any warning about 70 grey-uniformed riot police charged into the jammed arena with machine guns blazing. I saw a tracer bullet arch into the seats to my left, and I realized that the frenzied cops were aiming at everyone.
>
> "Later I learned that some of the bullets were rubber, most were real."
>
> *New York Post*, 10 July

As we go to press protests continue to rock the Basque region. A Reuters dispatch reported Pamplona looking "like a battlefield with wrecked cars, barricades in the street." In San Sebastian there was an immediate outcry against the police attack in Pamplona as demonstrators set up barricades and blocked the principal rail lines and roads in the area. One man was shot and wounded as police again opened fire on demonstrators. The major trade-union federations in Euskadi called for a one-hour general strike, and the bull-running ceremony, made world-famous by Hemingway, was forced to close for the first time since the Civil War.

Protests Hit Francoist Atrocity

These latest police attacks come only days after the repressive apparatus inherited from the Francoist dictatorship was given increased powers to hold "suspects," tap phones and open mail in their "war against terrorism." For the Spanish left and the working people of the Basque region, "anti-terrorism" is the all-too-familiar rallying call of the Francoists for a bloody last-ditch stand against the enemies of "Christian Spain." The murder of Rodriguez is a threat to all the victims of Francoist terror and must be vehemently protested by the workers movement internationally.

In response to the lastest atrocity, the Spartacist League (SL) and our Canadian comrades of the Trotskyist League (TLC) called demonstrations in front of the Spanish consulates in San Francisco and Toronto today. In Toronto 20 people turned out on short notice to demonstrate as TLC members carried placards reading, "Spanish Workers Will Avenge Their Dead!" "For the Right of Self-Determination for the Basques!" and "No to 'Reformed' Francoism—For a Workers Republic in Spain!" The fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League, Canadian "comrades" of the Spanish LCR, failed to show up at the Toronto demonstration, as did their co-thinkers in the American Socialist Workers Party in San Francisco.

Franco's Cops are the Cops of Today

The murder of Rodriguez is the most dramatic example of the escalating police provocations of the left-wing and nationalist organizations of the Basque region (Euskadi). Two months ago the LCR was victim to another police attack which landed dozens of their members in Pamplona in jail—in this case the cops simply finished up what their out-of-uniform fascist brethren began.

On May 10 a fascist *corrida* began at the end of a funeral procession of a hated Guardia Civil shot down by the Basque nationalist ETA. Fascist hands took to the streets intent upon intimidating the local population. Armed with revolvers, sticks and clubs, the die-hard Francoist ultras set upon the local offices of every Basque nationalist and left-wing organization in Pamplona. After besieging the headquarters of the Basque National Party and raising the flag of Franco's Spain overhead, this gang of thugs arrived at the headquarters of the LKI, the LCR's Basque affiliate. Hooded members of the ultra-rightist Warriors of Christ the King led the mob, and more than twenty bullets pierced the LKI's door as assembled leftists battled it out with the marauding fascists.

In an act as foolhardy as it is treacherous, the LKI turned to the local police to come to their aid! The cops did in fact come—only to complete the fascist attack on the LKI by arresting everyone in sight! When the ensuing assault on the LKI office was over, nearly 60 people found inside were in custody and 48 were arrested and held by the same "forces of order" that had been called in only hours before. Only after several protest work stoppages and demands by trade-unions and left-wing organizations for the immediate release of those arrested were the last 47 LKI members freed.

The Fraud of Reformed Francoism

With each cop attack, the apostles of "Spanish democracy," Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez and King Juan Carlos, show their true colors: the olive green of the Guardia Civil and the metal gray of the Policia Armada. Reliance upon these "forces of order" for protection against fascists is a sure-fire recipe for suicide for any left organization. But in the Basque region of Spain, which on a daily basis is under virtual military occupation, it borders on sheer insanity. The dividing line between the fascist terrorists and the Francoist police is most often simply whether they are in uniform or not. In fact, the only two rightists arrested in the May Pamplona assault (picked up only because they had been wounded in the fighting and could not leave the scene) turned out to be out-of-uniform policemen (*Intercontinental Press*, 29 May).

Wide World

Scene in Pamplona bullring during murderous rampage by Francoist cops.

While the Spanish Communist Party (PCE) and the social-democratic PSOE join in voting the police expanded powers, the ostensibly Trotskyist LCR sows equally dangerous illusions in relying on the bourgeois state of "reformed Francoism." For the LCR/LKI, the call for police protection in May was not simply an aberration or a measure born of extreme danger. *In extremis* it would not be unprincipled for Marxists to call in police against a particular fascist attack—although, as the LCR found out the hard way, it is well-nigh suicidal to call on the Francoist cops with their intimate ties to virtually every fascist terror group in Spain. But although the LCR is on paper in favor of working-class self-defense, in practice it increasingly relies on the "forces of order" commanded by the hated Martin Villa.

When fascist gunmen murdered workers' commissions' organizers in Madrid at the infamous Antocha Street massacre over a year ago, the LCR adopted a stance only slightly to the left of the call by the PCE and PSOE for the working class to remain "serene." The LCR's response (the Barcelona Communiqué of January 1977—signed with other left-wing organizations, bourgeois parties and even monarchists) condemned above all the killing of three policemen in Madrid and begged that the state take "immediate action against the . . . fascist and para-police organizations" (see "Fake-Trotskyists Embrace Francoist 'Democracy'," *WV* No. 143, 4 February 1977).

In response to the earlier Pamplona attack the LCR placed the demand for the "dissolution of the fascist gangs" on the front page of *Combate*. Rather than applying their oft repeated slogan of the united front to the formation of workers defense guards, the LCR turned to the "unity" of a joint appeal to the provincial civil governor. Along with eleven other parties, including bourgeois forces such as the Liberal Party and the Liberal Citizen Action, the LCR appealed for "police protection of democratic rights."

In the 1930's Trotsky made very clear that the policy of reliance on the state to fight fascism was a betrayal of the most elementary proletarian class instincts. In "War and the Fourth International" (1934) Trotsky wrote, "To turn to the state, that is, to capital, with the demand to disarm the fascists means to sow the worst democratic illusions, to lull the vigilance of the proletariat, to demoralize its will."

Down with Franco's Heirs!

The PCE and the PSOE have propagated the treacherous myth that a few parliamentarians from workers organi-

continued on page 11

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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Bahro's Alternative:

Liberal Stalinist in East Berlin

Translated & Abridged from
Kommunistische Korrespondenz
April 1978

Rudolf Bahro's book *Die Alternative* [*The Alternative*] and his arrest by the East German Security Police (SD) occupied the West German press for weeks and led to a lively discussion in the West German left. Just when the topic was threatening to lose some of its publicity value *Der Spiegel* brought out with much hoopla the "Manifesto" of a purported "League of Democratic Communists of Germany" (BDKD), which lent new impetus to the debate since the Manifesto's anonymous authors appeal to Bahro as a co-thinker. With scant justification, to be sure, since Bahro in his confused way proposes a reform of the Stalinist bureaucracy, whereas the "BDKD" program for reunification boils down to a scarcely veiled restoration of capitalism in the DDR (East Germany). But no matter whether it is the product of West German intelligence, the SD or of an insignificant group of East German technocrats, this "manifesto of the first organized opposition in the DDR," as *Der Spiegel* termed it in one of its most aggressive promotional campaigns, served to clearly direct public attention once more to the German question, so eagerly overlooked by both governments. And here lies, in part, the significance of Bahro's *Alternative*....

What Does Bahro Want?

Bahro's political ideas are a contradictory mixture of utopian New Left elements and reform Stalinism. His understanding of Marxism (as he himself admits) closely parallels that of Erich Fromm, an intellectual progenitor of the New Left. His criticisms of the Soviet Union coincide on many points with Rudi Dutschke's bankrupt *Versuch, Lenin auf die Füsse zu stellen* [*Attempt to Put Lenin Back on his Feet*]. Bahro not only defends the *inevitability* of the bureaucratic degeneration of the USSR, since for him the international proletarian revolution — the one force which could have altered the fate of the fledgling Soviet state — simply does not exist. He also rejects the working class as bearer of the socialist revolution. Inside the deformed and degenerated workers states Bahro places his hopes in the progressive function of the idealist, psychological category of an "excess consciousness" which, although supposedly present in all layers and realms of society, Bahro locates above all among the "intelligentsia" and the "ideologues."

Thus he writes, "However, there are so far no indications...that under our conditions 'the workers' could be a 'class for itself' and that their 'objective interests' could bring about the next step towards general emancipation" (*Die Alternative*). In the West he backs the class-collaborationist strategy of Eurocommunism:

> "Since under these conditions [in the capitalist countries] the working-class movement is too narrow a base from which to transform society (don't the specific interests of the workers more and more often play even a fundamentally conservative role?), the West European and Japanese Communists are already in the process of adapting themselves to the need to transform the world which is common to practically *all* progressive elements, no matter to which traditional class, layer or sector they belong. Entirely different interest blocs are clearly being formed, which already point toward an order beyond the previous economic bases."

His toadying to bourgeois coalitionism reaches its high point in a criticism *from the right* of the Portuguese CP. He reproaches the party of Cunhal for having been responsible for "splitting the country's political spectrum to the left of center instead of to the right, and in addition splitting the left wing of the army and burning out its best forces." The officer corps, the command structure of the mailed fist of the bourgeois state, is thus turned into its opposite and hailed as the bearer of "social progress." Such statements are in the classical tradition of Stalinist popular-front betrayals. And Bahro also makes it clear that he, along with the Eurocommunists and other Stalinists, regards Marx' and Lenin's conception of the state as outmoded:

> "Under these conditions the state is far *more* than the 'joint executive board of the capitalist class.' For why else are the *Communist* parties, where they are so influential, as in France and Italy, posing as their task taking over the state machinery instead of smashing it?".

Bahro and the Prague Spring

Bahro's formative political experience was the Prague Spring of 1968 — which in contrast to the Hungarian uprising of 1956, where there was spontaneous crystallization of soviets, constituted primarily an attempt at reform from above, a self-reform of the bureaucracy — and its bitter end through the deployment of Russian tanks. This is evident from many passages in his book, such as:

> "*Once* in the 60 years since the Russian October Revolution the forces pressing for a new organization of non-capitalist industrial society emerged into the full light of history... This was in Czechoslovakia in those eight months of 1968, unforgettable to all those interested in socialist progress in the East European countries..."

Bahro's fundamentally positive attitude toward Dubček is characteristic of his overall conceptions. Thus *democracy per se* assumes for him central importance — not the *soviet democracy* of the genuine dictatorship of the proletariat, but rather a *grassroots democracy* whose class character is left unspecified and which in some undetermined way is to be based on neighborhoods and communities....

Nor is Bahro's "cultural revolution" any more revolutionary. The Trotskyist program for the deformed and degenerated workers states is the overthrow of the parasitic bureaucracy by the working class led by a Leninist-Trotskyist workers party, the establishment or re-establishment of soviet democracy, and the international proletarian revolution, which through an international planned economy will for the first time lay the material basis for the full unfolding of all human potential. Bahro's notion, divorced from the perspective of an international revolution, is, in contrast, a subjectivist utopia:

> "What is now imminent and indeed has already begun is a *cultural revolution* in the truest sense, an overturn of the entire subjective mode of existence of the masses, comparable only to that other transition which on the road from patriarchy, the vertical division of labor and the state led to class society ..."

Hence the model for Bahro's "upheaval" is not the Leninist vanguard party which must be built anew to lead a proletarian revolution. Bahro is far more reminiscent of efforts to reform the Catholic church:

> "The oppositional grouping which under these conditions will necessarily crystallize spontaneously, will not strive to become or (more precisely) to remain a second party alongside the old one. On the contrary, it can only have the intention...of seeing that the party is internally constituted for the next stage in a way such that it is as far as possible safeguarded against losing its revolutionary potential. The split is a passing moment of the historical process."

Bahro does not see the necessary conclusion of smashing the bureaucratic state party. His definition of the *League of Communists* which he would like to see built would lead only to another elitist model of organization having nothing in common with a revolutionary vanguard party. He calls for "a coming together of generally equally qualified individuals sharing common views, i.e., who are interested in solving the same problems in the same direction...." Thereby the *League of Communists* becomes the only possible form of political organization. Its claim to be an association of the best among equals cannot be put to the test through political struggle. A workers soviet, on the other hand, would permit all the tendencies and parties in a proletarian state who accept soviet rule.... Bahro's schema testifies to his training in the Stalinist apparatus. It can provide no alternative to the working class in the deformed and/or degenerated workers states.

The Russian Question

Bahro's critique of the DDR and Soviet bureaucracies is an act of incontestable personal courage. However, his political confusion, his inability to undertake a Marxist class analysis, leads him to fatal conclusions. He ahistorically imposes his analysis of various "bureaucratic" systems of domination (that of the Incas, of Pharaonic Egypt, of imperial China) on the base and superstructure of the deformed and degenerated workers states. Is the bureaucracy a new class with a historically necessary function in the process of social reproduction? Or is the bureaucracy, as Trotsky analyzed it, a parasitic layer with the function of a gendarme, owing its existence to the backwardness and isolation of the Soviet Union?...

Bahro is incapable of providing a clear answer to the question of whether the deformed and degenerated workers states are at a higher socio-economic stage than "late capitalism." Neither does he say whether the proletarian bases of the workers states are to be defended against imperialism. Since he is caught up in the politics of "peaceful coexistence" he does not even raise this decisive question. Bahro's solution is a petty-bourgeois disarmament policy....

For Trotskyists the defense of the gains of the October Revolution is a fundamental postulate of our politics. We defend the workers states against imperialism while simultaneously fighting for the overthrow of bureaucratic rule. As long as the imperialist powers exist they will aim at reimposing their rule in the workers states.... For this reason we say with Trotsky: Disarma-

Rudolf Bahro — Der Spiegel

Photoworld

1953 street fighting in East Berlin.

ment? But who will disarm whom? We are for the working class disarming the bourgeoisie internationally. Wanting to disarm the workers states in the face of the restorationist appetites of the imperialist bourgeoisie means sabotaging, abandoning the proletarian property forms in those countries. Not Bahro's variant of "peaceful coexistence" but only the victory of the international socialist revolution on the road to a classless communist society will make the arsenals of the workers states, as well as these states themselves, *superfluous*....

The flattery [of Bahro] by Pabloists such as Ernest Mandel, member of the so-called United Secretariat of the Fourth International (USec), is diametrically counterposed to the revolutionary positions [of Trotskyism] which they occasionally mention in bits and pieces. Mandel calls Bahro a "magnanimous revolutionary" and a "well-educated Marxist." In an article, "Bahro's Bomb," in *Was Tun* (22 September 1977), he refers to Bahro as a "true internationalist." He terms *Die Alternative* the "most important theoretical work on the character of the transitional society to have reached us from the East Bloc since the end of World War II."

Bahro stands in the tradition of reform critics of the regime like Roy Medvedev (see "Roy Medvedev on the Soviet Dissidents," *WV* No. 82, 24 October 1975) and Robert Havemann, who criticize Stalinism without politically transcending it. This does not mean that the rise of such currents is unimportant. But the building of a new Marxist party in the workers states only can be accomplished by the sharpest political criticism of the inadequacies of such socialist oppositionists, not by uncritical adulation. Thus the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD—German section of the international Spartacist tendency), unlike the GIM (Gruppe Internationale Marxisten—German section of the USec), did not pander to East German balladeer Wolf Biermann when he was forcibly expatriated from the DDR. We wrote at the time:

> "Our solidarity with Wolf Biermann does not prevent us from calling him what he is. Biermann...is a confused liberal Stalinist who ultimately accepts the foundation of 'socialism in half a country.' He is not the great revolutionary which the GIM tries to glorify him as."
>
> *Kommunistische Korrespondenz* No. 16, December 1976

The National Question in Germany

At a public meeting in West Berlin on the "BDKD" Wolf Biermann came out against a reunification of Germany, which he clearly could conceive of only as a unification of the two states on a capitalist basis.... But the demoralized Biermann, who has long since ceased to believe in the revolutionary power of the working class, cannot sweep the German question under the rug with...moral appeals.

Germany constitutes a historically evolved unity, split into two state formations, the capitalist Federal Republic and the deformed workers state of the Democratic Republic. More than three decades of a divided Germany have not destroyed national consciousness. It has been kept alive not least of all by the fact that after the end of the war, in the 1950's and at the time of the construction of the Berlin wall, whole waves of refugees poured into West Germany, so that numerous family ties span the border. The media, above all television, also do their part.

The DDR is confronted with the much more powerful economy of the imperialist Federal Republic. The West German mark has become the "second currency"—that is, currency for the privileged—in the DDR. This pressure of imperialism also leads to opposition to the ruling party regime which, as the "Manifesto" [of the "BDKD"] printed in *Der Spiegel* demonstrates, tends to the right, toward an ultimately counterrevolutionary political and economic rapprochement with the West. But the DDR bureaucracy will not succeed in hiding from such tendencies behind such empty doctrines as the thesis of two nations arising in Germany after 1945.

The bureaucracy's characterization of the 17 June 1953 Berlin uprising as a provocation by West German agents was the product of its fear of the revolutionary proletariat. For June 17 constituted the greatest threat to its bonapartist role. On June 17 East German workers called upon their West German class brothers to support a struggle which had actually begun as a protest against a threatened raising of piece-rate norms but quickly took on a much broader political character. Slogans were heard like, "If you sweep out the dung in Bonn, we'll clean house in Pankow" [Berlin-Pankow, then the capital of East Germany], but also many indicative of the still deeply social-democratic consciousness of many workers: "We don't want Ulbricht or Adenauer—we want Erich Ollenhauer!"

June 17 was not a day of reaction. In the old East German bastion of the workers movement, factory committees were set up and disciplined demonstrations held to the accompaniment of traditional workers' songs. Since this revolt was put down with the arrival of Soviet tanks a new generation has grown up in the DDR. Opposed to this generation of workers is an ossified bureaucracy which has been unable to significantly regenerate itself since Ulbricht and Stalin. In any future Berlin "spring" it will be necessary to fight against all social-democratic illusions, against all restorationist attempts by the bourgeoisie through its agents in the workers movement, but also against all restorationist tendencies in the East German bureaucracy itself, to fight for the revolutionary program of Trotskyism.

In West Germany on the other hand these feelings of national identity converge with the "*Drang nach Osten*" (Drive to the East) of a capitalist world power. The German question can be solved in two ways: by the [imperialists] smashing the deformed workers state to the east through a military onslaught....

Or the German question can be solved by the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat *of both parts* of Germany for the overthrow of the bureaucracy and the smashing of West German capital, no matter where the first spark happens to ignite. The conservative bureaucracy cannot solve this question, since it is concerned only with protecting its own privileges, with maintaining the status quo. To this end it resorts to repressive measures internally and makes the hopeless attempt to live in "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism....

Photo Reporter

Liberal Czech Stalinist Alexander Dubček with Brezhnev (left) and Ulbricht (right) at August 1968 Bratislava meeting shortly before Kremlin invasion put an end to "Prague Spring."

In 1933 the organizational tradition of Trotskyism was destroyed by the victory of fascism. The weak forces which attempted to reknit their ties to this tradition after 1945 were destroyed by the liquidationist policies of Mandel and his followers in the course of the degeneration of the Fourth International. The politics of the Pabloists consisted of making advances to Tito as a supposedly anti-Stalinist force...and finally in a decade and a half of entrism in the SPD, which was abandoned only in the late 1960's in order to be better able to tail after the student movement.

The task of the TLD consists in taking up and continuing the traditions of revolutionary Trotskyism organizationally smashed in 1933 and politically liquidated at the beginning of the 1950's. Our task is to ensure that Trotskyism becomes known to oppositionists in the DDR for what it is: the revolutionary program of class struggle, not the GIM's Pabloist program of opportunism and class collaboration.

When Bahro admits that, "in a certain phase of breaking with rule by the apparatus...every revolutionary communist after 1917 had Trotskyist leanings," only to add, "but this position is in fact historically hopeless" (Rudolf Bahro, *Eine Dokumentation*) he pays indirect tribute to the power of Trotskyist ideas, which for 40 years remained practically without an organizational existence and embodiment in Germany. Not Trotskyism, the Marxism of our time, but rather Stalinism with its ideology of "socialism in half a country" and its politics of "peaceful coexistence" and collaboration with the bourgeoisie is hopeless.

For the immediate release of Rudolf Bahro!

For the creation of Trotskyist parties in both parts of Germany!

For the revolutionary reunification of Germany in the struggle for the socialist united states of Europe!

Forward to the rebirth of the Fourth International! ■

Free DDR Dissident Bahro!

Reacting to the pressure of a growing dissident movement, on June 30 the East German (DDR) government convicted dissident author and economic planner Rudolf Bahro of treason and sentenced him to eight years in prison. A long-time member of the ruling Stalinist Socialist Unity Party (SED) and Dubček-style critic of the DDR leadership, Bahro was arrested last summer on vague charges of carrying out "intelligence activity" in the service of imperialist espionage agencies. But his only "crime" was the publication in West Germany of his book, *Die Alternative*, in which the author criticizes the policies of the bureaucratic regimes in the DDR and East Europe from the point of view of economic rationality. According to the 8 July *Economist* Bahro courageously chose to face a prison term rather than renounce his East German citizenship and go into forced exile in West Germany.

An economist and SED functionary at an East Berlin engineering concern, Bahro first became oppositional over the 1968 Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia. But he did not attract serious disfavor from the bureaucracy until three years ago when he produced a critical analysis of East European economic planning. A virtual unknown until last summer, Bahro was arrested last August after the broadcast of an interview on West German television plugging his new book.

Bahro's arrest was part of a general crackdown against dissidents in the DDR, which until recently had one of the tightest Stalinist regimes and most quiescent opposition movements in East Europe. When the 1976 forced exile of singer/songwriter Wolf Biermann set off a storm of protest among DDR artists and intellectuals, the Honecker bureaucracy reacted with a heavy hand: explusions from the country, firings, house arrests. With the general accessibility of Western television, large-scale tourism from West Germany and the freedom of movement provisions of the 1975 Helsinki accords, the East Berlin bureaucracy feared that open dissidence could intersect popular discontent in an explosive manner.

The appearance of Bahro's treatise signaled the spread of oppositional sentiment to sections of the bureaucracy itself. Unlike the pseudo-Trotskyist United Secretariat we do not blur the distinction between the revolutionary program of Trotskyism and the confused call for bureaucratic reform and "cultural revolution" by the liberal Stalinist Bahro (see accompanying article). However, the international Spartacist tendency vehemently denounces the outrageous, cowardly imprisonment by the parasitic, anti-revolutionary DDR bureaucracy. Free Rudolf Bahro! For Trotskyist parties in both parts of Germany! ■

An Answer to Reformist Miller Lovers

COAL MINERS: HATE MILLER, HATE THE SWP!

The coal strike of 1977-78 posed in its most dramatic form in recent years in the United States the central question of our epoch—what Leon Trotsky referred to in the founding program of the Fourth International as the "crisis of proletarian leadership." The cynically treacherous conduct of the strike by the Arnold Miller bureaucracy of the United Mine Workers (UMWA) demonstrated, to anyone who is honest, that these self-styled union "reformers" boosted into office by the Labor Department and the liberal bourgeoisie are no more able and willing to defend the workers against the bosses than the Old Guard of the trade-union bureaucracy headed by the likes of George Meany.

Five years ago we were virtually alone in refusing to jump on the bandwagon of Miller's Miners for Democracy (MFD). But today, when thousands of miners are themselves demanding the ouster of the backstabbing UMWA president, defending Arnold Miller is not a popular task. Most of the left which hailed his election in 1972 has simply sought to avoid the subject; none of these fake socialists has, to our knowledge, met the issue head on.

The SWP recently published in its *Militant* (23 June) a lengthy polemic by Shelley Kramer entitled "Socialists and the Miners' Strike—Where Sectarians Go Wrong." Ostensibly directed at ultraleftists, Kramer's article is a thinly disguised apology for Arnold Miller and the trade-union bureaucracy. Kramer castigates the "sectarians" for attacking the UMWA leadership as the central obstacle to victory in the coal strike, for criticizing Miners for Democracy, even for advocating labor boycotts of coal and solidarity strikes with the miners. According to Kramer, this is what can be expected from "small groups well isolated from the working class," whose ideas ostensibly have nothing whatsoever to do with the real needs of the masses of working people.

One of the central targets of Kramer's attack is the Spartacist League. We are not the least bit surprised at her charges; indeed, as Trotsky observed, the accusation of sectarianism, coming from reformists and opportunists, is most often a compliment. We welcome the opportunity to demonstrate anew that our program for the coal strike, far from being sectarian, addressed the burning questions of the hour and found at least a partial echo in the working class. It is rather the SWP, which has supported one of the vilest labor traitors of all time, whose positions must be put on trial here.

WV Photo

Union "reform" kingmaker and Democratic Party broker for Labor Department control, Joe Rauh (center) with proteges Arnold Miller (left) and former NMU dissident James Morrissey.

Is Arnold Miller A Trade-Union Bureaucrat?

With the exception of one or two sentences (out of a two-and-a-half-page article) of mild criticism of Miller's conduct during the strike, designed to provide the SWP with a cheap left cover, Kramer's diatribe is directed at leftists, particularly for daring to attack Miller during the strike. Kramer writes:

> "But to target Miller as the enemy, as the sectarians did, could only steer the miners away from the real, immediate threats to the very existence of their union."

It is common enough for union bureaucrats to accuse those who criticize their misleadership of a strike as "disrupters." Very often the union hacks and their apologists are able to convince a number of strikers that this is the case. But this time Kramer has bitten off more than she can chew. Does she really think that she can get away with characterizing those who felt that the Miller bureaucracy was the fundamental obstacle to winning the strike as a small band of wild-eyed ultraleftists sitting on the sidelines of the class struggle?

That is a gross insult to the coal miners themselves, who repeatedly demonstrated their disgust for Miller's policies:

- They held out on strike for almost four months, repeatedly voting down Miller's sellout deals. And when they finally returned to work, scores of miners made clear to the press that they accepted the final settlement not because they liked it, but because they thought they could get nothing better under the present leadership.
- The miners held mass rallies in the coalfields, as well as outside UMWA headquarters in Washington, denouncing Miller and his contracts.
- Thousands of miners signed petitions demanding Miller's recall during the heat of the strike.
- Miller himself, realizing how isolated and hated he was, took to hiding out in obscure hotels in West Virginia, packing a pistol, and surrounding himself with bodyguards.

Does Kramer also think that 100,000 miners were "sectarian" for demonstrating their hatred of Miller during the strike?

The SL's press coverage of the strike focused on the stark contradiction between the fighting aspirations of the miners and the sellout policies of the UMWA bureaucracy. We sought to intersect the justified disgust of the miners at their leadership by raising the slogan of a democratically elected strike/bargaining committee to replace Miller & Co. in conducting the strike. In contrast, the *Militant* did all it could to cover up the militancy of the miners—barely alluding to the roving picket lines that shut down scab coal—while systematically glossing over the treachery of the Miller gang: labeling the defeated strike a "victory," playing down the anti-Miller sentiment among the ranks, even going to such lengths as cropping photographs so as to eliminate strikers carrying anti-Miller placards (see photo this issue)!

The reason why the SWP felt compelled to cover up for Miller during the strike is simple; namely, it regularly gives political support to Miller and his ilk. It is instructive to note that nowhere in her long polemic does Kramer refer to the necessity of building left-wing oppositions in the unions based on the Trotskyist Transitional Program. Nor is this an accidental oversight. For the reformist SWP, bureaucratic "reformers" like Arnold Miller and steel "rebel" Ed Sadlowski who are actually bought-off lackeys of the Labor Department and the liberal bourgeoisie represent a genuine alternative to the Meanyites. The SWP denies the need to build a communist leadership in the trade unions, instead viewing its own role as being advisers and lieutenants of the liberal bureaucrats.

Kramer tries to slander her opponents by implying that those who oppose the Sadlowskis and Millers necessarily support their reactionary bureaucratic rivals—Steelworkers president Lloyd "no strike" McBride and Miller's gangster predecessor, Tony Boyle. To prove this, Kramer constructs a phony amalgam between the Workers League and the SL. Aha, says Kramer—pointing to the Workers League's idiotic position of backing Boyle supporter Lee Roy Patterson in the last UMWA election—the McBrides, Boyles, etc. are "lesser evils for the sectarians." Of course Kramer knows full well that there is no correspondence between the wildly gyrating opportunist positions of the WL and those of the Spartacist League. In fact, the political bandits of the WL supported Miller in 1972 and Sadlowski in 1976—policies which it held in common with the SWP!

Eventually Kramer trips over her own contradiction. The real danger, she asserts, comes from "those who are in reality undermining trade-union independence and democracy—the Tony Boyles, Lloyd McBrides, George Meanys, and Douglas Frasers." (Noticeably absent from this list are such "progressive" labor fakers as Sadlowski, Miller, etc.) But then Kramer makes the mistake of providing us with an orthodox description of what trade-union bureaucrats do:

> "The trade-union bureaucracy enforces restrictive labor laws, crushes the initiative of the union ranks, concludes contracts and social pacts sacrificing the workers' interests, and imprisons the unions within the bosses' political parties. In short, the bureaucrats act as 'political police' for the capitalist class."

Sounds like a perfect description of Arnold Miller to us!

- "Enforcing restrictive labor laws": like demanding that anti-strike court injunctions and Taft-Hartley be obeyed?
- "Crush the initiative of the union ranks": how about suppressing wildcat strikes?
- "Concluding contracts...sacrificing the workers' interests": even Kramer agrees that "behind closed doors, Miller agreed to a series of disastrous provisions and then tried to sell several contracts to the ranks."
- "Imprison the unions within the bosses' political parties": how about Miller's support to Jimmy Carter, his kowtowing to strikebreaker Carter during the strike and Miller's own history of running on the Democratic Party slate?

The fact is, it is impossible to even come close to the Leninist definition of the trade-union bureaucracy—as a caste within the workers movement which reflects the ideology of the capitalist class, and indeed functions as the "political police" of the bourgeoisie—without including in its purview the Millers, the Sadlowskis, etc.

The MFD and the Government

Kramer's attempt to defend Miller's and Miners for Democracy's use of the bosses' government against its opponents in the UMWA similarly ends in a shambles. While paying lip service to the principle of trade-union independence from the state, the petty-bourgeois SWP entirely subordinates this to some classless conception of "democracy." For Kramer, the Trotskyist position that the achievement of genuine workers democracy is *integrally linked* to the struggle for trade-union independence is dismissed as "sectarian."

Thus, Kramer attempts to ridicule this position as follows:

> "But not by the sectarians' logic. According to their rule book, the trade union struggle must proceed in two distinct stages. First comes the fight for trade-union independence. Then, and only then, are workers allowed to fight for democracy in their unions.
>
> "'The precondition for union democracy,' according to Workers Vanguard, 'is the fight for independence of the workers movement from the capitalist state'."

Ultraleft? Sectarian? Here's what Trotsky wrote on this issue in "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay":

> "The second slogan is trade-union democracy. This second flows directly from the first and *presupposes* for its realization the complete freedom of the trade unions from the imperialist or colonial state." [our emphasis]

Thus, in addition to the SL and thousands of coal miners who hate

UPI

THE MILITANT

Miners demonstrate in Columbus, Ohio

The SWP School of Falsification: *Militant distorted its coverage of coal strike as it cropped photograph—to cover up miners' opposition to "company man" Arnold Miller.*

Miller, Kramer may as well add to her list of "sectarians" Leon Trotsky.

It is in fact not the SL but Kramer and the SWP who have a stages conception of trade-union work—who believe that independence of the trade unions and the other key principles of the Transitional Program can be jettisoned in favor of the reformist slogans of liberal bureaucrats like Miller and Sadlowski. Kramer takes as good coin the claims by Arnold Miller that he instituted democracy in the UMWA. Her proof? Miners have the right to ratify their contract. Of course, revolutionaries do defend this right, but its existence is hardly proof that union democracy is flourishing. East Coast longshoremen in the ILA and members of the Teamsters have the right to ratify their contracts; does Kramer believe that Teddy Gleason and Frank Fitzsimmons run democratic unions?

The absurdity of abstracting a particular supportable demand from the context of the class struggle is shown by the miners strike itself. The strike was, in fact, conducted in an extremely *undemocratic* fashion by the Miller leadership of the UMWA. Bargaining was conducted, as Kramer admits, behind closed doors; the ranks had no power to choose their negotiators or to formulate strike strategy and strike demands. Eventually, after 100 days of a heroic battle and after rejecting two of Miller's sellout proposals, the miners exercised their right to ratify—by voting for a deal that gave up their miners' health card and still did not include the right to strike. (This rotten contract, *worse* than the 1974 sellout which sparked three years of wildcats, was termed a "victory" by the SWP, incidentally. In the UMWA this view is held by almost nobody outside the dwindling number of Miller supporters.) Why did miners vote for this contract they despised? Because they had no confidence that their leadership could win anything better, and they saw no way to replace this leadership.

As Trotsky continually emphasized, the fight for workers democracy is *inseparable* from the fight to build a class-struggle leadership of the unions. The labor bureaucracy, which is wedded to the maintenance of private property, must *inevitably* seek to stifle the militant instincts of the rank and file. In the UMWA, the decisive issue has been the MFD's reliance on the bourgeois state. From the time Miller was boosted into power by the Labor Department in 1972, he has assiduously demonstrated his fealty to the capitalist legal order, repeatedly demanding that wildcats be stopped in accord with anti-strike court injunctions. This culminated in the current contract battle, when Miller and the majority of the UMWA district officials literally took their marching orders from Carter and the Labor Department.

In order to carry out their policies, Miller and the UMWA bureaucrats have time and again clashed with the ranks. Does Kramer wish to deny the considerable evidence of the bureaucratic suppression of democracy in the UMWA:

- Redbaiting of opponents and militants.
- Formulation of the notorious ten-point program designed to discipline participants in wildcats.
- Attempted suppression of one wildcat after another, including dispatch of goon squads to dismantle picket lines.
- Expulsion of the left press from the 1976 UMWA convention.
- Behind-closed-doors contract bargaining, both in 1974 and 1977-78; attempted railroading of sellout deals. No provisions for elected strike committees, etc.

None of this matters to Kramer and Arnold Miller. According to them, miners can vote on contracts and therefore there is "democracy" in the UMWA. As for the SL, we have no intention of allowing the union hacks and their "left" lackeys to claim that Miller's pistol-packing strong-arming thuggery, secrecy, redbaiting and strikebreaking add up to workers democracy!

The SWP goes to considerable lengths to find a precedent for suing the unions. Accompanying Kramer's article in the *Militant* is a box entitled "Minneapolis Teamsters and the Courts," which boasts that the Trotskyists made use of Minnesota governor Stassen's "slave-labor law" against Teamster president Dan Tobin. At that time Tobin was raiding the Minneapolis truck drivers, who had just disaffiliated from the AFL Teamsters and affiliated with the CIO. The raid was part of a vicious witchhunt launched by Tobin's master in the White House, Franklin Roosevelt, which culminated in the famous Minneapolis sedition trial of 1941 and the imprisonment of 18 Trotskyist leaders. As one could readily surmise from the circumstances, the appeal to the courts and the government against Tobin was doomed to failure (a fact which the *Militant* neglects to mention).

The injunction sought against Tobin, though incorrect and contrary to the Trotskyist program, was a minor incident in the history of the SWP's work in the Minneapolis Teamsters. Nor was it the only mistake made by the party in this work; Trotsky, for example, more than once criticized the Teamster fraction for adapting itself to the politics of the pro-Roosevelt trade-union "progressives." But such criticisms in no way vitiate the revolutionary core of the Minneapolis Teamster organizing of the then-Trotskyist SWP. At its high point, such as the 1934 general strike, Trotskyist leaders mobilized the workers directly in the face of the vigilantes, cops and National Guard. Today, the degenerate, reformist SWP chooses to make its points about the character of the capitalist state not by pointing to such struggles, but by eulogizing a two-bit court suit against the Tobin bureaucracy.

As a matter of fact, the SWP, before it abandoned the Trotskyist heritage and sank into reformism during the 1960's, fought bitterly against finking to the courts against the union bureaucrats. Today Kramer whines of the SL position:

> "By this [SL] logic, union militants who protest corruption and discrimination — even murder — through the courts pose the main threat to the independence of the unions."

Protest union corruption and bureaucratism by appealing to the capitalist courts? In 1957 when the McClellan hearings were convened to investigate the Teamsters, the SWP fought it tooth and nail. From the standpoint of union democracy and corruption, probably few unions were worse than the Teamsters of Dave Beck and Jimmy Hoffa. But the still-revolutionary SWP took a clear class position:

> "Union bureaucrats of the Hoffa-Beck type who have been the initial targets of the McClellan probe are notorious for their thievery, gangsterism, and other corrupt practices in union office. But their removal is the internal business of the unions, not a matter to be left to capitalist politicians whose aim is to undermine the unions themselves on the pretext of fighting bureaucratic corruption."
>
> from resolution of 18th National Convention of SWP, 1959

And as to the Landrum-Griffin Act of 1959, the legislation utilized by all the finks today to sue the unions, whether it is big-timers like Miller and Sadlowski or smaller fry like Pete Camarata of

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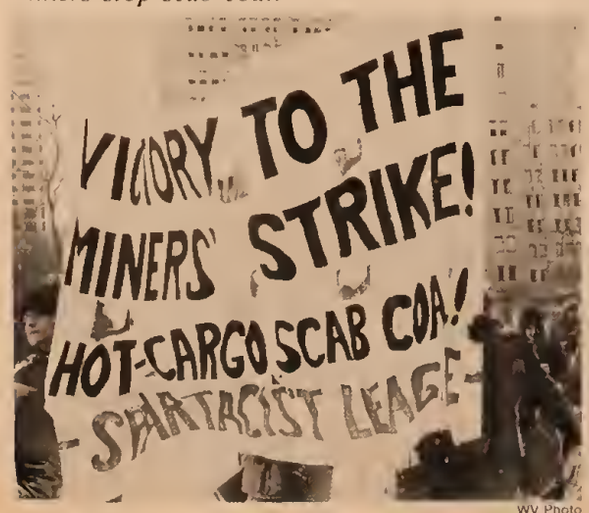
"Sectarian," whines the SWP about calls to stop scab coal. On right: "sectarian" miners stop scab coal.



WV Photo

Renyold Ferguson/St. Louis Post-Dispatch

No to Ethnic Vigilantism!

Death Wish in Crown Heights

During the last two weeks of June the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn reverberated with protest demonstrations, marches and furious community meetings sparked by a series of grotesque racist attacks. First there was the June 14 strangling death of Arthur Miller a killing so brutal it stunned even the hard pressed residents of the Brooklyn ghetto who time and again have seen their defenseless black children shot down by trigger-happy cops. No anonymous school kid, Miller was a solid black businessman and community leader. When he was clubbed to the ground by 15 cops, then strangled to death in broad daylight before scores of witnesses, the district went up in arms. Expressing widely felt sentiment, one black leader said, "If the police could kill a man so well known, then none of us are safe."

Two days later a small army of Hassidic goons jumped Victor Rhodes, a black youth, and beat him to a pulp. Police found his unconscious body on Union Street and carried him to King's County Hospital where he lay comatose for weeks. As with the macabre Miller killing, the vicious Rhodes beating threw a spotlight on the ethnic tinderbox of Crown Heights. Here on the border of Bedford-Stuyvesant some 35,000 Lubavicher Hassidim, tragic remnants of Russian *shtetl* Jewry, co-exist with some 125,000 blacks and Latins, themselves the uprooted populations of Jamaican and Puerto Rican villages.

The Hassidic vigilantes originated as a response to years of lumpen violence, predominantly by black youth, against their community. This poor and pacific religious sect had seen their old people victimized and their youth harassed. Once the Hassidic vigilantes went into action, they naturally developed a militarist esprit de corps and went on the offensive. They adopted the conventional racist attitude that the only "good" (not dangerous) black youth in their neighborhood was one with both his arms broken. In short, the Hassidim reacted to lumpen crime in a way which made racist atrocities, like the assault on Victor Rhodes, inevitable.

Whether or not Crown Heights provides the catalyst for a new round of ghetto explosions, the bourgeoisie has already managed to separate oppressed groups both from each other and from their possible allies among the working class, poor and petty bourgeoisie. Tragically, in the Crown Heights events what should have become united protests against a classic case of police brutality and ethnic vigilantism is now being diverted by rival poverty program-funded ministers amd rabbis into a fight of blacks against Jews, a vicious battle over who will get the most from a shrinking pork barrel.

Miller, a 36-year-old Bahamian, was well known in the district as the owner of a small construction firm and the founder of the Four Star Block Association, a poverty agency through which federal CETA projects were funded. He was a familiar figure to the cops of the 77th Precinct as well—he helped them cool out the situation during the blackout. One area resident remembered how during the blackout the cops kept calling Miller up to Nostrand Avenue: "Hey Artie, we need you over here." A year later they showed how much they appreciated Miller's help.

Why did they kill him? State senator Vander L. Beatty of Brooklyn asserts that Miller was murdered because he refused to pay the cops kickbacks they demanded. Miller's partner in the construction outfit, James Haynes, said Miller had told him of several occasions when the police had demanded bribes to avoid minor traffic tickets. The night he was killed cops stopped one of the construction trucks near Nostrand Avenue to arrest the driver, Miller's younger brother Sam, for some outstanding parking tickets on which the fines had already been paid! Someone ran up Nostrand Avenue to find Arthur; by the time he arrived there were some 20 cops on the scene. As an eyewitness later told *Daily News* columnist Jimmy Breslin:

> "'Arthur walks up and holds up his hands and says to the police: Can't we talk this over? Now all the police say they saw a gun on his belt when he raised up his hands. I don't know about that. I know nobody had any guns out. This white detective runs up behind Arthur and shoves him down. They handcuff Arthur's hands behind his back. Then they got him kneeling on the sidewalk here, and one of them comes from behind and holds a nightstick across Miller's Adam's apple The rest of the cops, they start beatin' on him. They even let a private security guard, from the model cities or something come down with a stick and start whackin' Miller. The private security guard was a black man, too'."
>
> —*Daily News*, 20 June

For a full day the cops insisted Arthur Miller died of natural causes. After the medical examiner said he died from force applied to his larynx, probably by a nightstick, they said he must have strangled himself. When nobody bought that, the cops said they had only been applying the police training manual recommended "rear restraining chokehold" procedure considered so safe that one cop said, "I use it on my own kids.... It gets to be instinct" (*Daily News*, 25 June). However, Police Commissioner Robert McGuire grudgingly told the press the manual states that the chokehold is potentially fatal if used for more than a few seconds.

A few days later hundreds marched on City Hall in protest. Koch met them and promised there would be a full investigation and "no whitewash." Nobody believed him, for good reason. The inquiry is being jointly conducted by the police department and Brooklyn district attorney Eugene Gold. It was Gold who last year conducted the "investigation" into the death of 15-year-old Randolph Evans, the black youth shot in the head at point-blank range by white cop Robert Torsney. The all-white jury chosen by Gold's office acquitted Torsney on grounds of temporary insanity. Moreover, despite mounting pressure the mayor has endorsed Police Commissioner McGuire's categorical refusal to suspend (or even transfer!) the killer cops involved, pending the outcome of the investigation.

Two days later the cops found Victor Rhodes' body lying on Union Street. His face had been stomped on; he was bleeding and had heel marks on both sides of his head. Witnesses told police that about 12:30 a.m on June 16 three panel trucks and a '78 Chevy screeched to a halt whereupon some 30 to 50 Hassidic youth jumped out and began to clobber Rhodes. Black leaders claim the youth were part of a Hassidic "crime patrol squad" which has been operating in the neighborhood for the past two years, terrorizing and beating up blacks who refuse to submit to its brutal "identification checks." The Hassidic leaders do not deny the existence of the vigilante squads, but say they were not involved in the Rhodes attack; instead it was just a rowdy band of Hassidic boys on their way home from a wedding. Two of them were arrested and charged with assault.

Pork-Barreling Diversion

At a packed community meeting held June 19 at P.S. 283, Rev. Herbert Daughtry directed his fire not against Miller's killers, but made his main target the Hassidic patrols. He frankly acknowledged to a *New York Times* reporter that the protest coalition he heads consciously sought to combine the unrelated Rhodes beating to the Miller death in order to publicize the "imbalance" between services available to Hassidic Jews and blacks in Crown Heights. Alluding to the Hassidim's supposed special relationship to the Jewish mayor, he deliberately tried to whip up anti-Semitic sentiment: "Every group looks out for its own... Koch rewards his own kind." He called for countering the Hassidic vigilante squads with black patrols: "When the people of the long black coats meet our men, let us see what will happen."

And at a later meeting June 27, which drew some 500-750 Crown Heights black residents, it was evident that the call to establish black defense squads is primarily motivated by the desire to provide a counter-vigilante force against the Hassidic patrols. One local minister insisted the local black population would retaliate for what was done to Victor Rhodes, and in an emotional speech Rhodes' mother compared the Hassidic Jews and the cops to modern-day Hitlers. Another black church leader mimicked the absurdities of white racism as he called for shipping the Hassidim "back to Israel," proclaiming that the Police Department was run by the Hassidic community and Israeli premier Begin.

At a July 11 meeting of what is now called the "Black United Front"—

Monaster/Daily News

Crown Heights residents express outrage at meeting after death of community leader Arthur Miller.

New York Times

Lubavicher Hassidic "anti-assimilation tank."

Anyone, Anywhere in the World

Israel Convicts Sami Esmail of Anti-Zionism

On June 12, in one of the most arrogant legal persecutions of recent memory, an Israeli court sentenced American citizen Sami Esmail to 15 months imprisonment for the "crime" of allegedly being a member of a Palestinian organization, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). Esmail, who denies the charge, has been convicted not of any criminal act, but of the "thought crime" of anti-Zionism.

It is standard practice for capitalist garrison states like Israel to imprison, torture and even murder those of their citizens who are deemed to hold "dangerous" views. But with the Esmail case the Zionist rulers have gone further, trumpeting their "right" to carry out such vicious "justice" against anyone, anywhere in the world judged to be "anti-Israel." The trial judge said of Esmail: "He has a clean past and he is not a violent type. He is young, talented and well-educated. But in order to set an example for others the court has decided to make the sentence significant" (UPI dispatch, 12 June).

Esmail was convicted solely on the basis of an extorted confession and the fact that he once visited Libya for two weeks. Yet had it not been for widespread international publicity about his plight, he could well have received a full 25-year sentence. Terry Fleener, a 23-year-old Texas woman tried secretly for "anti-Israel" activities shortly after Esmail was seized, and whose case went virtually unpublicized, received a sentence of five years.

The Esmail case gained recognition because it intersected the growing rift in the Israel/U.S. connection and because the logic of Zionist expansionism has undercut Israeli pretentions of being an "island of democracy" in a sea of sheiks and colonels who "cut off the offending arms" of their citizenry. With the seizure of large tracts of Palestinian land, along with a population of two million that it must subdue in the occupied territories, Zionist terror has reached incredible proportions. Last summer Israel was severely embarrassed by international exposés of torture such as a well-documented London *Sunday Times* investigative report which concluded:

> "Torture is organized so methodically that it cannot be dismissed as a handful of 'rogue cops' exceeding orders. It is systematic. It appears to be sanctioned at some level as deliberate policy."
> —*Sunday Times*, 19 June 1977

Despite loud cries of "distortion" in the pro-Zionist press, these charges were confirmed by the United Nations. A UN Security Council panel last November charged Israel with "torturing detainees, overcrowding its prisons and abusing prisoners."

In the wake of these exposures the Esmail case struck an exposed nerve among American liberals. The U.S. bourgeoisie has become increasingly annoyed with Israeli premier Menahem Begin, an unregenerate right-wing terrorist whose intransigence has made him a pesky obstacle to U.S. plans for a pacified Near East devoid of Soviet influence. Basing itself expressly on Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign, the National Committee to Defend the Human Rights of Sami Esmail was able to win significant support among liberals who suddenly found it convenient to discover that Palestinians, too, have "human rights." U.S. Senator James Abourezk and Representative Robert Carr demanded to know about the role of the FBI in Esmail's prosecution, and the Detroit City Council went on record calling for a "fair trial" for the Michigan State student imprisoned while going to visit his dying father in Israel. The National Committee focused its strategy on pressuring the State Department to defend this native-born U.S. citizen.

Yet even with the increased isolation of the Israel lobby, the Committee's liberal strategy very nearly backfired. American liberalism remains strongly imbued with pro-Zionist sentiment. With the revelation that Esmail had once visited Libya, the Committee lost its most important liberal support: Abourezk and Carr pulled out and the Detroit City Council rescinded its motion.

Meanwhile, the frustrated and defensive Zionist lobby went to work trying to denigrate Esmail, in the hopes of debunking charges of Israeli terror and torture and thereby refurbish Israel's tarnished image. In a despicable article which appeared in the 2 June issue of the *New York Times* (displayed prominently on the Op Ed page, while the few news articles on the case have been buried on inside news pages), Monroe Freedman and Alan Dershowitz, leading members of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), attempted to shore up sagging support for Israel by attacking Esmail's defense committee with McCarthy-style slanders and outright falsifications.

The Esmail case, they say, "presented a unique opportunity to investigate charges of systematic denials of human rights in Israel." The conclusion of their "investigation" is that Esmail was not tortured; that is, he was only punched "once—but not very hard," and the "charge that he was made to stand completely naked evaporates by half..." since he was only "half-naked"! These nauseating statements are intended to justify Esmail's "interrogation" for six days without an attorney and with almost no sleep. These Zionist civil libertarians also deny that Esmail was held incommunicado, although for four days he was permitted no visitors while Israeli police denied that he was in custody.

Freedman and Dershowitz assert that, "the critical confession turned out to be written in English, a language in which Mr. Esmail is fluent." However, there were in fact *three* "confessions." One was written by his captors in Hebrew—a language he does not read. The second was an incoherent seven-page tract written in English by Esmail during his ordeal. The third was an additional two pages dictated to him by the interrogator. The pressure of international publicity caused the Israeli court to throw out the Hebrew confession (and most of his English statement) because of "inaccuracies." This left the dictated "confession."

In fact, Esmail was abducted by force, questioned without sleep for days on end, stripped, punched, spat on, refused an attorney and told what to confess and where to sign—from which the two eminent law professors conclude that "there had been no torture." No? Here is what Sami Esmail told the Israeli court about that extorted "critical confession": after rejecting the seven pages he had written, the interrogators told him,

> "'You're going to rot. You're going to die.... We're going to continue to come in and interrogate you by the hour and drive you insane unless you write down you were trained and went to a camp.' I said, 'I could not do that because it never happened....' Then after two hours of just hassling, I went hysterical.... I said, 'Whatever you want. Go ahead, write.' He [the interrogator] started dictating. I wrote it down. I was crying. I was a complete wreck. My nerves were killing me. I wrote."
> —from supportive material for a petition to the UN Human Rights Commission

Zionist apologetics to the contrary, torture of Palestinians in Israel is brutal, widespread and systematic. Sami Esmail's relatively tender treatment at the hands of the notorious Shin Beth (Israeli secret police) is at least in part out of deference to his American citizenship. As a foreign consular official in Israel noted, Esmail's prosecution "strikes people in the West Bank as being nothing out of the ordinary.... They have relatives who are hauled in every day and given the same kind of treatment so it seems to them routine" (*Washington Post*, 8 June).

Following the failure of its liberal strategy, elements within Esmail's defense committee sought to narrow the committee into a propaganda organization for Palestinian nationalism. The new statement of principles produced by the Detroit area committee requires endorsers to support both Esmail's freedom and "the Palestinian people's struggle for national self-determination and ...*their legitimate representatives*" [our emphasis]—code words for political endorsement of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Esmail's "mere" 15-month sentence is an outrage, his conviction a symbol of Zionist arrogance. The answer to the persecution of the Sami Esmails and of the thousands of Palestinian militants in Israeli jails for the "crimes" of demonstrating against Zionist expansionism, police/army brutality and the like must be a socialist revolution by the Arab and Hebrew-speaking working people who will mete out proletarian justice to all the oppressors. Free Sami Esmail, Terry Fleener and all victims of Zionist repression! ■

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primarily a bloc between the right-wing nationalists and Crown Heights church leaders—the increasingly reactionary direction the protests are taking was clear. Anti-Semitic ethnic slurs abounded, such as the remark of one spokesman who criticized Carter's "human rights" campaign because it would only free Soviet Jewry to emigrate to Brooklyn! A cultural nationalist group threatened that members of a leftist group would be dealt with if they persisted with plans to hold an anti-police-brutality demonstration in Crown Heights. But most serious was the call to hold a 16 July march through the Hassidic blocks in Crown Heights to terminate at a Crown Heights synagogue (!)—a provocation which could lead to a bloody communal riot.

Daughtry's group, the Coalition of Concerned Leaders and Citizens to Save Our Youth, was formed last December by about 20 black churches and civic groups to protest the Torsney acquittal. But the group has sought to use the furor around the Miller death as a means to achieve its own pork-barrelling ends. Behind Daughtry's insidious demagoguery lies the growing dissatisfaction of a broad layer of traditionally Democratic Party-loyal local black leaders toward the Koch administration's policy of malignant neglect toward the ghetto areas. After being elected mayor on a two-point platform—get the unions and restore the death penalty (code language for "get the blacks")—Koch has remained faithful to that reactionary program. Since January thousands of poor have been thrown off the welfare rolls. Under the pretext of "house cleaning" many of the poverty programs, initiated as sops to the turbulent black population in the 1960's, were "reorganized" into liquidation.

Vigilantes in Gabardine

As yesterday's mainstream liberal Jewish population swung to the right under the impact of Zionist expansionism in the Near East and black militancy in the U.S., the Lubavicher Hassidim of Crown Heights have followed suit. Known for their aggressive proselytizing they have in recent years split the Hassidic movement with their militant support for Israel. With their fanaticism, their Zionism, they have been actively recruiting to their religious sect on the college campus with revivalist techniques such as their "anti-assimilation tanks" and "succah on wheels" ritual shows.

Communists must have no quarter for the marauding bands of Hassidic vigilantes. Yet at the same time it must be understood that these survivors of the pogroms of Poland and Russia still feel besieged in the U.S. In 1975, to take one grotesque example, a Hassidic funeral for a man murdered during a Sabbath hold-up was disrupted by schoolchildren and bystanders yelling "Hitler was right!" Not wealthy and not liberals, the well-organized Lubavicher are determined not to be driven out of their few square blocks of Lubavich in Brooklyn. "We are those who said, 'You *can* live with blacks'," said the head of the Lubavicher youth organization. "We haven't made statements for equal rights and then run for Connecticut" (*Soho Weekly News*, 29 June).

Having escaped the Nazi holocaust to settle in their Brooklyn ghetto, the Hassidim would no doubt like to "reverse the terms of oppression." They have sought to make up for what they lack in financial resources by acting as a disciplined political bloc, nurturing ties to City Hall and the police. There is no doubt they have more "clout" than the disorganized Caribbean blacks who surround them. The Lubavicher rabbis have been adept in obtaining poverty program funds for various social projects, *including for running their vigilante squads.*

The squads are organized by the Crown Heights Jewish Community Council, which is a major recipient of federal funds. They work in connection with the police. Jewish Council leader Rabbi Yisroel Rosenfeld is a member of the 71st precinct community relations council and other police boards. Nevertheless, while the dominant mood among the Hassidim is no doubt white racism, they remain an isolated, threatened community and their patrols are fundamentally communal vigilantes rather than KKK-style terrorists.

Not Jew Against Black, But Class Against Class

What is so striking about the response of the black community leaders is their essential identity of aim and outlook with the Hassidic rabbis. Both are practicing traditional American ethnic politics, although the stakes are explosive. The "self-improvement" activities of Arthur Miller's "Four Star Block Association" were also federally funded

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ILWU...

(continued from page 2)

maintain the flow of goods through Mexico, while the Mexican government made similar assurances. And no doubt this meant Jimmy Carter was dusting off the Taft-Hartley anti-strike law which he slapped on the coal miners earlier this year and which Richard Nixon used to stop the 1971 ILWU strike. When Herman responded to all these threats by meekly praising the wonderful accomplishments of the "collective bargaining process," it was not surprising that the major Bay Area business newspaper noted with relief, "only ratification of the contract by ILWU members remains to lock up three more years of waterfront peace" (*Daily Commercial News*, 5 July).

So far the waterfront is quiet, as longshoremen await explanation of the details of the proposed contract. But beneath this simmer the accumulated grievances and discontent of the longshoremen waiting for the leadership capable of leading them in a counterattack against PMA's assaults. In an unprecedented vote of no confidence, the Local 10 membership at its June meeting refused to accept the Negotiating Committee report. More importantly, at the mid-June meeting of Local 13 (Los Angeles/Long Beach), the membership reportedly passed a motion authorizing the Coast Caucus delegates to call a strike if necessary (the International has been trying to avoid strike votes). In addition, the Local voted that in the event of a strike, *all* cargo would be stopped (unlike the disastrous 1971 strike, where Bridges exempted "perishables" and military cargo).

But the Local 13 leadership has no intention of squaring off against the International. For instance, Dave Arian, president of the ILWU's Southern California District Council, a Local 13 Exec Board member and a Caucus delegate, issued a leaflet on July 5 ("Bloody Thursday—Today's Contract") which bemoaned, "our negotiating committee, headed by Jimmy Herman, has not negotiated a contract that will protect our hall here in Wilmington." But the leaflet ends with no concrete proposals—not even a call to vote no!

While it is likely that under pressure from the ranks, a substantial majority of the Local 13 leadership will urge a no vote on the contract, it is certain that they will not fight for a strike. They are setting the stage for a repeat of 1975 where they (and the CP sympathizers in S.F.) broke down the membership's resistance by permitting a series of "no" votes against the contract while refusing to take any action to organize and initate an effective strike.

Militant longshoremen of Los Angeles! You must have no illusions in your local leadership! As they permitted Herman to sabotage the solidarity strike in defense of the miners against the Taft-Hartley, so they will permit him to sabotage your own strike preparations! Los Angeles longshoremen have a unique opportunity to reverse the International officers' policies of capitulation and defeat by vetoing the employers' insulting and provocative contract "offer." By aggressively appealing to the rest of the coast to join them in opposition, they can open the door to a successful coastwide strike.

The passivity and fear that presently grip the longshore ranks can be broken. As the "Longshore-Warehouse Militant" of 6 April said,

> "The ILWU leadership cannot be trusted to support, much less lead, a longshore strike for more jobs through a shorter workshift with no loss in pay. They are the Arnold Millers of the waterfront. But a longshore strike for jobs must take place. The central weakness of the coal miners' strike was the absence of an elected authoritative centralized strike leadership to wrest control of bargaining and the direction of the strike away from Miller and the sell-outs on the Bargaining Council. The longshore strike must be run by an elected strike committee to mobilize the full power of the ILWU in all its divisions and the rest of labor to defy Taft-Hartley and smash government strikebreaking through the same type of strike action the ILWU demanded to defend the miners."

To wrest control from Jimmy Herman & Co. the membership in every port must elect strike committees from every gang, board and dispatch category, centralized in each port and coordinated coastwide. These committees should seize the opportunity to link up with the seafaring unions, most of whom are still negotiating with the PMA. It is not sufficient to simply vote no as some reformists might suggest—it is necessary to strike! Only the "Longshore Militant" group in Local 10 has projected a winning strategy by calling for elected strike committees to prevent the ILWU brass from bypassing and stifling the ranks.

For a militant coast-wide strike to fight for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay; one hundred percent COLA on wages and pensions; full manning scales on all operations; abolition of the steady man system and all other attacks on the hiring hall; smash the no strike clause! Vote no and elect strike committees! Take a strike vote and set an immediate strike date! Recall the Caucus—Dump the negotiating committee—Elect new delegates committed to fight for our jobs and work. All of West Coast labor should rally to the side of the longshoremen if they reject Herman's contract, pledging solidarity strike action to smash a Taft-Hartley injunction! ■

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Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.
260 West Broadway Room 522
New York New York
Phone 925-5665

SWP/ Miners...

(continued from page 7)

Teamsters for a Democratic Union, the SWP wrote:

> "To ask the capitalist government in Washington to defend the rights and interests of union members is like asking a pack of ravening wolves to preside over the reform of a hen house. "The trade unions are the most elementary form of working class organization with interests diametrically opposed to those of the owning class. The task of defending the rights and safeguarding the interests of union members is the primary responsibility of the unions themselves—both members and leaders.
>
> "This task cannot be farmed out to the representatives of the business interests who rule the roost in Washington. The attempt to do so is a blatant confession of bankruptcy and can only lead to the most dire consequences."
>
> *Militant*, 17 August 1959

A far cry from the SWP today, which cheers on Labor Department-ordered union elections, seniority-busting affirmative action suits, etc.

Strike Solidarity

The other section of Kramer's polemic is an attack on the class-struggle policies proposed by the SL for the trade unions in defense of the miners strike. In particular, Kramer takes umbrage at our denunciation of the empty "solidarity" rallies the SWP helped organize and uncritically hailed. In reality, these rallies had nothing to do with genuine solidarity; their purpose was to allow various trade-union bureaucrats to "make the record" in support of the miners, while insuring that any real act of solidarity would be squelched.

A perfect example was a Bay Area strike support meeting held March 11. The International Executive Board of the ILWU had voted for a one-day coast-wide dock shutdown in opposition to use of Taft-Hartley against the miners and called on the rest of labor to join in. When this motion was presented to the rally, SWP supporters present not only voted *against* it but helped mobilize the most rabidly right-wing elements of the labor bureaucracy to defeat it, by a margin of roughly 120-70 (see "For Strike Action to Defend the Miners," *WV* No. 198, 24 March). The gutless SWP, which must cover up every sign of militancy, never even reported the ILWU strike call in its own press. (Unfortunately, the ILWU bureaucrats refused to implement the call.)

In contrast to such cowardice, the SL and its supporters in the trade unions fought to have transport workers hot-cargo scab coal, called on steel workers to wage a joint strike with miners, and in the face of Taft-Hartley demanded protest strikes. *WV* publicized the ILWU strike call, along with similar motions passed by Chicago's UAW Local 6 and BART (rapid transit) workers in San Francisco. Kramer and the SWP do not have the guts to openly denounce the resolutions for sympathy strikes passed by the UAW, ILWU, and Amalgamated Transit workers as "sectarian" and "ultraleft." That is why they simply refuse to report that these trade union bodies passed such strike calls.

The real point is that the "strike support" policies of the SWP were no different from those of the trade-union bureaucracy. All wings of the bureaucracy, from Meany to Sadlowski, fearing to alienate their allies in the Democratic Party and the Carter Administration by proposing a militant defense of the miners, limited itself to token donations of money and food (whose distribution to the miners Miller & Co. then sabotaged). Exactly how much these labor fakers "supported" the miners is demonstrated, for example, by Meany's support to Carter's Taft-Hartley injunction and UAW president Doug Fraser's advocacy of a strikebusting federal seizure of the mines. The real question, comrade Kramer, is why the "strike support" policies of the SWP were identical to those of such scoundrels as Meany and Fraser. The answer is simple: the political program of Meany & Co., of the Sadlowski/Miller "reformers," and of the SWP is fundamentally the same.

And Through the Picket Line

Finally, our readers, and particularly the coal miners among them, are entitled to be informed of the SWP's scandalous record on the issue of respect for picket lines. While in the coalfields the tradition of honoring picket lines is so strong that a union official would be risking his career were he to urge miners to cross such a line, the same is hardly true in other unions. Indeed, it is not at all uncommon for unions at the same work location to officially sanction scabbing on each other's strikes. And the SWP, with its gutless tailing after the trade-union bureaucracy, goes right along with this policy.

A case in point was the recent strike by a Bricklayers local at the huge Inland Steel complex outside Chicago. The president of the Inland local, USWA Local 1010, announced that steel workers who refused to cross the Bricklayers' lines would not be defended by the union against company victimization. This was tantamount to organized scabherding. Two young steel workers at Inland who refused to cross the lines challenged this policy, first at a Local 1010 meeting and then at a District 31 Conference meeting. In both instances they were ruled "out of order," in the second case by District 31 head Balanoff, Sadlowski's handpicked successor. The story was covered in the bourgeois press, but the SWP, which supports the Balanoff/Sadlowski leadership of District 31, and whose trade-union supporters routinely cross such picket lines, has said not a word about it in the *Militant*.

An even more dramatic instance grew out of the pressmen's strike at the *Washington Post*, which began in October 1975 and lasted for well over a year. As a result of extensive scabbing, initially by members of the Newspaper Guild, the strike and the pressmen's union were broken. In the midst of the strike there was an election in Washington-Baltimore Local 35 of the Guild. The SWP publicly supported Tom Grubisich for president. Grubisich, who advocated leniency toward scabs, was narrowly elected over the incumbent Warren Howard, who at the time advocated disciplinary action against scabs. Having been put into office by scabs, Grubisich subsequently crossed the picket lines himself. He later ran for convention delegate on a program of bringing no charges against the Post scabs (see the 2 July 1976 *Militant*). SWP trade-union leader Frank Lovell praised the Grubisich campaign as a model one, and the SWP gave the scab candidate "full" support.

Of course, to the SWP respect for a picket line as well as hatred for the sellout policies of Arnold Miller and other trade-union bureaucrats is "sectarian" and alien to its brand of "socialism." Fine. We are more than happy ourselves to publicize these treacherous positions of the SWP. But militant miners and other class-conscious workers should know that there is one party in America that is not a scab party. It is a party that stands four-square for the Marxist program of working-class independence from the capitalist state, for the Trotskyist Transitional Program. This is the party that told the truth about the Arnold Millers, Sadlowskis and their likes from the word go, and provided a fighting program for victory at every step during the great 1977-78 coal strike. That party is the Spartacist League. ■

Crown Heights...

(continued from page 9)

and the association participated in the community relations council of the 77th precinct. Rev. Daughtry is quite open about wanting to use the recent Crown Heights events to gain more pork-barrel projects and political influence "downtown" in competition with the Hassidim. And he is equally clear that the projected black patrols (which include black cops) are intended to give the Lubavicher vigilantes "some of their own medicine." The stage is thus set for the kind of vicious communal confrontation such as the year-long battle between Williamsburg Hassidim, blacks and Puerto Ricans over the number of allotments for each group in a new housing project.

The black population as well has nothing to gain and everything to lose from allowing the present protests to be diverted into pork-barreling communalist conflicts. For one thing, the numerical inferiority of the Lubavicher Hassidim does not necessarily spell military defeat, although both sides would suffer tremendous losses in a real explosion of ethnic riots. It is certainly true that, in the context of the ruling class onslaught against New York City's workers and its poor, the blacks, forcibly segregated at the bottom rungs of the economy, will *always* get less. That is why a mobilization of the labor movement leading behind it the black population and all sectors of the oppressed in a united political struggle against Koch, the banks and the capitalist government is the only road forward for the black masses. But instead, just as in the late 1960's when Mayor Lindsay and the Ford Foundation joined hands with aspiring petty-bourgeois nationalist black administrators in "community control" schemes—ultimately forcing the 1968 NYC teachers strike—the capitalists have managed once again to "divide and rule." In Crown Heights the black community leaders have provided an escape valve for Koch and taken the heat off the killer cops by deflecting the struggle into a vicious communalist war with the Hassidim.

Everyone, black or white, has the right to *defend himself* against violent attack, whether attacked by ethnic-community vigilantes or lumpen criminals. To this end gun control laws must be repealed and everyone in New York City should be legally permitted to own and carry firearms. At the same time, the most dangerous enemies of black people, the cops, must be *disarmed*. If the residents of Crown Heights and Harlem had firearms and the cops did not, the level of police atrocities and general brutality would go way down.

Black people also have the right to and need for organized, collective self-defense against massive attacks by white racist forces. However, the vigilantes of the numerically small and isolated Hassidic Jews are not engaged in such mass terror against their black neighbors. Rather, in their community vigilante patrols, the Hassidic goons land on random black youth. Therefore, Daughtry's black "defense" squads would necessarily involve themselves mainly in *reprisals* after the fact against Hassidic Jews. The outcome will be black/Jewish gang warfare, only this time conducted by adults, and escalating communalist violence.

The real beneficiaries of increased black/Jewish hostility in New York City will be right-wing reactionaries, the banks and the cops. In supporting Daughtry's call for black vigilante groups, the reformists of the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party as usual play the capitalists' game; they perpetuate the deep ethnic/communal divisions which are the central obstacle to a working-class socialist movement in this country. Not black against Jew, but the working class and poor against the cops, the banks, Koch and Carter! ■

Bakke...

(continued from page 1)

National Urban League similarly opined that "we may not have won the victory we wanted, but we averted the defeat that would truly have been crushing..." (*Amsterdam News*, 8 July).

The reason for the black liberals' "victory and defeat" reaction to the court's decision is that while the loss of college admissions quotas was a blow to their program of tokenistic reforms, the preservation of employment affirmative action upheld the position, which they share with the Justice Department, that more black jobs can come only at the expense of the "white" unions. NAACP labor director Herbert Hill revealed his organization's view of the union movement when he described the AFL-CIO as "committed to white male workers against the vital interests of women and minorities" (*New York Times*, 29 June 1977). The NAACP sees a "victory" in Bakke *because* the decision was a defeat for the power of organized labor.

Some black "leaders" such as Jesse Jackson and Ron Dellums attacked the Bakke decision with more verbal militancy. Jackson, for example, pronounced Bakke "a devastating blow to our civil rights struggle." But this is only the cheap bluster of a politico who, while seeking to capitalize on black outrage at the Bakke decision, offers no strategy to combat racial oppression any different from that of Hooks and Jordan.

The left-wing supporters of affirmative action simply echoed the rhetoric of Jackson and Dellums, denouncing the decision in the shrillest possible tones. The Communist Party (CP) *Daily World* approvingly quoted Justice Thurgood Marshall's dissenting opinion while CP leader Henry Winston obliquely criticized the NAACP's positive response to the Bakke ruling. Winston's attempt to distance the CP from Hooks' position was complete hypocrisy, since the Justice Department's anti-quota, pro-affirmative action brief had earlier been hailed by the CP itself as "a sign of what can be accomplished, given the determination of people's organizations to fight on issues" (*Daily World*, 22 September 1977).

SWP: Reformist Muddleheads

The ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) similarly waxed indignant at the overturn of quota systems, slamming the decision as "the most staggering blow to the long-denied hopes and aspirations of oppressed nationalities and women" (*Militant*, 7 July). What threw these reformists for a loop, however, was the CWA case demonstrating the government's continued support for anti-union affirmative action. The SWP, which completely supports programs like that at AT&T, was nonplused by the Court's decision because it actually believes that affirmative action is a real gain for minorities now threatened by a racist court. Unable to comprehend that the union-busting aspects of these SWP-supported programs are in the interest of the capitalist state, the SWP can only explain the CWA case as a ruling-class trick: "The ruling rich are proceeding cautiously in their effort to dismantle civil rights gains. They are careful to mask their real aims and to test the public response at every step" (*Militant*, 14 July). In reality, of course, it is the SWP which has masked the real aim of the government in affirmative action.

Unlike the SWP and others who warned that Bakke posed a threat to all affirmative action programs, the Spartacist League understood that the underlying class interests at stake dictated to the Supreme Court the position it eventually took. Last October we wrote, "The Supreme Court will not rule on Bakke in the language of 'reverse discrimination' but in the spirit of white chauvinism...the Supreme Court will not challenge the *formal* notion of black equality nor will it strip away the formal conception that 'race can be a factor' in deciding admissions policy. But in a sense Bakke has already won" ("Down With Bakke!" *WV* No. 177, 14 October 1977).

The reformist SWP attached such overwhelming significance to the Bakke decision because they imagined that the crucial questions of racial discrimination would be decided in the courts and not in the streets. In reality the Bakke decision served only to ratify what has already occurred: the decline of special admissions and the checking of school integration in general by rampaging racists unchallenged by the mass labor mobilization that alone could have halted the reactionary backlash. Affirmative action in employment survives not by judicial oversight or duplicity but because the government *wants* it, but for reasons which have nothing to do with minority rights.

Decades of liberal/reformist reliance on the capitalist state to advance the interests of blacks and other minorities have produced in the end only union-busting dressed up as "affirmative action." Only reliance on the power of the labor movement along with the fight for a class-struggle, anti-racist union leadership holds out any promise of reversing the reactionary defeats to minority rights.

Under militant leadership the unions would use their power to push for a truly egalitarian educational program. While the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League have defended college admissions quotas against the racist backlash, such quotas fall far short of the program necessary to smash race and class privilege in the colleges. For open admission, free tuition and state stipends for all students! Nationalize the private universities!

Class-struggle leadership in the unions would put the weight of the organized working class behind the fight for minority jobs not through union-busting affirmative action but with union-run minority recruitment and training programs. Most importantly, such a leadership would wage a struggle for jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay.

Such leadership is needed to resist the present onslaught of racist reaction. For more is lost in the Bakke decision than a special admission program to an elite medical school. It is part of a deeper social reaction directed at blacks and minorities in general. Millions of black children are trapped in their increasingly segregated public schools, no longer even taught to read and write before they hit the streets jobless and desperate. That is the social context in which the Bakke decision must be understood and in which the fight for its reversal must be undertaken. ■

Pamplona...

(continued from page 3)

zations voting in the Cortes bestowed by Franco's heirs, seated under the Francoist flag and singing the Francoist anthem under the baton of Franco's hand-picked king have fundamentally changed the nature of the Spanish state. The brutal murder of Rodríguez shows once again that beneath the "democratic" facade of Suárez/Juan Carlos beats the heart of the still intact Francoist state apparatus.

A genuine Trotskyist party in Spain would intransigently defend working-class independence rather than tailing after the PCE and PSOE in sowing treacherous "democratic" illusions.

—No reliance on the cops, murderers of Germán Rodríguez! For workers self-defense against fascist terror!

—For the right of self-determination for the Basque region!

—For a workers republic in Spain, part of a soviet federation of the Iberian peninsula in a socialist united states of Europe! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Cops Defend Race-Hate Rally in Marquette Park

Labor: Drive Nazis Out of Chicago!

UPI

CHICAGO, July 10 For the second time in just two weeks, Chicago cops yesterday mounted a massive show of armed force to protect a rally of Frank Collin's vile Nazi sect. Over 1,000 riot-equipped and mounted police manned barricades to protect two dozen would-be storm troopers in their highly publicized race-hate fest in Marquette Park on the racially tense Southwest side. An additional 400 plainclothes cops circulated through a crowd of over 2,000 which was sharply divided between anti-Nazi protesters and local residents sympathetic to the fascists' racist diatribes Over 1,000 more anti-Nazis, members of leftist, church and black community groups, were halted over a mile away from the rally site by police who kept Marquette Park sealed off. Safeguarding the Nazis' "freedom of speech," their guardians in blue made over 70 arrests by the end of the day.

The Nazis' access to Marquette Park was cleared through a June 22 court deal which granted the fascists the "right" to spew their racist filth in Marquette Park in exchange for calling off their planned march on the heavily Jewish suburb of Skokie. And the Nazis certainly took advantage of the government offer. Two-bit Nazi Führer Frank Collin taunted the several hundred Jewish counter-demonstrators in the park, "Do you want us to put you in the ovens? We will. First of all, I don't like your ugly face. Second of all, you marched the niggers into our neighborhood. We say one more time, all you Jews are going to get it."

As the protesters frequently drowned out Collin in his 25-minute race-baiting harangue, hundreds of local racists sympathetic to the Nazis chanted, "Gas them, gas them," and numerous fist fights broke out between pro- and anti-Nazi demonstrators. Next to a banner emblazoned with the swastika and the slogan "White Youth Fight," Collin exhorted his followers, many clad in "white power" tee-shirts, "We'd rather see Marquette Park a battleground and the graveyard of integration. It will not be taken over by the blacks."

Just as Collin had predicted after his rally in the downtown Loop two weeks ago, which drew 3,000 angry anti-Nazi demonstrators, his reception in Marquette Park was quite different. Heavily populated by ethnic whites, expecially Lithuanian emigrés, Marquette Park has housed the local Nazi headquarters for 14 years. Two years ago it was the scene of rampaging racist mobs who attacked open-housing demonstrators. While the crowd that gathered Sunday was in the main curious if not neutral to the Nazis, it tolerated a strong pro-Nazi component. It is not accidental that Collin and his pack of Hitler-lovers has targeted Marquette Park, immediately adjacent to the large and heavily black Southside, for their genocidal organizing.

That the Nazis would be guaranteed the "right" to march in Marquette Park was the result of decisions made at the highest levels of government. At the White House, in Congress and in the federal courts, Jimmy Carter's "human rights" campaign translated into the "right" of the Nazis to organize and propagate their racist terror. The Justice Department's Community Relations Service was given the job of sealing the deal. The *Chicago Defender* last week published excerpts of letters from Richard Salem, midwest regional director of the agency, to Collin, negotiating over terms for use of Marquette Park.

Also aiding the fascists were the spineless liberals who had threatened a demonstration of tens of thousands in the well-to-do Jewish suburb of Skokie but who were quite willing to hail out if it were "only" the blacks on Chicago's Southside who were being terrorized When the Nazis canceled their Skokie rally after winning their court fight for their right to pollute Marquette Park, the liberal Jewish, black and labor organizers of the proposed counter-demonstration rushed to call the whole thing off.

At a press conference held July 6, which had been billed as an announcement of plans for a Marquette Park anti-Nazi counter-demonstration, representatives of Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH, and community organizations such as the Woodlawn Organization and the Kenwood-Oakland Community Organization committed their groups only to "witness" the events planned for July 9. The "progressive" leadership of the Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workers bowed out by announcing plans for a forum at their Southside union hall at the *same time* as the proposed counter-demonstration in Marquette Park. Though representatives were present from United Steelworkers District 31 (led by the "dissident" bureaucrats Jim Balanoff and Ed Sadlowski), the Meatcutters, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and Mailhandlers Union Local 306, these bureaucrats did nothing to really mobilize the ranks of Chicago labor to oppose the Nazis. On the day of the fascist rally in Marquette Park, there were no contingents from organized labor present among the counter-demonstrators.

It is not simply that the reformists, liberals and their "left-wing" hangers-on lack the guts to confront the Nazis or that the trade-union bureaucrats, who preside over unions with hundreds of thousands of members in the Chicago area, lack the resources to do so. Rather, these groups ultimately look to the bourgeois state, which has over and over again demonstrated that it will defend the Nazis, to do just the opposite. In a "Statement on Nazism" issued at the July 6 press conference and signed by Steelworkers District 31; the Equal Rights Congress (ERC), dominated by the Stalinist Communist Labor Party (CLP); and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) front group, the Student Coalition Against Racism, these groups "call upon the highest authorities of this city, Mayor Bilandic and Police Superintendent O'Grady, to use their offices and influence" to end "Nazism and related evils." The ERC demonstrators at the Marquette Park counter-demonstration carried signs pathetically appealing to the government, busy protecting the fascists, to "Ban the Nazis." The SWP, which has in the past steadfastly defended the fascists' "right to free speech" and claimed not to call on the government to ban them, proved quite willing to put its signature to this document, currying favor with the liberals they habitually mimic.

At Sunday's demonstration, the will of 1,000 anti-Nazis who gathered outside Marquette Park was frustrated by the massive deployment of Chicago cops and the fractious disunity of leftists and liberals. JDLers threatened to bolt the demonstration if the "reds" were not excluded, while contingents of Progressive Labor Party (PL) and the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) jockeyed for leadership of the march with the church leaders and ERC-types who ultimately turned the march around when they confronted police lines at the entrance to Marquette Park.

Notoriously adventurist groups like PL, the RCP and the small Revolutionary Socialist League sought a "bash" with the cops defending the Nazis. (Last April a handful of PL supporters attacked the Marquette Park Nazi headquarters, managing to leave one young woman behind. After being beaten and stabbed, she was arrested and is now charged with several felonies.) The more "respectable" forces of the ERC, the Communist Party/YWLL and church elders looked for accommodation with the bourgeois armed forces who protect the fascists. Both sides miss the crucial necessity to mobilize the strength of the organized labor movement to smash the fascist scum once and for all

This Marxist program is uniquely upheld by the Spartacist League. The SL contingent at Sunday's counter-demonstration at Marquette Park chanted, "Smash the Nazis! Smash the Klan! Only Workers Defense Guards Can!" and carrying placards reading, "No Platform for Fascists!" and "Labor Must Smash the Fascist Threat!" Groups like PL, the RCP and the RSL, all of which have at least some supporters in the Chicago-area trade unions, have made absolutely *no* attempt to mobilize their unions against the fascists. However, United Auto Workers Local 6, at the Melrose Park International Harvester plant, passed a resolution submitted by a class-struggle militant calling on area unions to drive the Nazis out of Chicago.

Fascism is still a marginal phenomenon on the American political spectrum. The bourgeoisie, though shaken by the debacle of its Vietnam defeat, the shame of Watergate and the loss of its worldwide economic hegemony, still has no need to resort to the tiny fascist sects to maintain its rule. But the massive armed protection afforded the Nazis in Chicago should give notice to all that the government will keep these race-baiting, labor-hating scum in reserve for when they are necessary to assault the workers movement and minority populations in the U.S.

That 2,000 anti-Nazi militants would mobilize around Marquette Park to halt the fascists is a tribute to the powerful hatred of fascism in the American working masses. But that an almost equal number of pro-fascist elements could swarm to Marquette Park to call for genocide of Jews and blacks is a threatening revelation of the racist reality in Carter's land of "human rights." Fascism must be nipped in the bud and only the labor movement can destroy it Labor must drive the Nazis out of Chicago! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 212 28 July 1978

Shcharansky Is Guilty As Hell!

Banner headlines proclaiming new "Moscow Trials" behind sinister red and black Kremlin walls (the cover of the 24 July *Newsweek*) and a full-scale press blitz known as "The Anatoly Shcharansky Story" have dominated the Western media for the past weeks. Almost universally, attention has focused on the just concluded trial of Soviet refusenik Shcharansky, found guilty of treason July 15 by a Moscow court, as a fundamental test of just how "tough" the Carter administration is going to get on the USSR.

The Stalinist bureaucracy which runs the USSR has recently been cracking down hard on dissidents in a series of trials. Vladimir Slepak, sentenced to five years in Siberia for hanging the banner, "Let us join our son in Israel," out his window; Yuri Orlov, organizer of the Helsinki Watch Committees, sentenced to a seven-year prison term for "anti-Soviet agitation". Aleksander Ginzburg, found guilty of setting up a fund for political prisoners' families ("financing criminal elements") with money from exiled author Solzhenitsyn, sentenced to eight years in a labor camp.

While all of these cases have received attention in the imperialist press, the U.S. government has highlighted the Shcharansky trial, making it *the* cause célèbre in the Carter administration's heaviest "human rights" propaganda barrage yet against the Soviet Union. Carter personally proclaimed the innocence of the Jewish computer programmer on charges of supplying American intelligence agencies with Soviet state secrets. And in response to the trial the U.S. took "reprisals": cancellation of two scientific-cultural missions and of a computer sale.

Coming from the murderous "democracy" whose watchword for "undesirables" (Indians, blacks, Communists) is, "The only good one is a dead one"; from the imperialists who dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, firebombed Dresden, launched the Bay of Pigs, casually wiped out entire villages in Vietnam (slaughtering three million Indochinese)—this talk of "human rights" reeks with blood-drenched hypocrisy. Yet in spite of the screaming headlines, "human interest" sob stories about the "wryly humorous" dissident and his beautiful young wife, the Shcharansky case has been less than a glowing success for Carter.

Naturally, the Kremlin is using the latest series of trials to smear the entire Soviet dissident movement as a gang of spies inspired purely by Western intelligence agencies, a time-worn ploy. This is so patently absurd that nobody believes it. Slepak, Orlov and Ginzburg, whatever their anti-communist and/or Zionist views, have committed no known crimes and yet have been outrageously victimized. But it is just as false to pretend that the CIA and other Western agencies are *not* deeply interested in exploiting this movement. They have already been caught trying to get information from dissidents (getting their fingers badly burned when it turned out one source, Shcharansky's roommate, was a KGB plant).

Shcharansky himself was targeted by the Russian secret police for his dissident activities, set up and entrapped. Nevertheless, he clearly was deeply involved in passing information along to the West—the basis for the treason charges against him. For the Kremlin bureaucracy his case was a godsend, enabling them to make the amalgam they have always sought to assert: dissidents are traitors and spies. This time they could get away with it. To put it bluntly, as one State Department official admitted to *Newsweek*, "In Soviet eyes, Shcharansky is guilty as hell."

Not just in Soviet eyes, either—the more responsible U.S. bourgeois press has felt obligated to raise "disturbing questions" about Shcharansky's heavy involvement with the Western press, which, as the *New York Times* and Congressional investigations have extensively documented, has cooperated extensively with the CIA. The *Chicago Sun-Times* (15 July) took this seriously enough to print a guest column asking, "Can We Be Sure Shcharansky Is Innocent?" So Carter has picked a hero whose claim to innocence even sections of the imperialist establishment find hard to swallow. But that was just for openers.

Holland/Time

Ted Cowell

Anatoly Shcharansky. Even the guilty are framed up. Right, Zionists demonstrate in New York City.

No sooner did Washington decide to use this case as a symbol of the lack of "human rights" in the Soviet Union than Andy "The Lip" Young, Carter's black front man in the United Nations, mouthed off again. Remarking offhandedly in an interview with a Paris newspaper that the U.S. had "hundreds, maybe thousands" of political prisoners of its own, he very nearly lost his job and certainly ruined the American propaganda campaign around the SALT talks in Geneva. The Soviet news agency Tass naturally picked it up immediately. Young's boss Cyrus Vance, who had just lodged a strong protest over the Shcharansky trial with Soviet foreign minister Gromyko, was furious, and Carter had to publicly rebuke the highest-ranking black in the administration ("I'm sure Andy won't do it again"). While conservatives in Congress backed a motion to impeach Young, Carter's hardline "national security adviser" Brzezinski demanded the UN ambassador's ouster as part of his tug of war with "moderate" Vance.

Even the human interest angle has turned out to be fraught with pitfalls. Who could resist the appeal of the beautiful, shy young wife who hasn't seen her husband for four years, tearfully pleading—in interviews, at Zionist demonstrations, on TV, before Congress—just for her Anatoly to be free? The Israeli government certainly couldn't and is paying the bills for her globe-trotting tour. But the "Avital Shcharansky Story" is more complex than that. It turns out that her brother Mikhail (whom she says "spends all his time with me and my problems. He is very close friends with Anatoly") is a big wheel in the ultra-rightist fascistic Gush Emunim movement. Mikhail has been helpfully managing Avital's tours and managing in the process to irritate a lot of more moderate Zionists. Groups like the National Conference on Soviet Jewry and the American Jewish Congress are "upset by Avital's affiliations,"

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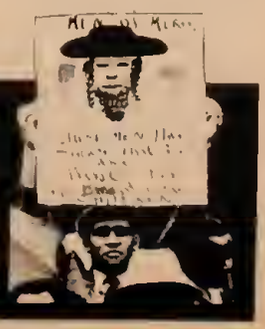

Abstain on Prop 13?

Oak Park, Illinois
19 June 1978

Dear Comrades,

I do not think that the California Property Tax issue (Prop. 13) is properly analyzed in the *WV* of June 2. You correctly characterize "tax relief" as a "fraud and a diversion, which aims to pit the petty bourgeoisie and better-off workers against the lower-paid workers and unemployed." You correctly state that this and similar measures are intended to benefit "the big-time landlords and industrialists," and to screw everyone else. But you conclude that Trotskyists should abstain from voting "no," and encouraging workers to vote "no," for the following reasons:

(1) The big businessmen oppose property tax ceilings because they are afraid taxes may be shifted onto them, and because they are worried about the stability of municipal bonds. True, but their worries are more general than this: they also fear adverse effects on the weakened economy and a possible collapse of the structure of public services which helps keep the lid on social discontent. (This is a *national* movement we are discussing, and it will be around for some time.) Nevertheless, it already appears that some major interests (e.g., Bank of America) are deciding that there will *not* be a collapse of public services, and that property tax "relief" is a fine way to pretend to satisfy the petty bourgeoisie while whipping up conflict among sectors of the working class, and making a bundle for themselves. You overstate their opposition; Jerry Brown and his ilk seem quite ready to embrace some sort of modified Jarvis-Gann, and in Illinois, the "liberal" Democratic gubernatorial contender, Michael Bakalis, is already running on a "tax relief" platform.

(2) The dispute is, according to *WV*, an intra-bourgeois dispute over "how best to administer *their* tax structure for *their* government," which Engels said is a matter "that interests the bourgeoisie very much but the workers very little." This seems to me an error of interpretation. When Engels wrote "On The Housing Question," there was no welfare state supported by tax dollars (nor did more than half the British workers of his time own their own homes!). The "tax relief" gimmick is a response to the crises of the capitalist economy and state which is intended to incite the petty bourgeoisie and homeowning workers to protect themselves at the expense of poorer workers and the unemployed. It is no little thing, this diversionary appeal to petty bourgeois insecurity and anger; it is the very stuff of which fascism is made under conditions of acute economic crisis. This future threat is all the more potent because *homeownership provides an economic basis for petty bourgeois illusions among American workers*. Our job, I had thought, was to combat such illusions, not only by exposing frauds like Prop 13, but by fighting them. This is not an issue which concerns "them" rather than "us" since in our world (unlike Engels') standard of living is measured not only by what wages buy, but by what taxes buy. The fate of public schools and public hospitals, for example, is a subject which interests workers very much, and must interest us if we are to defend their standard of living against further attacks. Even a well-justified suspicion of deficit spending should not lead us to abstain from the struggle to defend *all* gains which the class has achieved, especially when, as in this case, a primary target of tax "reform" are the public employees' unions.

(3) *WV* states that to vote "no" is to endorse the tax policies of the bourgeois state. I don't see why, any more than to vote "no" on welfare cuts is to endorse the welfare system, or to vote "no" on Taft-Hartley is to endorse the labor policies of the state. A slogan such as "Workers Revolution, Not Taxpayers Revolt" would make our position perfectly clear.

(4) *WV* states that a "no" vote demonstrates indifference to the crushing tax burdens suffered by small property holders. Why, when a pro-integration position with regard to busing might he said, with equal justice, to show indifference to the desperate state of the urban public schools? To point out that Prop 13 is a fraud does not show indifference to homeowners—quite the contrary. But if we have to choose, I had thought our duty was to solidarize with the most exploited sectors of the proletariat and not with the most bourgeoisified sectors.

Comrades, it seems to me that property tax "relief" is an important issue to the working class, that it is a dangerous issue, and that communists can fight this reactionary petty bourgeois appeal without compromising in the slightest their opposition to the bourgeois state and its tax structure.

Comradely,
Rich Ruhenstein

WV replies: The basic fallacy of comrade Ruhenstein's letter is that he equates a reduction in property taxes with a major cutback in government-provided social services. This is, to be sure, how right-wingers like Howard Jarvis present the issue. However, as revolutionaries we do not accept that a reduction in one form of tax revenue must result in a corresponding (or any) cutback of social services; just as in demanding increased social services (e.g., socialized medicine), we are not obliged to stipulate how this is to be financed.

We certainly demand of the government, as the collective representative of the capitalist class, increased social services and other benefits (e.g., unemployment insurance). And, of course, we oppose any cutbacks in social services, insurance benefits, etc., as well as in government employment. However, *in general we are indifferent to the particular fiscal measures* by which the bourgeois state finances its expenditures. In most cases, the apparent redistributionary effects of different tax policies are illusory except in the very short term. For example, increased corporate income taxes are by and large simply "passed through" to the consumer via price increases—thus negating the desired effect of reformist "tax the rich" schemes.

It is true that "tax revolts" are a favorite ploy of reactionary forces to whip up the petty bourgeoisie and better-paid workers against "big government," seen as squandering money on the poor through lavish social programs. (The Poujadist movement in France during the 1950's was an example of how this theme is exploited by right-wing populists.) But this does not mean that socialists should put a minus everywhere the "tax revolters" put a plus. Liberals, who defend the capitalist framework of "welfare state" measures, naturally feel obligated to provide some means of financing them. This gives right-wing demagogues a popular issue: relief from the burden of taxation which weighs heavily on homeowners. Taxes do not "buy" social services, however; irrespective of how they are raised, they are part of the social cost of production, the means by which the capitalists finance their state, including those welfare measures wrested from them by the power and struggle of the working class.

Comrade Rubenstein's argument that the passage of Proposition 13 automatically means cutbacks in social services (particularly for the poor) and in government employment is legalistic. The falseness of this approach can be seen if one looks at the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). It is possible that the ERA will be legally interpreted as abrogating existing protective labor legislation for women. For that reason in the past the trade-union bureaucracy has opposed an equal rights amendment. Certain workerist-reformist groups, such as the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party and the Shachtmanite International Socialists, today still oppose the ERA in the name of defending protective labor legislation. We, however, support the ERA as a progressive (though largely symbolic) measure, while advocating labor action to defend existing protective standards for women and indeed to extend them to men. Whether the ERA (if passed) will undermine protective labor standards will be decided not in the courts, but in the factories.

The same general principle holds for Proposition 13. We advocate statewide strike action against any cutbacks and layoffs. In the face of such a mass, militant labor response, the ruling class would undouhtedly manage to disregard, get around or offset Proposition 13, whether by raising various local fees (this is already happening), deficit spending or federal subsidies to localities.

This latter measure would even be progressive in its own right. That the level and quality of social services depends upon local property taxes is clearly inegalitarian. High schools in the wealthier suburbs resemble country clubs; those in the inner city slums are run like reformatories. The complete federalization of expenditures for education, welfare, etc., would reduce the present antagonism between the petty bourgeoisie and better off workers in the suburhs and the largely black and Spanish-speaking poor in the inner cities.

Crown Heights

July 14, 1978
Rahway, N.J

Dear comrades,

In the article "Death Wish in Crown Heights" (*WV* No. 211, 14 July 1978) you mention in passing the SWP's support to Rev. Daughtry's vigilante mongering. That rotten move had a familiar stink. And sure enough when I checked my bound volume of *The Militant* for 1969 I found the neanderthal ancestor to this "socialist" abortion.

In 1969 Leslie Campbell, a teacher in Ocean Hill-Brownsville active in the union busting "community control of the schools" movement, went on WBAI radio and read with approval the following lines from a poem by a 15 year old black student. "Hey Jew boy, yarmulka on your head/You pale faced Jew boy, I wish you were dead."

Writing in the *Militant* (January 31, 1969, page 6) Betsy Barnes (now Betsy Stone) quoted the above lines. In a four column article devoted to the furor this poem had raised in NY, she could not bring herself to once denounce its racist content. Instead *she blamed the Jews* for the "privileged" status they hold in the NY school system and justified the anti-Jewish feeling among blacks as a direct and *legitimate* response to a strike called by Shanker against the community control union-busting hustle.

Giving grist to the Zionist propaganda mill that "Marxism is anti-Semitic" the SWP seems hell-bent on proving anew, as if more proof is needed, that "consistent nationalism" is...genocide. Thank you comrades of the SWP!

Comradely,
A. Greengold

Corrections

In "Stalinists Sabotage Anti-Apartheid Action at Bay Area Union Conference" (*WV* No. 209, 16 June 1978), we cited International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) research director Barry Silverman's statement that most pension funds, including that of ILWU Local 6, are administered solely by the employer to bolster our argument that the proposal for unions to divest their pension funds invested in companies doing business in South Africa is utopian. Actually in the case of Local 6 the funds are administered jointly by the employers and the union. The divestment proposal remains utopian, however, and as the article points out, ultimately reactionary.

Also, in "Fascist Corrida of Death in Pamplona" (*WV* No. 211, 14 July 1978), we stated that the Lake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), Canadian co-thinkers of the Spanish Liga Comunista, failed to show up at a Toronto demonstration protesting the bloody Francoist police attack on their "comrades" called by the Trotskyist League of Canada (section of the international Spartacist tendency). While it is true that the leadership of the sectarian-opportunist RWL did discourage the membership from attending this demonstration of working-class solidarity, it did not absolutely forbid attendance; we have subsequently learned that one RWLer did, in fact, attend.

Earlier, in the article on the Ninth Congress of the Spanish Communist Party ("Spanish CP Goes 'Eurocommunist'," *WV* No. 205, 12 May 1978), the date of the "Eurocommunist summit" in Madrid was incorrectly given as July 1976; the correct date was March 1977. And in "Neutron Bomb Uproar" (*WV* No. 204, 5 May 1978), we incorrectly referred to the neutron bomb as a fission bomb. It is a fusion bomb.

Finally, in "'Historic Compromise' Sealed Over Moro's Body" (*WV* No. 206, 19 May 1978), we referred to Ugo La Malfa both as a "frothing Republican Party leader" and as "president of the small Radical party." Actually, he is only a frothing Republican Party leader.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 212 28 July 1978

The Story of a Government Informer

Gary Rowe: I was a KKK Killer for the FBI

In the early morning hours of Sunday, 15 September 1963 a bomb blast shattered the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, killing four young black girls and seriously wounding 22 others. On Sunday, 15 May 1961 several busloads of freedom riders arriving in Birmingham were brutally assaulted by over 1000 armed Ku Klux Klan members, leaving bus terminals strewn with bodies lying in pools of blood. These horrible Klan atrocities shocked an entire nation, leading to widespread demands for federal action. In the 1961 incident President Kennedy sent in a force of 500 U.S. marshals and called on the Federal Bureau of Investigation to track down the criminals. In 1963 JFK named a blue ribbon committee to investigate the grisly church bombing. Now it turns out that the man who organized these bloody atrocities (and many more) was a paid informant of the most powerful right-wing terrorist organization in the world—the FBI.

UPI

Library of Congress

Gary Rowe: FBI protects his present identity and past murderous activities. Right: Burned out wreckage of Freedom Ride bus attacked by racist mobs.

In a recent series of articles appearing in the *New York Times* it was revealed that the FBI's top informant in the Klan, Gary Thomas Rowe, whom J. Edgar Hoover reportedly called the best agent "we've ever seen," was responsible for "most major incidents of Klan terrorism that occurred in Alabama while he was on the bureau's payroll" (*New York Times*, 17 July 1978). While the FBI portrays itself as the guarantor of domestic tranquillity by its efforts supposedly directed evenhandedly against "extremists" of both the left and right, the *Times* articles reveal the stark reality: FBI infiltrators always bloody the same victims—the left, labor and black movements.

This latest exposure of the true role of FBI infiltrators—mercenary thugs who willingly brutalize the oppressed in the service of capitalist rule—is a result of a 14-year-delayed state investigation into the 16th Street church bombing. A good deal of the delay was attributable to an FBI and Justice Department campaign to block disclosure of their files to Alabama authorities. And no wonder, for in the process of seeking a conviction against former Klansman Robert Chambliss, Alabama prosecutors questioned Gary Rowe and discovered that the FBI's "best agent" was the chief sadistic organizer of Klan violence. In the course of his atrocities Rowe aided Chambliss in the church bombing and furthermore actually participated in the 1965 murder of Viola Liuzzo, a white civil rights worker shot to death on an Alabama highway. Rowe, in 1965, had testified against three Klan members convicted for the murder, with both him and the FBI covering up his own role in the affair.

Coming hard on the heels of Griffin Bell's disgusting martyr-posturing, with the U.S. attorney general promising to brave jail rather than expose "innocent" informers in the Socialist Workers Party to "reprisals," the *Times* disclosures explode the charade. The FBI will go to any lengths to cover up the full extent of its murderous infiltrations and protect those who authorized them.

Rowe's five-year FBI/Klan career has proved hard to sanitize. In 1975 Rowe grabbed national headlines by testifying before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Agencies. Wearing a hood to protect his new identity, Rowe described his "accomplishments" in the service of the FBI (*New York Times*, 3 December 1975). These included informing the FBI three weeks in advance of Birmingham Police Department plans to have the Klan beat and slaughter freedom riders as they arrived at bus stations in the city. The FBI's policy on the intended massacre, when finally communicated to Rowe, was to allow him to *lead* the attack, acting as liaison between the Klan and the racist Birmingham cops.

AP

Birmingham church after the bombing which killed four girls. Rowe failed two lie detector tests about his role in this atrocity.

But Rowe's testimony before a Senate committee, attempting to show the need for a "reform" of FBI "excesses," was only the tip of the iceberg. Attempting to capitalize on his newly won fame without exposing the true nature of his FBI-approved role, in 1976 Rowe published a book entitled *My Undercover Years With the Ku Klux Klan*. In gory detail Rowe exposed not only his own sadistic racism but also FBI claims that "Rowe had never been told to engage in violence" (*New York Times*, 3 December 1975).

A Birmingham street hood with a reputation for busting up bars and breaking heads, Rowe was approached almost simultaneously by the Klan and the FBI, who both considered him their type of man. As Rowe's former cohort Chambliss once said, "You can trust Rowe to kill a nigger and never talk" (*New York Times*, 9 July 1978). And kill he did, if not silently then certainly with pleasure. Paid by the FBI on the basis of how much "information" he could provide, Rowe satisfied his sadism and his wallet by quickly joining both the Klan "action squads" and the FBI, eventually becoming the head of the murderous gangs.

His undisguised pleasure in his night-riding terrorist activities is crystal clear. Patrolling with police to aid in brutalizing black ghettos is standard Klan practice, and Rowe describes one incident with a victim who attempted to defend himself.

> "While I was correcting this behavior the nigger 'fell' to the floor....
> "When reinforcements arrived from the Birmingham [Police] staff, the nigger began to fight again. I guess at one point there were a dozen officers beating him, but I felt this one asked for everything he got."

Breaking up civil-rights "sit-ins" was another Klan activity Rowe thoroughly enjoyed.

> "The Klansmen went berserk; they threw the Negroes out the door and whipped out heavy chains; I saw several flying. These chains, cut to about a foot in length are just right for swinging...."

The FBI is not so much in the business of organizing small-scale night riding atrocities. Rowe was paid to provide information such as his advance notice of the state-organized slaughter of the freedom riders. But the FBI's "COINTELPRO" campaign to destroy the civil rights movement was already well under way. The vicious attack that left scores of broken bodies lying in Birmingham bus terminals did not run directly counter to FBI policy. The professional terrorists sat back and watched as the street punks got their hands dirty.

For five years, with full FBI knowledge, Rowe carried out bloody atrocities: setting off shrapnel bombs in a black ghetto; firebombing the home of black millionaire A. G. Gaston, a supporter of Martin Luther King; shooting a black man in cold blood on the streets of Birmingham; and countless beatings and stabbings. And throughout his book Rowe hideously feigns sorrow and surprise at the murders *he* committed. Describing the 16th Street church bombing, Rowe states, "One Sunday in September, Birmingham awoke to the news of the cruelest bombing in its history....The tragedy set off an enormous effort by the FBI to find the persons responsible...."

The FBI, however, knew very well who was responsible for this cruel bombing that murdered four young black girls. It was their own man in Birmingham and the hooded gang of murderers he led. And as Rowe leveled his gun at Viola Liuzzo (he claims not to have pulled the trigger), "The most awful expression came over her face that God knows I have ever seen in my life...." To ease his anxieties, Rowe collected monthly checks from the FBI, receiving over $22,000 (*New York Times*, 17 July 1978).

That Klan terror was condoned and assisted by the FBI is not an accident. Rowe's activities were not atypical. In 1976 a major *Los Angeles Times* exposé disclosed the FBI's role in organizing right-wing terror in southern California. The activities of Howard Godfrey, head of the Minutemen's Secret Army Organization (SAO), included "conducting a reign of terror against the left...including bombings, burglaries and harassment" (*Los Angeles Times*, 26 January 1978). Godfrey, of course, was an FBI paid informant. The *Los Angeles Times* further quoted a second FBI informant as charging that the agency in 1972 instructed him to kill Peter Bohmer, a San Diego economics professor and New Left activist. On 6 January 1972 the SAO, with Godfrey in command, fired

continued on page 11

The Spectre of Spartacism

*We reprint below some uncommon examples from the recent press of our opponents, in the hope that WV readers will find them as amusing and edifying as has our membership. The first, "Vanguard in Retreat" (*Socialist Press, *31 May), appeared in the paper of the British Workers Socialist League (WSL). It is perhaps the most interesting of a spate of attacks on the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) which have appeared in the fake-Trotskyist press ranging from the obsure organ of the* Truth *group (23 June) to the better-known* Militant *(2 June) in this country and as far afield as* Direct Action *(22 June) in Australia. Their common theme is the prediction, based on our shift in press frequency, that the iSt is finally going under (an event for which the assorted reformists and centrists have been wanting long and impatiently).*

The WSL article is significant not in the predictable cheap shots it shares with the other literary productions of the Anti-Spartacist League (such as its claim that our assessment of a "quiescent period" shows our disinterest in intervention into the American miners strike, which was the focus of a vigorous campaign in WV *until it was defeated prior to our press cutback) but in that it unintentionally conveys at least a distorted sense of the internationalist considerations underlying our allocation of financial and other resources.*

*The second selection, "You Have Been Warned" (*News Line, *9 May), is taken from the press of one of the WSL's British competitors, the Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP). Though noteworthy as an illustration of the WRP's increasingly bizarre manifestations, such as its Hound of the Baskervilles imagery, we include it primarily because it illuminates the real reason for the WSL's spleen: sour grapes at the iSt's recent fusion with a sizable faction of experienced cadres and newer members from the moribund WSL.*

As WV *readers (who understand that when we discussed a "limited and orderly retreat" we meant no more and no less than we said) might expect, we are gratified to find such uncommonly frank acknowledgment of our living presence in the minds of our opponents. This egregious celebration of our presumed dire straits in the pages of these left rags, on whose pretenses to a "mass" audience we have commented often enough, is eloquent testimony to our modest but real successes in seeking to make our tendency and its program synonymous with authentic revolutionary Trotskyism. Only the naive would complain that this retreat has induced such a flurry of comment on our press frequency and its purported significance, whereas the sour grapes brigade pretended to pay such scant attention when we launched a regular monthly* Workers Vanguard *in October 1971, when in April 1973 we expanded to biweekly frequency, and when in September 1975 we inaugurated a weekly and published it for 132 issues.*

*The WSL has thoughtfully provided lengthy excerpts from our article, where we frankly discussed our temporary press retreat before our own readers ("*WV *to Go Biweekly,"* WV *No. 206, 19 May). We certainly owe no further explanation to the enemies of Trotskyism.*

* * * * * * *

As Others See Us

Vanguard in Retreat

Reprinted from Socialist Press *31 May 1978*

The political, organisational and financial bankruptcy that have lurked behind the grandiose facade presented by the sectarian International Spartacist Tendency are all openly revealed this week in the announcement that the IST weekly paper Workers Vanguard is to retreat to fortnightly publication.

The paper itself had never really gone beyond the tasks of a theoretical magazine.

Huge, rambling and undisciplined articles combined banal truisms with abstract propaganda for the maximum programme of socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In anxiety to stand distinguished from all other groups calling themselves Trotskyist, the Spartacists have filled the columns of *Workers Vanguard* with open falsification of the Trotskyist position on voting for workers parties in Popular Fronts.

Pro-Imperialist

And in their efforts to avoid capitulation to bourgeois nationalism they have espoused objectively pro-imperialist positions on Ireland and the Middle East.

But while these positions have been revealed, the IST's empirical, sectarian leadership has until now concealed its inability to conduct the daily work of their own movement.

Now the announcement of fortnightly publication, which is signed by the *Workers Vanguard* editorial board, the Political Bureau of the U.S. Spartacist League, and the "Interim Secretariat" of the International Spartacist Tendency, gives an insight into the complete irresponsibility and incompetence of these "leaders" who have posed as the world's only authentic Trotskyists.

And it also reveals the huge material investment piled in by the International Spartacist Tendency into financing and propping up the 20-strong pro-Spartacist faction that split from the Workers Socialist League at its second annual conference in February.

"Quiescent"

The Spartacists rationalise this decision to drop the weekly paper by pointing to the failure of the working class in the USA and internationally to live up to their requirements:

> "The problem is not some absolute overextension of our capacities, but rather one relative to the quiescent period through which we are passing."

This "quiescent period" (elsewhere described as "current North American political, social and financial realities") is of course the period in which the historic U.S. miners strike has given an impetus to the wages struggle throughout the U.S. labour movement; in which New York City is once again on the brink of a major financial catastrophe; and the period in which the Carter regime faces a worldwide dilemma in its bid to prop up tottering bonapartist regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

But for the sectarians of the Spartacist League the period is assessed not on the basis of an objective analysis of the movement of class forces, but on their subjective requirements as a movement.

Incapacity

The statement reveals the complete incapacity of the IST leaders to relate to the actual struggle of the working-class:

> "...as the Weekly WV it did not and could not serve its central intended purpose as an agitational organ of intervention into major and continuing social upheavals in America in order to help shape and direct elemental and partial class struggles in accordance with the historic aims and possibilities of the working class."

Crisis

This chronic political failure to present a living programme or conduct any serious intervention into workers daily struggles led inevitably to a political crisis even in the hardened sectarian circles of the IST:

> "The continuing discrepancy between intention and realisation brought the few hundreds of the SL/US right to the brink of a major breakdown."

The statement details the appalling shambles of the IST's organisation—which was being bailed by their British agents as a paragon of a Marxist vanguard party:

> "Though centred and most grinding on the press, the excessive pressures have been across the board in the organisation.
>
> "It has been felt in all the undermanned Central Office departments, not just the press. Our cadres typified by the executive committees of too small local committees, the heads of inadequate trade union fractions, those going in spirals [!] trying to forge a black cadre component, the incomplete leadership of the Spartacus Youth League have been repetitively faced with urgent tasks hopelessly beyond the means and forces available."

All this confusion and chaos, combined with a static ("stable") membership, and increasing bills for leaders' extravagant programmes of international travel, would obviously disorient any movement.

But the IST points out that the leadership compounded the problem simply standing by, bemused by the whole situation:

> "The central party leadership and senior cadre generally were hardly immune to these component disintegrative processes.
>
> "For a couple of years [!] as first human resources then financial ones were exhausted, it had to impotently witness weaknesses as the organisation slowly incerated.
>
> "Individual responses drifted towards frenzy or passivity, depending."

Far from this being a temporary financial crisis, then, the IST statement reveals a long-standing political paralysis which has dogged every part of their organisation in the US.

This culminated in a "precipitous break in the *WV* Editorial Board," followed by "several months of discussion" as to whether and how the mess could be cleaned up.

In the middle of all this muddle and worry and "even sinister threats to our organised existence," the Spartacists discovered the beginnings of a sectarian clique in the Workers Socialist League and began an enormously expensive campaign to build the basis of a faction prior to the WSL conference.

Key figure in this classic exercise in political dishonesty was WSL Birmingham branch member Alastair Green.

According to *WV* of April 7 Green wrote secretly to Birmingham branch secretary Alan Hollord in July 1977 declaring his intention to "fight for the politics of the Spartacists inside the WSL."

Hollord, a National Committee member of the WSL, took no steps to inform the national leadership of this move by Green.

He was himself looking for a way out of the inevitable problems of fighting to build a branch of the WSL based on the working class in Birmingham.

Rather than fight Green's lurch to sectarianism, he joined him.

They began to gather around them a circle of critics, defeatists, debaters and dabblers as the basis for a faction.

Green, with subsidies from the IST, began making extensive and repeated factional trips secretly visiting members in various branches of the movement and meeting with the London Spartacists.

The Spartacists began to step up this British intervention. And the costs escalated.

Miserable

But the fruits of these mighty labours were miserable. A mere 22 members were persuaded to split from the WSL at the February conference, despite the investment of hundreds of pounds and months of patient and clandestine factional work.

Among those 22 were all the least reliable and non-contributing members of the movement: only the cynics, sceptics, dilettantes and incurable wooden propagandists had rallied to the Spartacist banner of abstention from the living struggle, leaving the proletarian revolutionary core of the WSL intact.

The cost of this adventure to the IST is only now being counted. In April their leaders launched a fund drive, in which they characteristically once again abstained from giving the slightest direction.

> "Since we have never undertaken such an emergency (or any) fund drive

First Time Ever Coast-to-Coast

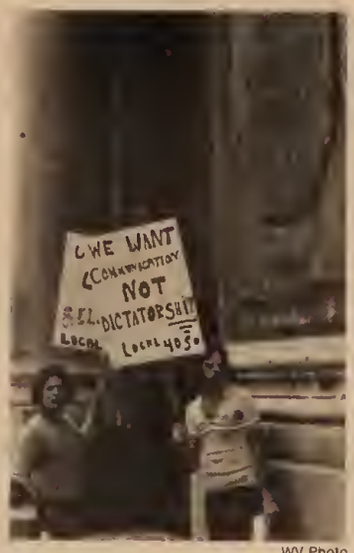
Long Lines Walkout Over AT&T Suspensions

Thousands of phone workers employed by AT&T's Long Lines division walked off the job in the second week of July in response to the suspension of nine members of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) in Nashville, Tennessee for honoring a picket line.

In a remarkable display of solidarity Long Lines operators, craftsmen and administrative workers, who handle all international calls and maintain some national telecommunications equipment, hit the bricks from Sacramento to Boston, Minneapolis to Jacksonville. Though precise figures are not yet available, CWA officials estimated that between half and two thirds of the company's 20,000 employees were involved, with 31 out of the 40 CWA Long Lines locals out.

This is the first time in the history of the CWA that an "unauthorized" work stoppage has spread across the country. Indeed, outside the ranks of the militant coal miners, such solidarity is a rare occurrence in the American labor movement. To the disgust of thousands of phone workers, however, the CWA International leadership headed by president Glenn Watts cut the action short just as it was gaining momentum, declaring the walkout a wildcat and ordering it ended.

The work stoppage was sparked when South Central Bell operators in Nashville set up picket lines on July 8 demanding a halt to forced overtime and six-day scheduling. The picket lines came down the next day under Bell threats of firing. Though none of the operators was immediately disciplined, nine Long Lines craftsmen who had respected the picket lines were slapped with five-day suspensions. By the evening of July 10, Long Lines workers in seven southern and midwestern cities had walked out in protest, and the next day local presidents and stewards had spread the strike from coast to coast.



WV Photo

WV Photo

Long Lines pickets in Detroit (left) and Cleveland.

The eruption of the strike and its rapid extension are a gauge of the deep anger felt by the CWA ranks toward the phone company, one of the most arrogant and authoritarian employers in the U.S. Like fellow union members at AT&T's Bell companies and Western Electric division (who manufacture phone equipment), Long Lines workers have been hard hit by a cost-cutting offensive that has slashed over 100,000 jobs in the phone industry over the last four years.

As part of its drive to divide and beat down the workforce, AT&T has increasingly reserved its harshest discipline for those workers who respect picket lines, frequently giving longer suspensions to workers who honor them than to those who set them up. This tactic is designed not only to encourage Western Electric, Long Lines and Bell System workers to scab on each other but also to further destroy the right to strike by attacking its most effective tool: the picket line. In the highly automated phone industry, really solid picket lines and militant building occupations, keeping out management scabs, would cripple the company's current ability to maintain phone service even during major walkouts. By curbing the right to picket and to respect picket lines, the phone company hopes to stiffen the "no-strike" clause it regularly secures in CWA contracts with the eager cooperation of the Watts regime.

This company attack on the CWA's most elementary trade-union rights has been mounting steadily. A number of

continued on page 11

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before, we do not know how much to expect from it [!] Five thousand dollars would be poor; twenty thousand dollars would be good. Your leadership has let us drift into this mess; maybe the membership can help us out."

But even though Spartacists rallied round with some £28,000, this was not enough to refloat the leaking *Workers Vanguard* tub.

This gives some measure of the rate of overspending carried out by IST leaders with their jet-setting "international consultations."

Conned

The message, for those who have been naive enough to fall for the lies, the posturing and the pretensions of the Spartacists during the very period in which this financial disaster was occurring, is simple:

> "You have been conned, by some of the most cynical tricksters in the labour movement!"

A leadership which for years on end is incapable of administering the day-to-day political and financial workings of the movement is self-evidently an incompetent and irresponsible leadership.

There is no likelihood that such a leading cadre—which, on its own admission, cannot even function the SL's much-vaunted trade union fractions—can arrive at a correct political analysis of the much more complicated problems of the international class struggle.

Unfortunately there is equally little chance that the seasoned sectarians in the IST ranks will draw the obvious political conclusions from this state of affairs.

By John Lister

You Have Been Warned

—Reprinted from The News Line *9 May 1978*

Be Warned. A mangy political hound has been spawned in the wierd and wild realms of revisionism.

It happened last month when the full moon hung in the sky over Hampstead Heath and Oxford marshes.

In the special jargon of such transcendental experiences, it was solemnly declared that the TF of the WSL, after furious infighting, has fused with the LSG to produce SL/B as a section of IST.

To the uninitiated this alphabetical reshuffle means that the so-called "Trotskyist Faction" of the Thornett clique, known grandly as the Workers Socialist League, has merged with the London Spartacist Group which will in future be known as Spartacist League/Britain.

Hound-dog

To the *initiated* it means something else. The Spartacists, a hound-dog group led by American James Robertson, has ambushed the Thornett clique and blown it up from within.

The Spartacists' delirium knows no bounds. An article proclaiming the foundation of the sect in Britain says:

> This fusion is one of the largest and most important in the 15-year history of the Spartacist tendency. (*Why stop at 15 years—why not the most important event since the birth of Christ through the immaculate conception?*)
>
> "The new organisation already has close on 50 members and a presence both in London and the Midlands."

On the basis of "close on 50 members" and a mysterious "presence" in London and the Midlands, the Spartacists have proclaimed, "The Rebirth of British Trotskyism."

Occurred

Just how this occurred is presented in No. 1 of the "Spartacist" in many thousands of words starting on page 1, turning to page 6, continued on page 12 and finishing on page 13.

The paper is great slabs of words piled on top of more words. The "New York Times"—"The Old Grey Ghost"—looks positively lively besides this awesome production.

Glimpse

A glimpse of the founding membership—handily printed inside—explains all. Alongside each name is a short political biography which helps to demonstrate the complete political instability of this grouping. Some examples:

"ALAN HOLFORD—IS 1971-1973 (expelled); Revolutionary Opposition (ex-IS) 1973-1974; founder member RCG, Political Committee RCG, 1974-1975; founder member WSL 1975-1978, WSL National Committee, Birmingham branch secretary, West Midlands Area chairman, convenor of WSL's Women's Commission."

This means that in five years Brother Holford has been in no less than five groups: IS, Revolutionary Opposition, RCG, WSL and now SL/B.

One better is JOE QUIGLEY. His political repertoire is even more varied: "Communist Party of Great Britain 1969-1970; IS 1970-1974 (expelled); Left Faction (IS), Left Opposition (ex-IS) 1974; RCG 1975; founder member WSL 1975-1978, North West Area secretary, Manchester branch secretary, WSL National Committee, WSL Irish Commission."

These two are representative of the political malcontents and congenital factionalists who comprise Mr James Robertson's grouping.

Besel

It would be fine if they simply beset each other with internal (*eternal*) bulletins and interminable discussion, but in fact they play a provocative and

continued on page 10

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4,000 Blacks March on Crown Heights Synagogue

Black Leaders Go After Jews Instead of Killer Cops

Stop the Cycle of Ethnic Violence

On July 16, organizers of the Brooklyn-based Black United Front (BUF), flanked by green-jacketed squads of their newly formed Black Community Citizens Patrol, led a march of some 4,000 jeering blacks through the Hasidic blocks of Crown Heights. According to its organizers, the march was called to jointly protest the police murder of black community leader Arthur Miller and the subsequent brutal beating of a 16-year-old black youth, Victor Rhodes, by a Hasidic vigilante squad. However, the focal point of the march was not a precinct station but the world headquarters of the United Lubavicher Hasidic sect. The choice of targets was deliberate.

While a cluster of Hasidim looked on from the synagogue roof, BUF leaders spent two hours railing against the "strange people in strange clothes," alternately whipping up the crowd for a charge on the temple, then pulling back at the last moment with vague warnings about provocateurs. But the July 16 march was itself a *criminal provocation* from beginning to end! Already ethnic tensions in Crown Heights were continually at the flashpoint in a vicious cycle of black lumpen crime and Hasidic vigilantism. And in this tinderbox the Black United Front demagogues responded to the murder of Arthur Miller not with demonstrations demanding the killer cops be jailed but with an openly anti-Semitic mobilization.

Throughout Sunday afternoon BUF sound trucks cruised the streets of Crown Heights exhorting the black population to come out and link arms against "Jewish aggression." Leaflets circulated demanding federal investigations to "curb the reckless use of Hasidic influence and power." "We're standing in the shadow of the yeshiva, the symbol of our oppression," harangued Black United Front leader Rev. Herbert Daughtry, ending up by demanding that the cops surrounding the synagogue move away so that the crowd, inflamed by racialist diatribes, could "just go on over" and storm the building. In a chilling final hour, the crowd marched through the deathly quiet Hasidic neighborhood, shaking their fists at Jewish stores. To the Hasidim it must have looked like the Black Hundreds mobs who regularly staged bloody pogroms in the eastern Russian Pale from which the Lubavicher fled.

The liberal media, always afraid of being labeled racist, described the overwhelming anti-Semitism of the BUF march in mealymouthed euphemisms. *New York Times* reporter Peter Kihss quoted a Lubavicher rabbi stating the rally speeches were anti-Jewish, although Kihss was there and could hear for himself. Various left groups tailing after the BUF hucksters deliberately suppressed any mention of the ugly ethnic hatred spewed out by Daughtry et al. But the *Amsterdam News* (22 July), the largest black weekly in the country, didn't try to cover up. "B'klyn Blacks Warn Jews" read its banner front-page headline, and the article reported threats by BUF leaders to take an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth in future incidents with the Hasidim.

WV Photo

Demagogue Rev. Herbert Daughtry at July 16 rally in Crown Heights. Speakers' platform displays portrait of Arthur Miller, earlier slain by NYC cops. Daughtry calls on those same cops to get Hasidic Jews.

The July 16 demonstration marked a dangerous new stage in the rapidly developing communal clashes in Crown Heights, where an enclave of some 35,000 Lubavicher Hasidim live sandwiched among some 125,000 predominantly West Indian blacks as the once largely Jewish neighborhood became absorbed into the bordering Bedford-Stuyvesant black ghetto. Elderly, pacific Hasidim had long been easy prey for muggings by black lumpen youth, but when a few years ago the Hasidic vigilante patrols began "identity checks" they naturally resulted in racist abuses against innocent blacks. That is the logic of vigilantism. Now, following two grisly attacks on Crown Heights blacks last month, the BUF wants to reply in kind, escalating the spiral of ethnic violence and bringing closer the ominous threats of race riots.

When black businessman Arthur Miller – who headed the anti-police brutality "Save Our Children" coalition was strangled to death June 14 by more than a dozen cops in broad daylight on a crowded street, it sparked a wave of outrage in the black population of Crown Heights. It also touched off a scramble for succession as head of the community groups and government-financed poverty projects he ran. But the Lubavicher, a rung or two higher economically than their black neighbors and well organized politically, had the corner on anti-poverty funds in the area. This was long a sore point with aspiring black bureaucrats seeking to build a political career through dispensing patronage. So when Victor Rhodes was jumped by a Hasidic block patrol two days later, the BUF leaders sought to turn the community anger into a campaign against "special treatment" of Hasidic Jews by the Jewish mayor.

The Spartacist League has been unique on the left in warning against these criminal maneuvers by Daughtry & Co., whose purpose is to deliberately take the heat off the racist cops. Characterizing plans for the July 16 march as a "provocation which could lead to a bloody communal riot," we warned against it in our article, "Death Wish in Crown Heights" (*WV* No. 211, 14 July):

> "Tragically, in the Crown Heights events, what should have become united protest against a classic case of police brutality and ethnic vigilantism is now being diverted by rival poverty-program-funded ministers and rabbis into a fight of blacks against Jews, a vicious battle over who will get the most from a shrinking pork barrel."

The July 16 march hideously confirmed our warning.

An Anti-Semitic Provocation

As the date of the BUF demonstration drew closer, each day new elements were added bringing the situation ever closer to a racial conflagration. Originally there was to be a march of the Black United Front from the 77th police precinct (headquarters of Arthur Miller's murderers) to the 71st precinct (dominated, according to Daughtry, by the Hasidim in conjunction with Israeli prime minister Menahem Begin), stopping for a rally in front of the Lubavicher synagogue. To this was added the persistent report that the Jewish Defense League (JDL) planned a counter-demonstration on the steps of the temple to confront the BUF march when it arrived. Then in an incredible provocation, the Policemen's Benevolent Association (PBA) announced they were meeting a few blocks away at the Brooklyn Museum to hold a "memorial service" for cops killed by blacks, while Crown Heights blacks were protesting the murder of Arthur Miller by the cops! The stage was set for a deadly blow-up.

The confrontation was set for 3 p.m. in front of the synagogue at 770 Eastern Parkway, and by noon Crown Heights looked like an armed camp. A sizeable section of the cop demo marched from their "memorial service" to the temple to confront the black demonstration. Squad cars lined the parkway bumper-to-bumper for a five-block stretch; paddy wagons, police horse trailers and communications vans dotted the area. A handful of helmeted JDL members ostentatiously guarded the synagogue door. Meanwhile about 500 people set off from the 77th precinct in the BUF march, a substantial part of the initial core made up by Maoists of the Workers Viewpoint Organization (WVO) and National Fight Back (front group of the Peking-endorsed Communist Party Marxist-Leninist [CP-ML]). Along the way the crowd swelled so that by the time the rally began there were over 4,000.

For the next two hours they hooed each time the word "Hasidim" was uttered while the sordid collection of right-wing nationalists turned Democratic Party hacks and foam-flecked preachers denounced the Lubavicher for endless crimes. The least of these was the beating of Victor Rhodes, however. Instead they were reviled for grabbing up poverty funds, for rabbis outbidding Baptist ministers on property sales, for their strange clothes, for celebrating the sabbath on Saturday, for speaking a foreign language. The cops were criticized, not so much for killing Arthur Miller but for "doing the hidding" of the Hasidim. Warning the Lubavicher that they would see what black power meant if they tried to buy property across Eastern Parkway, BUF leaders declared that "Hasidic domination of the 71st precinct" must be ended by "the ballot or the bullet."

The rabid Daughtry whipped the crowd into a frenzy against the Hasidim, screaming, "They don't want them in Russia, they don't want them in Israel, even their own people don't want them." As he called for the cops to step aside so the crowd could besiege the synagogue, Hasidic youth beckoned from the rooftop daring them to come over. One wrong move could have touched off an explosion. Finally the BUF leaders turned around and led an eerie procession through the normally bustling Hasidic section, deserted that afternoon on orders from the rabbis. Arriving at the 71st precinct they declared the stationhouse "liberated" from "Hasidic domination."

From Vigilantism to Ethnic War

The Black United Front rally was a declaration of war on the Hasidic community. No longer is it a question of lumpen criminal attacks; no longer is it limited to brutal vigilante patrols against "suspicious outsiders" in their respective communities. Now we have come to the stage of racist mob incursions into the opposing communi-

ty, which could easily touch off a bloody communal brawl. The next logical step would be a JDL-led counter-march of thousands of Zionist fanatics on a Crown Heights black church, a provocation against which the black community would have the same right to defend itself as the Hasidim had last week. In perpetrating this anti-Jewish attack the BUF leaders have proven themselves dangerous enemies of the Crown Heights blacks. For the reality of life in racist, capitalist America is that *in a race war black people can only lose.*

Moreover, the demagogic black misleaders are diverting the struggle away from the real enemy. While the Hasidim are somewhat better off than the surrounding blacks (though still far from affluent by American standards), they are not the exploiters and direct oppressors of the black population of Crown Heights. Their vigilante squads are not lynch mobs of Southern whites terrorizing the Negro shantytowns in the service of the plantation owners, but more akin to youth gangs in adjacent ethnic communities. And meanwhile the real killers, the racist cops who daily run roughshod over black youth and enforce the law and order of capitalist exploitation, who during the blackout riots last summer drove their cars careening through crowds and locked up thousands in hell holes like the Tombs, get off scot-free!

The BUF leaders' criminal tactics only isolate Crown Heights blacks from potential allies. The ruling-class press has already noted this. In an article entitled "Crown Heights Residents Block Leftist Protesters" the *New York Times* (16 July) reported that on the day before the Black United Front rally Daughtry's lieutenants had run the Maoist National United Workers Organization (a front for the Revolutionary Communist Party [RCP]) out of the neighborhood for trying to hold a rally against police brutality. Screaming, "Get out, get out, we don't want your struggle," the nationalist Democratic Party honchos of the BUF showed they are only interested in being number one in their small piece of turf. The *Times*, of course, gloated at the anti-communist exclusion.

The Hasidic leaders must have been pleased as well, for they too know that New York City is one of the few places in the U.S. where there is a real Jewish power structure. At the first signs of military organization in the black ghetto aimed at driving out the Hasidic community, an occupation army of cops would smash it and subject the black population to a brutal rule. This, and not the "liberation" of the police from "Jewish domination," is the logical outcome of the ethnic confrontation so provocatively being sought by Daughtry and his gang.

These criminal self-defeating tactics should come as no surprise, however, for the phony black militants who marched on the Lubavicher synagogue are the same people who ten years ago sought to mobilize Brooklyn blacks against the predominantly Jewish United Federation of Teachers (UFT). At that time they had the backing of the Lindsay administration and the Ford Foundation who were interested in beating down the UFT for their own reasons. Thus a recent self-serving "Profile of an Activist" in the Black United Front/Save Our Children paper, *People's Press*, stresses Daughtry's despicable role as a scabherder in the 1968 teachers' strike.

Al Vann, another featured speaker at the July 16 rally, was right-hand man to Rhody McCoy, the anti-union black careerist superintendent of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville community-control school district who provoked that strike. Vann is now Democratic state assemblyman from the 56th district, and another speaker, Sam Pinn, the head of Brooklyn CORE, is using this exposure to build his campaign as Democratic candidate for the same body. And BUF leader Andy Gill, who at the rally stressed his close working relationship with the martyred Arthur Miller, last week announced his candidacy for the 53rd assembly district.

Hamilton/Village Voice

Racist cops jeered Black United Front marchers and vowed to support the killers of Arthur Miller.

"Left" Cover for Anti-Semitic Provocation

While the black Democrats and poverty program hustlers are trying to line their pockets and increase their political clout out of the uproar over Miller's murder, cynically fanning ethnic hatreds in order to "up the ante," most of the left has criminally tailed after this anti-Jewish mobilization. Not only the WVO and CP-ML marched with Daughtry, but even the RCP—afraid to show up at first after their experience the day before—crawled up to the Lubavicher synagogue to join the hooting, fist-shaking crowd. Clearly stung by the July 15 clash, the RCP responded in its New York/New Jersey *Worker* (22 July) that it had regrouped after being run off by "certain gentlemen in the Black United Front" and had finished the march. But the same article revealed the true character of the July 16 BUF march, characterizing Daughtry's keynote speech there as "pure Hitler demagogy" and criticizing the BUF for "aim[ing] the spearhead at the Jews and away from the cops." Thus the RCP admits that it participated in a march led by a racist demagogue and intended to divert the struggle toward the false target of the Hasidim!

For its part the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) initially cheered on the formation of the black vigilante squads. The 30 June *Militant* selectively edited Daughtry's anti-Jewish speeches at planning meetings and even defended this self-serving, adventurist bigot against charges of anti-Semitism! Once it became clear that the purpose of the black patrols was to attack Hasidic Jews, the SWP suddenly dropped this demand. However, it continues to cover for the Black United Front by editing out all their racist remarks from *Militant* accounts of the Crown Heights events. Most shameless of all was the Communist Party (CP), whose *Daily World* reported Daughtry's notorious speech in front of the synagogue where he said Crown Heights blacks were "sandwiched between the 71st precinct and the 77th, in the shadow of the Yeshiva." The CP simply deleted the last phrase, replacing it with an ellipsis.

Offering themselves up as a "left" cover for an anti-Jewish mobilization, these fake-revolutionaries and "socialists" show that they will stop at nothing in their search for easy popularity. After all, blacks are oppressed and a good source of recruits, and the Hasidim are effectively sealed off from the left—so what do the Peking and Moscow Stalinists and the ex-Trotskyist social democrats care if there is a communal bloodbath? But this vile and criminal attitude should not be surprising. During the 1968 UFT strike, when the same black nationalist phonies were trying to break the teachers' union, these reformists all advocated *scabbing*. From union-busting it is only a short step to apologizing for ethnic vigilantism and pogromist provocations.

The reformists' participation in this anti-Semitic outrage reflects their common support to black nationalism and anti-proletarian ethnic politics. Communists give no quarter to racist mobilizations of any kind, whether anti-black or anti-Jewish, *much less actively build them*. Given that the July 16 march could well have provoked a major race riot in New York City, if the Spartacist League had sufficient working-class support *we would have attempted to prevent it*. In this situation of increasing inter-communal hostility and violence, communists must demand an immediate disengagement on both sides.

In the present Crown Heights situation the blacks tend to see the Hasidic vigilantes as akin to Klan night riders, while the Hasidic Jews undoubtedly viewed the BUF march as a reincarnation of the tsarist Black Hundreds on a pogromist rampage. But unlike the Nazi-led mobilizations in Chicago's Marquette Park or of the South Boston Marshals against busing, the Hasidic vigilantes are *not* based on a program to deny blacks their democratic rights. Rather they are a communalist response to black lumpen crime and are not essentially different from the Italian and Puerto Rican street gangs which also prevent black youth from wandering through "their turf" elsewhere in the city. The Hasidic vigilantes, of course, inevitably commit racist abuses in their identity checks, and also atrocities like the vicious attack on Victor Rhodes. We are utterly opposed to the Hasidic "anti-crime" squads no less than we are to those of the Black United Front.

Because the ethnic polarization in Crown Heights has escalated so sharply (despite Alice-in-Wonderland stories in the *New York Times* about black and Hasidic neighbors peacefully coexisting except for the bad influence of "outsiders"), it is difficult for communists to shift the axis of struggle by their intervention. This is not to say that the situation is generally hopeless; if there had been at the beginning a strong communist presence with roots in the community and a multi-racial base in the NYC working class, it could have been possible to mount a citywide campaign against the killer cops and thus head off the subsequent escalation of ethnic tensions.

In situations of communal clashes, the positive communist policy is for bi- or multi-racial defense squads—which must be *programmatically* committed to proletarian unity if they are not to have a shootout over the first incident that occurs to forcibly impose a ceasefire among the peoples involved. Only in this way can we further the cause of class struggle against the real oppressors and exploiters, not by supporting the ethnic vigilantes of one or the other group involved. As an urgent minimum, agitation must center on opposing willful or demonstrative incursions, whether mass or individual, into the opposing neighborhood by both the Hasidic Jews and Crown Heights blacks.

Stay out of each other's neighborhood before there are dead bodies in the street! Stop the cycle of ethnic violence! No to communal vigilantism! Jail the killer cops who murdered Arthur Miller! ■

Tannenbaum/Soho Weekly

Sign in BUF demonstration reads: "These men have shown that they are thirsty for the blood of black children."

NEW YORK Amsterdam News

B'klyn Blacks warn Jews

3,000 march in unity

Feds delay Miller probe

AmNews political supplement

Who'll go first: Reg or Billie?

Call Out UMWA Convoys to Save Stearns Strike!

WHITLEY CITY, Kentucky, July 17—Two years ago unorganized coal miners at the Justus pit in Stearns, Kentucky voted 126 to 57 to join the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). On 17 July 1976 they voted 152 to 1 to strike the Blue Diamond Coal Company for a UMWA contract. Today, with their numbers slowly dwindling, the strike drags on, a victim of the no-win policies of union president Arnold Miller.

Despite torrential rain, 350 strike supporters turned out today at the 4-H Club here for the strike's second anniversary gathering. While striker Darrell Vanover began the rally by declaring that "they ain't beat us yet" and denied rumors that the UMWA intended to pull out of Stearns, there is widespread and well-founded concern among the strikers over the fate of their protracted struggle. Of the 183 Justus miners who voted in the 1976 certification election, only 136 still receive the $100 weekly strike benefits from the International. Thirty-four former strikers are now scabbing and others have simply moved out of town. Just last week a half-dozen strikers left Stearns for western Kentucky in hopes of finding jobs in union mines there. One miner told *WV*: "They just said 'the International's not going to help us and we're not going to win'." But most of the strikers remained determined to fight.

The International's current strategy in Stearns is to wait for the results of a National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) hearing on the newly established company union, the "Justus Employees Association" (JEA). In late May, Blue Diamond canceled the first scheduled bargaining session in months and at the same time announced the formation of the JEA. "It was sort of a blitzkreig move," UMWA attorney John Woodrum told reporters. "They formed another union and negotiated a contract with them in a matter of a day or two." The JEA "contract" contains no safety provisions and the company promises an insurance program "at a later date," according to UMWA organizer Lee Potter.

On June 5 the UMWA filed an unfair labor practices suit against Blue Diamond, charging that the company had contributed financial and legal support to the JEA. The Union also charged the company with failure to bargain in good faith with the strikers' chosen bargaining agent. If the UMWA suit is defeated the JEA will be free to seek NLRB certification as the legitimate bargaining agent in the Justus mine.

Similar to numerous other Stearns support rallies held in the last two years, the crowd today consisted mainly of local supporters and representatives of several leftist organizations. Local picket captain Mahan Vanover told *WV* that every UMWA district was informed of the event. But outside of District 19, which includes Stearns, representation from outlying UMWA districts was shamefully low, indicating the failure of District bureaucrats throughout the Appalachian coalfields to organize support or even publicize the event.

Rather than use the rally to call for the massive UMWA reinforcements which are required to stop the daily strikebreaking of over 100 Blue Diamond bosses, thugs and scab miners, International director of organizing Ken Varney instead sermonized to the beleaguered militants that "good things don't come easy," adding "keep the faith, we are behind you." Varney apologized for the absence of Arnold Miller, who had received a personal invitation to attend from the Stearns Women's Club. Claiming that his boss is "not a figurehead," Varney told the crowd that a death threat kept the UMWA president away.

This excuse was ridiculed by many strikers. During the bitter 110-day 1977-78 national coal strike Miller rarely ventured outside of the union's Washington headquarters without an army of bodyguards and packing a .38. Most of the time he stayed holed up in the Heart O'Town Hotel in Charleston rather than confront the membership he pretends to lead. Likewise today, Miller has no stomach for a meeting with the union stalwarts whom he has left to rot on the picket line. But the Stearns miners have his number. "It is a sickening situation," one active picketer stated. "If something doesn't change and change quick, it'll be driven under. And all because of a guy named Arnold Miller."

In over a year of *WV* coverage on Stearns the Spartacist League has repeatedly stressed the indispensability of militant UMWA solidarity action to bring Blue Diamond to terms. As one striker on the picket line told *WV* after the rally this afternoon, "It's not the money, hell we can get the money. It's men [we need]." Yet the previous national agreement expired without Miller using even a single one of the ten contractually allowed "memorial period" days to shut down coal production in solidarity with the Stearns strikers.

In 1974 a five-day UMWA memorial period was finally called to close every U.S. mine and win a contract in Brookside, Kentucky after 13 months of striking. Now Blue Diamond claims to be producing coal on a limited basis at the Justus pit "with a market for all the coal that comes out of the mine" (*McCreary County Record*, 6 June 1978). Even Miller acknowledges that the company's five other operating mines have hamstrung the strike, yet his advice for the Stearns miners is to wait for the NLRB ruling.

During the two years since this strike began, local and state cops have jailed, beaten and harassed the strikers while courts have leveled fines and injunctions limiting picketing on the union. The Stearns miners are restricted to a total of six pickets and were stripped of the means for self-defense while Blue Diamond is allowed to protect its property with 28 well-armed gun thugs at a time - a number which the union maintains is regularly exceeded.

Victory at Stearns is crucial for all UMWA miners. Almost 50 percent of U.S. coal production is non-union. The outcome of this battle will have an enormous impact on the success of future organizing drives. If the bosses are allowed to succeed here, it will make it doubly difficult to bring non-union miners into the UMWA, and it will undoubtedly trigger new efforts by the companies to break the union in areas where it is weakest.

Miners must have no confidence in Miller's reliance on the NLRB. The capitalist courts and government have already demonstrated which side they are on. UMWA militants must demand that the union organize rallies and demonstrations throughout the coalfields to assemble mass convoys of pickets to shut down the Justus mine and the other Blue Diamond pits. Militant action by the ranks of the UMWA can still win this battle. Victory to the Stearns strike! ■

"Democratic" Miller Lovers Exclude SL

SWP: Reformists for Hire

SAN FRANCISCO—The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) likes to posture as the most consistent guardian of "democracy" on the left: being the hardest fighter for the "free speech" of fascists and tireless tailists after Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign. But the bureaucratic core beneath its super-democratic facade is revealed when the SWP is confronted by criticism from its left. Last weekend's physical exclusion of the Spartacist League (SL) from a publicly advertised Bay Area class series is only the latest proof that the SWP fears above all open political debate which would expose its reformist politics.

The exclusion occurred July 22 when SL supporters and several local trade unionists tried to attend an SF class series the SWP was holding to build support for its upcoming Oberlin active workers conference. The series—"How the Unions were Built and How They Can Survive Today, Class Struggle Versus Class Collaboration"—was advertised in the 21 July *Militant*, but when the SLers arrived they were given the flimsy excuse the class was "private."

Two SL supporters had already been allowed to pay their admission fees and were taking their seats when they were suddenly ordered out of the room. One phone worker, a member of the CWA Local 9410 Militant Action Caucus who protested the exclusion, was also told to leave. Milton Chee, an SWP supporter in the MUNI union, told her, "You have an ax to grind. You only want to prove that the SWP is wrong."

Leading the exclusion was Fred Halstead, SWP candidate for California governor, as well as an SWP goon squad, who pushed the SL supporters and CWA militant out of the room. Several unionists from UAW Local 1364, who had rushed forward to protest, walked out in solidarity when Halstead defended his blatantly anti-democratic action.

Why was the SWP afraid of the Spartacist League? Outside the meeting an SL sales team was selling our latest issue containing the article, "Hate Miller, Hate the SWP" (*WV* No. 211, 14 July), a response to Shelley Kramer's inept *Militant* polemic attacking *WV*'s coverage of the recent United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) strike. All the other reformists who once hailed the election of Labor Department-backed Arnold Miller for UMWA president today try to hide their treachery as Miller's suppression of the health-care wildcats and sabotage of last spring's 110-day strike have made him a hated man throughout the coalfields. But not the SWP.

Instead, during the strike the *Militant* suppressed news of the miners' anti-Miller rallies and published polemics against all those who attacked his sellouts. In the Bay Area the SWP played a particularly sordid role in sabotaging the fight to implement a motion of the International Executive Board of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union for a 24-hour sympathy strike against the Taft-Hartley act. In Los Angeles Tom Kerry, long-time SWP trade unionist, speaking at a June 16 forum went so far as to label the SL "strikebreakers" for daring to criticize Miller during the strike. Referring to Steelworkers "reform" bureaucrat Ed Sadlowski, Kerry added, "I spent many years of my life supporting men worse than Sadlowski"!

The SWP is being so shamelessly aggressive in its support to the universally despised Arnold Miller because it wants its appeal to the labor traitors heard loud and clear: "Reformists for Hire!" While others are fickle, the Millers and the Sadlowskis can rest assured the SWP will remain their faithful hootlickers through thick and thin.

Last weekend's expulsion was one more indication that the SWP emulates not only Miller's sellout politics, but his bureaucratic methods as well. While Miller packs a pistol in fear of the angry UMWA ranks he betrayed, his small-time supporters in the SWP defend themselves and *their* role in the strike from the SL's revolutionary criticisms with goon squads and slanderous accusations. But just as Sadlowski and Miller cannot escape the SL's criticisms, neither shall the penny-ante reformists of the SWP. Wherever they go the SL will see to it that those who "hate Miller" will also learn to "hate the SWP." ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

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Shcharansky...

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reports Washington columnist Sally Quinn (*New York Post*, 22 July).

Framing Up the Guilty

Given the mass of explosive issues involved in the Shcharansky case—the treatment of Jews in the Soviet Union, the Kremlin's bureaucratic suppression of dissent, the dangers of Carter's anti-Soviet crusade, Zionist anti-communism, CIA spying, charges of treason, etc.—a meticulous examination of the facts is necessary in order to arrive at a position.

As Trotskyists, we are irreconcilable opponents of the brutal counterrevolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy. The same charges of treason were used to imprison, exile and murder our comrades in Stalin's purges. (What, by the way, was the attitude of the American rulers to *those* Moscow Trials? In those days they had nothing but respect for "Uncle Joe" and his "housecleaning," expressing conscious class hatred for the persecuted Trotskyist revolutionists.)

The cynical KGB necessarily runs all its trials as frame-ups, knowing no other techniques but mindless intimidation, anti-Semitic slander and other sledgehammer techniques of a despotic bureaucracy. (In *this* respect it is not all that different from its capitalist counterparts in, say, the New York City police: lazy and corrupt, why should they bother with evidence, even in the case of the guilty; it is much easier simply to frame up their powerless victims.) The Soviet people fiercely and quite rightly hate collaborators with the imperialist West—the Solzhenitsyns, Sakharovs and Shcharanskys. We, too, stand on the defense of the USSR against counterrevolution, but our consideration of the question of Shcharansky's guilt or innocence is conditioned by the understanding that the parasitic bureaucracy is the worst danger to a real defense of the gains of the October Revolution.

Was Shcharansky *simply* framed up—is he innocent of the charges? The Soviet indictment charged he had "betrayed his homeland" and engaged in "activities detrimental to the state independence and military might of the USSR." Specifically he was charged with supplying state secrets, from 1974 to 1977, to "Western diplomats, intelligence officers, as well as to an agent of a foreign military-intelligence service who worked under the cover of a journalist in Moscow." The journalist is one Robert Toth of the *Los Angeles Times*, who was arrested and questioned by the KGB for three days before leaving the country at the end of his tour of duty last year.

It is acknowledged by all concerned that Shcharansky was a key contact man between Soviet dissidents and Western newsmen in Moscow and did have extensive contact with Toth. In particular he supplied the correspondent with information for articles on Soviet "refuseniks"—Jews denied permission to emigrate to Israel on the grounds that their work gave them access to state secrets. Toth vehemently denies he published any "secrets," but one of the articles he wrote based on Shcharansky's information was entitled "Clues in Denials of Jewish Visas: Russ Indirectly Reveal 'State Secrets'" (*Los Angeles Times*, 22 November 1976). The article details various scientific operations which he argues are actually secret defense establishments.

Toth argues the Soviet authorities exposed themselves by refusing visas. Whether or not this is true, Shcharansky put this material together, found people for Toth to talk to and handed it all over. As a U.S. official explained to *Newsweek*: "What Shcharansky did, in effect, was give Toth a list of secret defense plants." And what of the *Los Angeles Times* correspondent—was he an agent? The Soviet prosecutor introduced as evidence a letter found in Toth's garbage ("How stupid I was not to have eaten that goddamn letter," Toth now says) from the U.S. military attaché in Moscow, Major Robert Watters, Jr., thanking Toth for his "cooperation" and passing on praise for the correspondent's good work from Lieutenant General Samuel Wilson, then head of the Pentagon's Defense Intelligence Agency.

That American newsmen act as CIA or military intelligence agents, sources or "assets" is nothing new. Whether or not Shcharansky knew what he was doing, the fact remains that he passed on state secrets to what was likely a Western intelligence conduit. A *New York Times* investigation last year revealed that since World War II at least 100 newsmen had acted as paid CIA agents, while literally thousands of foreign newsmen, editors and news organizations have been CIA conduits of one sort or another. While in most cases there was reportedly a "gentlemen's agreement" to pass on hot tips, in some cases (and particularly in Moscow) American journalists had considerable value as actual operatives. "He [the reporter] could identify and talk with Soviets, could travel places we couldn't," said an ex-CIA official. "It was considered much too risky to have deep cover men there" (*New York Times*, 27 December 1977).

What about the CIA? Carter's vehement denial last year of any U.S. intelligence connections with Shcharansky was badly undercut by revelations that the dissident's roommate, Dr. Sanya Lipavsky, had worked for the CIA for some months in 1975-76—a fact known to Carter at the time he made his defense. Answering charges that the CIA tried to penetrate the dissident movement Washington replied that Lipavsky was only "used for routine intelligence, on the activities of the Soviet scientific community with whom he was in touch—but not in connection with the dissidents" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 16 July). Of course, most of the dissidents are from scientific-intellectual backgrounds, and Lipavsky's main contact with this community was through Shcharansky.

Yuri Orlov AP

The evidence is circumstantial, but in its mass quite damning. At best Shcharansky was incredibly stupid, and more likely he knew what the destination of his information would be.

In the face of the bureaucracy's total suppression of legal means of communication to the dissident movement the latter are forced to go to the bourgeois media. But to rely on these agents of imperialist propaganda becomes a program, and it is no accident that many dissidents support such imperialist blackmail as the Jackson amendment, which seeks to promote "human rights" in the USSR by threatening to cut off grain shipments.

Most of the dissident movement today in the USSR, and particularly its Zionist component, appeals directly to the West to use them as pawns in its pressure on the degenerated Soviet workers state. As long as they and their associates can get out to earn royalties on anti-Communist tracts they do not care a whit for the military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism; for the most part they are actively opposed to it. (Similarly many dissidents accuse the U.S. of selling out to "Soviet totalitarianism" by "abandoning" Vietnam, and even side with the butcher Pinochet against the left.)

Given Shcharansky's right-wing Zionist beliefs, it is probable that he would inform Western imperialist governments of whatever he knows about Soviet military defense. In any case, this time the Stalinists had a good case. Shcharansky clearly did pass on the information he is accused of transmitting and he has expressed no regret that he revealed secret Soviet military establishments to Western governments. However, we have no trust whatsoever that the bureaucratic thugs of the KGB can judge Shcharansky's culpability and apply proletarian justice accordingly. These are the people who massacred thousands of Trotskyists and Old Bolsheviks following the Moscow Trials of the 1930's, all on fabricated charges of treason and acting as imperialist agents; today they lock up any opponent of the ruling clique in psychiatric hospitals, corner their targets with agents provocateurs, etc.

Vance with Brezhnev in Moscow. UPI

Soviet Dissidents and Political Revolution

The dissidents in the Soviet Union are a heterogeneous lot, encompassing everything from tsar-loving reactionary mystics such as Solzhenitsyn to ardent Zionists like Shcharansky, pro-Western liberal intelligentsia (Sakharov), Stalinist reformers (Medvedev), vague social-democratic "neo-Marxists" (Plyushch), defenders of oppressed national minorities, and even possibly a few genuine proletarian revolutionary oppositionists—although unfortunately the latter are presently hard to find. We have deep political differences with many of the "dissidents"—indeed, we often stand on the opposite side of the class line—but against the Kremlin's crushing censorship we defend the freedom of speech for all whose political activity is not aimed at overthrowing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Soviet bureaucracy has dragged the democratic traditions and liberating goals of Marxism through the mud, generating such cynicism and hatred for the proud name of "communist," that it is not surprising that the dominant dissident trends today are openly pro-imperialist. The battle for political revolution in the USSR to oust the bureaucracy and restore workers democracy requires intransigent struggle against such tendencies. But the pro-Western and Zionist dissidents must be *politically* defeated by proletarian revolutionaries in the USSR, and this requires an equally intransigent struggle for full soviet liberties through workers political revolution to oust the bureaucracy.

In this context it is particularly disgusting to see the European Communist parties—French, Spanish and Italian—lining up with Western imperialism in defending Shcharansky. In the U.S., the reformist, ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), long a most enthusiastic supporter of Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" campaigns, has hailed each new pro-Western dissident as a heroic fighter against oppression. The SWP's defense of Shcharansky is particularly revolting. The 21 July *Militant* lays out its main theme: "Like the French Captain Alfred Dreyfuss in 1894, and the Americans Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in 1953, Shcharansky is the victim of an anti-Semitic political frame-up."

Certainly it is true that the Stalinist bureaucracy encourages anti-Semitism, and the labeling of dissidents as "discontented Jews" has historically been used to discredit them in the eyes of backward Russian workers and peasants. However, the Rosenbergs were witch-hunted primarily as Communists and on charges of allegedly passing military secrets to the USSR, while Shcharansky is accused of passing *Soviet* defense secrets to the West. There is a *class* difference involved here which the SWP totally ignores. The *Militant* goes so far as to claim that "the charges against Shcharansky are absurd on 'their face' so "absurd" that Washington sources have confirmed them!

Anatoly Shcharansky is *guilty* of a crime against the world proletariat—transmitting military secrets of the USSR, a degenerated workers state, to the imperialists. Given the record of other dissidents who as soon as they set one foot in the West become rabid running dogs of imperialism, there is no reason to believe that Shcharansky, as soon as he is one inch off Soviet soil, will not do the same. So why not dump him out of the country, which is what he wants in any case—but with one proviso. Since this Zionist friend of the CIA is so eager to spend "next year in Jerusalem," have him sign a statement to serve his sentence in Israel, preferably in some border area kibbutz!

Anatoly Shcharansky is guilty as hell! Let the punishment fit the crime: 13 years in Israel. ■

Marxism and the National Question in North America

Speaker: **Joseph Seymour**
Central Committee of the Spartacist League
Editorial Board of *Workers Vanguard*

Hilberry A
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DETROIT
July 30, Sunday

Post Office...

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and updated every year since, calls for the occupation of the post offices by more than 96,000 troops of the Army and federalized National Guard and, if necessary, units of the Marines, Navy and Air Force.

Carter is determined to enforce the dictum of every capitalist administration, "You can't strike against the government." In that, he is acting no differently from other so-called "friend of labor" politicians. Franklin Roosevelt employed this slogan when he throttled the strike of WPA workers in the 1930's and later when he unsuccessfully attempted to break the UMWA strike in 1943 after the government had seized the mines. Government strike-breaking, of course, has also been directed extensively against employees of private industry as well, most recently by Carter himself with the vicious Taft-Hartley injunction slapped on the miners. This underlines again the necessity for the trade unions to cease their support of the capitalist parties, Democratic as well as Republican, and build a workers party to fight for a workers government.

WV Photo

Postal workers at July 19 official union demonstration in front of Main Post Office in Manhattan called for an end to layoffs and mandatory overtime.

You Can Strike Against the Government!

The reality is that workers can strike and win—against the government. This was shown not only in the coal miners' most recent defiance of Taft-Hartley, but by the postal workers themselves in 1970. The 1970 strike began as a wildcat in New York. Ironically, it was led by some of the same bureaucrats—Moe Biller of the American Postal Workers Union (APWU) and the Letter Carriers' New York chief Vince Sombrotto—who have so far kept their members on the job this time around. It quickly spread to encompass over 200,000 postmen in major eastern and midwestern cities. The unskilled soldiers deployed by Nixon proved incapable of moving the mails to any appreciable extent, and postal workers won wage increases of over ten percent plus no reprisals for their "illegal" action. A powerful nationwide postal strike today not only can win, but can serve to break apart the cozy ties of the trade-union bureaucrats with the bosses and the government, impelling a genuine upsurge of class struggle.

The key to victory lies with New York. As one West Coast striker told *WV*, "Everybody in the country will know this is a serious strike when they go out at 33rd Street in Manhattan [New York's General Post Office]." If the New York Metro APWU and Letter Carriers Branch 36—who spearheaded the dramatic weeklong strike in 1970—go out, so will hundreds of thousands of other postal workers.

While the treacherous top leaders of the National Association of Letter Carriers, Mailhandlers division of the Laborers' Union and American Postal Workers Union are denouncing the strikers, Biller has sat on his hands. At a rally in Washington July 12, Biller told demonstrating postal workers: "If there's no decent contract by midnight July 20, then there's no work." But when the sellout deal came down, Biller did nothing. And although the Jersey City wildcatters repeatedly set up picket lines in front of the Main Post Office in NYC, Biller has refused to demand that these lines be respected.

Now, under the pressure of mass discontent of postal workers, Biller has come out in favor of renegotiating the contract. Last night a New York Metro APWU stewards' meeting voted to support amnesty for the victimized strikers and to demand a new contract. But instead of calling an immediate mass membership meeting to sanction a strike, Biller pledged only to take a strike poll within the next few days, thereby keeping his options open. Grooming himself for higher office in the APWU and reluctant to force a real confrontation with the Democratic Party, Biller cannot be trusted to wage a vigorous campaign for, and to implement, a real strike that will meet the needs of postal workers.

Mounting Attacks on Postal Workers

Since 1970 conditions have drastically deteriorated at the Post Office. After the creation of the quasi-public corporation, USPS, postal workers were given significant wage increases to placate discontent with the outrageously low pay levels, which forced thousands of postal employees to find second jobs. But the drive to make the Postal Service "profitable" has meant slashing tens of thousands of jobs. An annual attrition rate of 5.5 percent cut 24,000 jobs last year alone, although the volume of mail rose by 2.5 billion pieces. U.S. postal workers now handle more mail per worker than any other postal service in the world.

It is not surprising that postal worker discontent has erupted first at the BMCs. These sprawling, highly mechanized, factory-like complexes were the USPS answer to commercial competitors like United Parcel Service. Twenty-one such centers process millions of packages and letters, often on ten-hour shifts, with the increasingly common employment of casuals and "flexies" who do not enjoy full union benefits and protection. Staffed with a high proportion of Vietnam veterans and minority workers, the BMCs have become seething sources of postal worker discontent.

The just concluded contract did nothing to resolve the grievances of BMC or any other postal workers. The postal unions had gone into negotiations last April demanding 26 percent wage increases over a two-year contract. They settled instead for a three-year pact with ridiculous annual pay hikes of 2, 3 and 5 percent. With inflation running at double-digit rates, the cost-of-living allowance cap at 9.5 percent total over three years will mean an actual pay cut by 1981. The "no layoff" clause was retained, but nothing was done to stop Postal Service's automation/attrition drive which will eliminate jobs just as surely and steadily as direct layoffs. Injuries, which are up 300 percent over the 1975 contract, will continue to escalate as workers are driven at an ever more frantic pace.

The default of both the postal union tops and established "opposition" leaders so far has left the door open to supporters of various "Marxist-Leninist" groups to tap the anger of the postal workers. At both the New Jersey and California BMCs, supporters of the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party and the Revolutionary Workers Headquarters (which recently split from the RCP), along with assorted other Mao-Stalinist sects, have played a major role in leading the picketing and seeking to spread the strike.

The Maoist grouplets have intersected the real anger of the postal workers. Yet they have consistently failed to organize postal workers around a political program distinguishable from the "dissident" union bureaucrats'. Their economist policies are in fact not qualitatively different from those of militant business unionists like Biller himself, who won his spurs in the 1970 wildcat. Indeed, the major plea of the wildcat organizers is that Biller take over the leadership of the struggle. By failing to construct a class-struggle opposition in the unions, linking the day-to-day struggles of workers to the need to smash capitalism and calling for a workers party based on the unions to oppose the capitalist parties which now seek to crush the postal workers, the Maoists can only exercise temporary influence on militants but can never build a viable alternative to the sellouts and opportunists. They end up being base-builders for a slicker breed of labor fakers.

Defend the Postal Workers!

Though the postal union leaderships have handed the ranks a disaster contract and the BMC walkouts are winding down, the situation is still volatile. The widespread dissatisfaction in the ranks could still be propelled into a massive strike, either by more local walkouts or, more likely, by a strike in New York. To combat the inevitable attempts of their misleaders to shove through the current sellout deal or piece together an equally unsatisfactory "sweetened" pact, postal workers must elect strike committees *now* to organize a solid, nationwide strike to fight for: a big pay boost with full cost-of-living protection; an end to forced overtime, speedup and job-stealing attrition—create jobs through a shorter workweek with no cut in pay; union control over health and safety with the right to shut down unsafe operations; full union rights and benefits for all postal employees; the unrestricted right to strike over all grievances; no victimizations for any strikers.

Should the postal workers embark on a national strike, they will face the combined wrath of the administration, courts and armed forces. By confronting the Carter government's wage cutting and asserting their right to strike, postal workers would be launching a fight on behalf of all workers and would require immediate support of the *entire* labor movement. In the event of a mass postal strike, all unions must immediately dispatch mass pickets to bolster the postal workers' lines and demand that the U.S. government and courts keep their hands off the strike!

If the government follows through on its threats to deploy troops to break a postal walkout, the elementary defense of their fellow unionists demands that all U.S. trade unions launch a general protest strike. Victory to the postal workers! Shut down the Post Office! ■

Spectre of Spartacism...

(continued from page 5)

disruptive role in the workers' movement.

No one will shed any tears for the Thornett clique for the way the Spartacists smashed up the London branches of the WSL.

Indeed, members of the Workers Revolutionary Party will find it deeply ironic.

Thornett and his camp-followers let out a hue and cry at the end of 1974 trying to claim the "right" to run a party within the Workers Revolutionary Party.

The overwhelming majority of the leadership and the membership said, "No," and came down firmly for the Bolshevik principles of democratic centralism.

The WRP could not permit outside political forces, namely Robin Blick, Mark Jenkins etc, to run an anti-party clique whose sole purpose was to disrupt and sabotage the work of the WRP.

Thornett was thrown out when he persisted and took it upon himself to influence others to refuse party instructions.

Among those anti-Trotskyists who vigorously applauded Thornett was none other than the Spartacist group. As they cheered, they also came through the door and set up shop for themselves inside Thornett's group.

They debated whether to take over the WSL lock, stock and barrel, or to smash it up. When they discovered there was *no* lock, stock nor barrel, they decided on the latter course.

Dwindling

Crestfallen members of Thornett's dwindling entourage are now to be heard bitterly complaining about the "destructive" actions of the Spartacists.

Since neither the Thornett clique nor the Robertson-ites have a political principle between them, no one need get wildly excited about their cavortings. It is a simple case of when thieves fall out.

By Alex Mitchell

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Long Lines...

(continued from page 5)

Local 1150 members in New York told a *WV* reporter outside a membership meeting held during the walkout that they had been suspended for respecting Western Electric workers' pickets. Jim Stokes, head of the CWA's Nashville area office, said that there had been several walkouts by South Central Bell, Long Lines and Western Electric employees in the last few months in Nashville alone where workers simply respecting other CWA members' picket lines were given five-day suspensions.

The issue has recently grown to such acute proportions that at a caucus of Long Lines delegates at the CWA national convention held in San Francisco in June it was decided that a dramatic nationwide response was needed to stop AT&T from picking off locals one by one. Several CWA officials reported that it was decided at the caucus that the next time the company suspended any Long Lines workers for respecting a picket line, a national walkout would be the union's response. This decision was reached with the evident approval of CWA president Watts and the union's director for the Long Lines division, Fred Fischer.

But when, only a few weeks after the convention, the battle was launched and thousands of CWA workers were out on the streets, the Watts bureaucracy proved incapable and unwilling to fight the showdown through to a conclusive victory. Frightened by AT&T's threats to fire every CWA local president where workers were out and by the company's rush to the courts to obtain injunctions against the picket lines set up in many cities, Watts & Co. backed down. The International refused point blank to call out the rest of the CWA membership in defense of the Long Lines workers, declared the walkout "unauthorized" and began pressuring for a return to work by Wednesday, July 12, knowing full well that AT&T had pledged to suspend for five additional days all the workers who had walked out.

Though some CWA locals reportedly kept picket lines up until Friday, most Long Lines workers and local CWA officials felt that they could not win reversal of the suspensions without the backing of their International officers and called off the walkout. Atlanta Local 3250 president H.B. Pierson (whose local includes the Nashville Long Lines workers) estimated the number of workers subsequently suspended at 10,000-15,000.

Strikers in New York, Detroit, Chicago and elsewhere told *WV* of their anger at the CWA leadership's sabotage of the strike. "Why send us back now, just to get five days off?" they asked repeatedly. But though Long Lines workers did not win the goal of rescinding all the suspensions, their action represents an important development within the CWA, where Glenn Watts is facing mounting opposition to the legacy he has carried on from former president Joe Beirne: repressing the ranks hand-in-hand with the rate-gouging AT&T exploiters who run the world's largest corporate monopoly.

In a leaflet distributed to Bay Area phone workers, the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) of CWA Local 9410 (San Francisco) pointed out the importance of the Long Lines workers strike for all CWA members. MAC is the only class-struggle group in the CWA actively organizing phone workers in opposition to Watts' pro-company program. At the CWA convention, MAC initiated a proposal to grant all CWA locals the unrestricted right to strike. Endorsed by over 30 local presidents and chief stewards, this constitutional amendment was ruled "out of order" by the high-handed Watts. Pointing to the integral link between the right to strike and the Long Lines walkout in defense of the right to respect picket lines, the Caucus stated:

> "These 10,000 Long Lines workers who struck to defend the rights of our union members to respect picket lines deserve a lot of credit. A union which respects the principle of the picket line is a strong effective union....
>
> "At bottom the right to respect picket lines is the right to strike. Glenn Watts doesn't want to defend the principle of the picket line because he is opposed to giving our locals the right to strike, and he is opposed to the union principle that 'an injury to one is an injury to all'....
>
> "The Long Lines strike shows Glenn Watts and his cronies in the CWA leadership must be kicked out and replaced with a leadership that is willing to fight. A union which kowtowed to strike-breaking court injunctions which AT&T can command with a snap of its fingers will always be on its knees. We in MAC seek to change the CWA into a militant union fighting in the interests of its members and those of the entire labor movement."

S.F. Longshore...

(continued from page 12)

someone illegally [as steady men] they will now have to hire someone legally, by seniority"! A chorus of boos almost brought the house down.

Trying to intimidate the membership, Herman snapped, "To hit the bricks is a suicide course"—which brought spontaneous challenges from the floor such as "You never ask us" and "Try it!" Getting desperate, Herman tried scaring the ranks by relating threats of federal intervention: a "Mr. Bosworth" had called from President Carter's office to say that the new contract contributes to inflation and Herman's presence is requested at the White House. Then Herman remarked, "Look at all the unions—the strong unions—which are losing things—including the miners—who had their health and welfare taken away." Herman concluded by remarking: "This is the best contract anywhere in the country in industrywide bargaining in the last ten years." The scattered applause was drowned out by a roar of boos.

The contract is so unpopular that even long-time International flunkies like Tom Lupher have momentarily deserted Herman, Lupher denounced the contract as "divisive" since it means different contracts for the major container ports. He also objected to the provision that new steady men will work out of a "Special Equipment Board" which will absorb most of the skilled jobs left for hall men. While Herman tried to answer this by referring to a "letter of understanding" between him and the PMA, Lupher noted that as a former business agent he knew that "all the verbal assurances don't mean a damn thing," and his call for a no vote was met by wide applause.

It now appears likely that the contract will be rejected on the first round of voting, since rejection by any major port will automatically veto the pact unless Herman can muster a two-thirds vote coastwide. (This latter provision is a change in voting procedure, quietly made by the International in an attempt to override the large, more militant ports.) The recommendation of the recently concluded Coast Caucus was indicative of the deepening fracture within the bureaucracy: San Francisco delegates voted seven to four against the pact, Los Angeles voted seven to three against it, Seattle split three to two in favor.

The revolt against the contract has gained such momentum that the standard trick of intimidating the ranks with the threat of a strike—for which the bureaucrats have made no preparations—is backfiring as the ranks are beginning to *demand* a strike. Thus, for instance, when a Local 10 dispatcher tried to sell the contract by arguing, "Is anyone ready for a strike?" he was met by a loud chorus of "Yes!" The Local bureaucrats who all along have been playing Herman's game by keeping the ranks in the dark during negotiations have shifted their tack, now arguing against the contract, but opposing a strike. The Local 10 bulletin of July 20, for instance, announces that "the officers of Local 10 unanimously recommend a No vote on the contract." But the bulletin carefully avoids calling for a strike, noting that a no vote would be "for the purpose of vetoing the proposed agreement in order to renegotiate an acceptable solution to our problem regarding steady 9.43 men."

With this fake-militant talk, officers like Local 10 president Larry Wing and secretary-treasurer Herb Mills hope to wear down the ranks as they did in 1975 when they called for a no vote but backed away from Bridges' challenge to call for a strike. (It took three coastwide votes before Bridges finally got his rotten contract in 1975.) Officers of Local 13 (Los Angeles/Long Beach) are clearly playing the same game. Local president Lou Loveridge and secretary-treasurer Tony Salcido issued a bulletin on July 21 which also called for a no vote but made no mention of strike preparations.

At the SF meeting, Bill Proctor, well-known CP supporter, was quite explicit. He noted that there was "a lot of talk here that a no vote means a strike.... I differ with that." A leaflet issued by Proctor and his friends on July 22 called for a no vote to "place pressure on the PMA to get back to the bargaining table." The possibility that the PMA might be tempted to force a lockout in the face of a no vote is not mentioned by these fakers. The employers have made much more extensive preparation for a strike than they did in 1971. Reports from the Coast Caucus indicated that important sections of the PMA are looking for a fight. They are ready to use the so-called land bridge system to divert cargo around the strike, through Canadian, Mexican and East and Gulf Coast U.S. ports.

The treacherous role of the Communist Party in tailing the bureaucracy is almost an exact repeat of the 1975 contract struggle, when Archie Brown, then CP dock leader, urged a no vote but had no answer when Bridges challenged him to call a strike. For the first two weeks after Herman announced the latest pact on July 1, the CP had absolutely nothing to say to longshoremen. The first "analysis" in the CP's *People's World* on July 15 merely noted that there was "sharp debate" in the Coast Caucus on the various defects in the pact. The article did not even say to vote no!

Only in the face of the angry ranks has the CP now started to oppose the contract, while avoiding a strike call. Presumably if Herman does call a strike the CP will then echo this, while avoiding the necessary call for elected strike committees to take the leadership out of Herman's hands. The CP's "leadership" amounts to tailing after the frightened Local bureaucrats, while trying to cover for the International.

The ranks must have no illusions in the labor fakers and reformists, who time and again have crawled before the employers and the government. They have administered the worst aspects of the job-slashing M&M contracts and those which followed. They abandoned the solidarity strike in defense of the ILA last fall at the first sign of government strikebreaking and they sabotaged the call for the 24-hour solidarity strike with the miners against Carter's use of Taft-Hartley.

It is time for the membership to prepare for strike action: Recall the Coast Caucus! Dump the negotiating committee! Elect strike committees! The demands of the "Longshore Militant" group must become the basis for a counteroffensive against the PMA. For a militant coastwide strike. Canada through Mexico! Fight for a shorter workshift at no loss in pay; 100 percent COLA on wages and pensions; full manning scales on all operations; abolition of the steady man system and all other attacks on the hiring hall; smash the no-strike clause! Implement the July 22 motion—vote no and strike within 72 hours of rejection! ■

Gary Rowe...

(continued from page 3)

shots at Bohmer, wounding his secretary.

The murderous hired guns of the capitalist state are the first enemy of the left, labor and black movements. While these badge-toting terrorists dress up their counterrevolutionary efforts in the guise of "protecting" the capitalist state from "extremists," the charade fails utterly. In both the Rowe and Godfrey affairs, FBI-directed right-wing terror ended only when the agent was exposed by a murder attempt. Were it not for "accidents" such as the death of Viola Liuzzo and the attempt on the life of Peter Bohmer, the FBI would be able to continue its brutal business unhindered. The chief terrorists in the service of capital have no qualms about the victims of their efforts. An FBI agent smugly noted that Rowe "couldn't be an angel and be a good informant" (*New York Times*, 3 December 1975). How many other crimes against the working class and oppressed have been committed by "good" informants for the FBI? The left and labor movements must demand the immediate publication of all FBI files on Rowe and others of his ilk.

While "good" FBI informants in right-wing terror organizations act as the best murderers of leftists and the oppressed, informants in left organizations arrange for the assassination of left activists. The similarity between FBI infiltrators of the left and right is the color of the corpses they leave behind: almost invariably black. Rowe, acting as Klan head Bobby Shelton's personal bodyguard recounts numerous efforts on his part to save Shelton's life. Yet Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Bobby Clark were murdered in their beds by an FBI-directed Chicago police raid. The murder was set up by Hampton's personal bodyguard, William O'Neal, a paid FBI informant.

Gary Rowe's terrifying account of his undercover years in the Klan describes far more than his joyful bloodletting. His actions starkly detail the role of the capitalist state as a brutal weapon of class oppression. It is a lesson that reformists and black liberal-pacifists desperately sought to keep victimized black ghetto residents from ever learning. Throughout Gary Rowe's FBI-sanctioned reign of terror, black misleaders from King's SCLC to the NAACP were united in demanding the intervention of the federal government to protect southern blacks. Yet this is precisely what they had. While federal marshals stood by and watched as racists beat black students entering integrated schools, the FBI's "best agent" was in the crowd, swinging his chain.

Why is this murderer on the loose? While the victims of capitalist "justice" mainly poor and black—overflow Alabama's harbaric death row, this paid killer is given immunity for his crimes and protected by the government. Jail Rowe—Convict him for murder!

Revolutionary Marxists understand that fascist action groups—together with their protective "Godfather," the FBI—must be smashed before there will be an end to the murders, assaults and harassment of the oppressed. Capitalist "justice" provides for rewarding murderous hoodlums such as Gary Thomas Rowe for their crimes with thousands of dollars. But proletarian justice, meted out by the victorious socialist revolution, will reward these scum in a far different manner ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Shut Down the Post Office!

JULY 25 Outraged postal workers at strategic East and West Coast facilities hit the bricks last week in revolt against the across-the-board sellout contract negotiated by their union leaders with the United States Postal Service.

Angered at pay increases so meager that they will not even keep up with inflation, a toothless "no layoff"-clause that has done nothing to stem the loss of nearly 100,000 jobs over the last seven years through automation and attrition, and no action at all on grueling forced overtime, speedup and hazardous working conditions, workers at the huge Bulk Mail Centers (BMC) in Jersey City, New Jersey; Richmond, California and Washington, D.C. walked off the job calling for a nationwide postal strike. There were work actions as well at the Baltimore BMC and Kearny, New Jersey processing center.

In response, the Carter government has initiated a massive strikebreaking assault. Nearly 100 strikers have been fired at the Jersey City and Richmond BMCs, some as they attempted to return to work (!), and many more firings are expected. Postal workers on both coasts report that postal inspectors, the agency's private police, have been coming to their homes in the middle of the night to serve termination and court papers. Last night a contingent of these strikebreaking goons reportedly tried to shove their way into an emergency meeting of the East Bay Postal Workers Union in search of "suspects," but they were ejected by union sergeants at arms.

A federal district court in New York yesterday issued a sweeping injunction banning picketing at *any* post office in the country and local cops are on the lines to enforce it, keeping strikers off "government property" and access roads.

The government's vicious strikebreaking, the firings and widespread disgust with the contract have produced broad sentiment for a strike among thousands of postal workers. This must be acted on now—Shut Down the Postal Service Nationwide!

Postal workers shut down Jersey City Bulk Mail Center, July 21. UPI

The hardline stance by the Carter government demonstrates once again the reactionary, anti-labor character of the Democratic Party. Carter made clear in the months of contract negotiations that he regarded the postal contract as a key test of his wage-slashing, "anti-inflation" program. His chief anti-inflation jawboner, Robert Strauss, has been addressing meetings of businessmen across the country saying it would be an "outrage" if the postal workers got a hefty wage boost, particularly with Teamster and United Auto Workers contracts up next year.

With a rash of public employee strikes during the last month (transit workers wildcatting in Washington, D.C., 20,000 Philadelphia city workers on strike, San Antonio sanitation workers walking out and firemen in St. Louis, Memphis and Louisville hitting the bricks), the government is clearly worried about its ability to successfully stifle labor unrest. Council on Wage and Price Stability chairman Barry Bosworth, grousing that the president's anti-inflation wage curbing had made "absolutely no progress at all with labor," has repeatedly stressed that the success of the administration's plans hinged on the postal contracts.

Carter has on hand a massive arsenal of weapons to smash a postal strike. Federal law makes striking against the government a crime punishable by a year in jail and a $1,000 fine, in addition to firing, a fact that U.S. Postmaster General William Bolger reminded postal employees of in intimidating letters to all workers during the contract talks. Postal workers are virtually the only unionists in the U.S. who negotiate their contracts under the threat of almost immediate use of troops as strikebreakers (in addition to mass firings and jailings).

Though the government is not usually prone to revealing its military contingency plans, the U.S. Army released details of its "Operation Graphic Hand" during the postal negotiations. The plan, first worked out when Nixon sent 17,000 troops against the 1970 strike

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ILWU Ranks Boo Herman Over Sellout Pact

S.F. Longshoremen Demand Strike

SAN FRANCISCO, July 23—Last night's contract meeting of Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) resoundingly supported the following motion put forward by Howard Keylor, a member of the "Longshore Militant" group and a member of the Local Executive Board: "It is the consensus of the Local 10 membership that we should vote this contract down and that the coast should strike PMA [Pacific Maritime Association, the employers' association] within 72 hours of rejection."

With several hundred longshoremen in attendance, the membership, clearly believing they were voting for this motion, approved it on a voice vote, reflecting the revolt spreading in the ranks. But moments earlier a dangerous amendment was slipped through. The amendment read "vote no and continue to work" and was accepted as a "*friendly* amendment" by the chair (Local president Larry Wing) in a desperate sleight-of-hand designed to derail strike sentiment. The amendment was ruled as having passed by about 20 to 15, with about 700 confused members not voting on it! The 20 pro votes were cast almost exclusively by a bloc led by Communist Party (CP) supporter Bill Proctor. Thus the basis was laid for possible future sabotage of strike action by the Local leadership.

The call made by Keylor must be implemented by the ranks immediately: Recall the Coast Caucus! Dump the negotiating committee! Elect a strike committee now!

West Coast longshoremen have reacted to the leadership's rotten proposal by going into open revolt, practically hooing International president Jimmy Herman off the podium in San Francisco Local 10's contract meeting and in an earlier meeting of L.A. Local 13. In addition to the continued erosion of jobs, the bosses have launched an attack on the guts of the union—the traditional coastwide contract and the union hiring hall, crucial union gains which historically have distinguished the ILWU from the East Coast ILA. The assault is contained in the provision for *separate* port agreements on the steady man category. The "steady-man" system is designed to create a more docile workforce, as jobs are no longer dispatched on an equalized basis out of the hiring hall but are assigned on a permanent basis by the employers.

Up to 1,000 men attended the five-hour SF meeting as Herman desperately tried to sell the rotten contract. Obliquely attacking the criticisms from even his own flunkies in the Local on such issues as manning scales, steady men, Pay Guarantee, etc., Herman threw out a challenge: "No one said that we will take a strike on these issues." Then putting his foot in his mouth, Herman stupidly boasted that with a new agreement "any time they hire

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 213 11 August 1978

Young: Brzezinski's Front Man in Africa

Rhodesia White Rule Nears Bloody End

The guerrilla war against Rhodesia's white colonial rule which began in the bush more than a generation ago is now spreading waves of panic among the residents of Salisbury's posh suburbs. Outside the capital, farmers nightly huddle over their machine guns in fortified compounds knowing that it may not be long before Salisbury begins to look like Saigon in the final frantic days before the Americans pulled out. Already white settlers are abandoning their swimming pools and tennis courts, leaving the country at the rate of 1,000 per month. The sagging morale of the once-cocky colonialists was further weakened with the revelation that the chief of Rhodesian Customs Security and the Undersecretary for Defense, together with four businessmen, had been arrested for diverting millions of dollars in arms funds into Swiss bank accounts in preparation for a quick getaway.

The war is not yet over, however. On July 29 the desperate white supremacist regime launched a vicious assault on the Mozambique base areas of guerrilla leader Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). Black troops commanded by white officers and backed up by jet bombers and helicopters swept over the border and destroyed what the Salisbury government called "ten terrorist bases." A school was hit in the attack and an undetermined number of men, women and children were killed. In the last such raid in November the Rhodesians claimed to have killed 1,200 people. The only difference this time is that the murderous attack was undertaken by a regime supposedly moving toward "majority rule" and with the approval of black lackeys in the Rhodesian government.

Africa

Rhodesian leader Ian Smith pronounced the raid a success and was no doubt encouraged by the fact that while the bombs were falling in Mozambique, the American House of Representatives was preparing a small bombshell of its own: a vote to lift trade sanctions against Rhodesia if the elections promised by Smith and his three black front men are held as scheduled in December. The House action was a vote of confidence in the shaky Salisbury "transitional government" produced by the March 3 "internal settlement" which brought Bishop Abel Muzorewa, tribal chief Jeremiah Chirau and ex-ZANU leader Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole onto the four-man Executive Council with Smith. But while the House was acting to prop up the colonial settlers, the Carter administration, which has written them off as a lost cause, continued its efforts to forge a compromise between Salisbury and the Soviet-armed Patriotic Front Alliance of Mugabe's ZANU and the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union (ZAPU) of Joshua Nkomo.

Ian Smith and His Three Stooges

The fraudulent nature of the "internal settlement" and the hollowness of the claim that it represents a genuine sharing of power in a country where blacks outnumber whites 19 to 1 was revealed by the fact that Muzorewa, Sithole and Chirau were not even *told* about the latest raid until after it had already begun! This, however, did not prevent the three black quislings from defending the invasion authored by the all-white Rhodesian War Council. Chirau, a long-time toady for Smith, simply repeated the statements of the white generals. Muzorewa, in London trying to sell the British on the "transitional government," maintained a tactful silence. Sithole openly defended the assault, claiming that, "We have started a democratic process, but there are forces outside this country that would like to disrupt that democratic process, so that sometimes we have to do things that we don't like to do normally. As to whether such things are good or bad," he continued, "that is not the point" (*New York Times*, 3 August).

The point, as Sithole well knows, is that neither he nor the other two black leaders have any control over the all-white army officer corps or government bureaucracy anyway. The job these sellouts took when they joined the government was simply to provide a phony black cover for a regime in which the white settlers would continue to call the shots. The case of

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Bell Shields FBI's Finks in SWP

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Showdown Coming in Portugal?

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Dictatorship of Party or Proletariat?

Cops Attack West German Anti-Fascist Demonstration

Protecting a 17 June rally of West German Nazis, Frankfurt police brutally attacked leftist counter-demonstrators, injuring scores. The events marked the 25th anniversary of the 1953 uprising of the East Berlin proletariat, a date the bourgeoisie, the rightists in particular, has sought to use for its own anti-communist ends. Thus the ultra-rightist National Party (NPD), a haven for old Nazis, had called for a major national meeting, *Deutschlandtreffen*, to celebrate a "Day of German Unity." This in turn sparked a wave of outrage from the Frankfurt left, which turned out in protest.

Moskito

Anti-fascist demonstrators in Römerberg Square are attacked by cops with water cannons and clubs.

The fascist rally was originally set for Romerberg Square once the imperial town hall of the Holy Roman Empire, now the civic center and the closest approximation to a historic focus in the artificial West German state. Above all the NPD meeting enabled the West German police to demonstrate yet again its allegiance to "law and order" and "civil liberties" *for the ultraright*. First, the police set up the leftist counter-demonstrators by letting them occupy the square in front of the speakers' platform. Then they gave them three minutes to disperse. Suddenly, without warning, the cops mounted an all-out onslaught, attacking the 4-5,000 demonstrators trapped inside the square with billy clubs, water cannon and chemical mace.

Our dramatic photos show the riot police with three-foot clubs wading into the mass of demonstrators, the area enveloped by blankets of tear gas and gushing streams from police fire hoses. According to eyewitness accounts the police simply attacked all who were unable to flee by the two narrow exits. Defenseless demonstrators were brutally clubbed by the cops, some after they had already been knocked to the ground. Police spokesmen boasted that they had cleared the square in only 13 minutes. Forty-nine of those cleared away had to be taken to a hospital.

The dispersed leftists then broke up into small bands which roamed through central Frankfurt fighting guerrilla street battles with the cops. Barricades were erected, cars overturned, and some shop windows broken. The street-fighting gave the authorities the excuse to blame the left for the subsequent suspension of civil liberties: because of the "threat of civil disorders" the NPD meeting was moved from the Römerberg Square to a less central site. Here, under the despicable NPD banner, "25 Years of German Struggle for Freedom, 17 June 1953—17 June 1978," the Nazis duly held their march and departed from Frankfurt unscathed.

No Reliance on the Bourgeois State

The fascists breathe ever more freely in the witchhunt atmosphere that has been on the rise in West Germany for the past several years marked by the "Berufsverbot" (blacklisting of civil service jobs), the various anti-extremist laws and the banning of the Maoist KPD. But this trend sharply escalated last fall when the kidnapping of industrialist Hanns-Martin Schleyer touched off a wave of anti-terrorist hysteria. At the same time fascist activity has been generally increasing throughout Europe and in the BRD in particular. It was the intersection of these two dangerous tendencies which encouraged the Frankfurt police's brutal June 17 attack.

In West Germany the ultrarightist activity has tended to be focused in the military, with meetings of fascist officers and a number of anti-Jewish incidents. In addition to the National Front in Britain, fascist organizations in France, Italy and Spain have also become more aggressive, calling for a meeting of the "Euro-Right" in Paris on June 27. This prompted the Pabloites of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) to join with the reformist French Communist Party (PCF) in calling on the French state to ban the meeting.

The treachery of relying on the state was graphically demonstrated when the Frankfurt police issued a leaflet (!) for 17 June warning that it intended to protect the fascists to the hilt:

> "The possibilities of dissent against the decisions of the administration which are prescribed in our state of law and order were used by the NPD! The Frankfurt am Main administrative court has decided! The ban by the demonstration authority was lifted! Judicial decisions in a state of law and order must be respected by everyone!"

Moreover, the absurdity of calling on the state to ban the fascists and ultra-rightist terror squads (to whom the bourgeoisie will ultimately turn as the last defenders of bourgeois order) is nowhere more obvious than in the West German state, shot through from top to bottom with former Nazi functionaries. Just recently it was revealed that the judge in a Nazi court martial who had issued a death sentence for a German sailor who had deserted in the closing days of the war is none other than the present Minister President of the state of Baden-Württemberg.

Despite the brutal dispersal of the June 17 anti-fascist counter-demonstration, the West German left has been celebrating the events that day as a victory! Both the critical Maoist Kommunistischer Bund and the West German United Secretariat section, Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (GIM), claimed the leftist street fighting was successful in preventing the NPD rally. Just like the pro-Peking Stalinists, the Moscow-loyal Stalinist Deutsche Kommunistische Partei (DKP) treacherously called on the state to ban the fascists although the DKP refused to participate in the counter-demonstration because the groups involved were unwilling to declare their allegiance to the *Grundgesetz*—the West German constitution under which the DKP was banned in 1965!

While the rest of the left was simultaneously calling on the state to ban the fascists and running around engaging in ineffective "guerrilla" scrambles, the Trotskyist League of Germany (TLD, section of the international Spartacist tendency) alone advanced a program for combatting fascism. In a leaflet distributed at the Römerberg anti-fascist demonstration, the TLD wrote:

> "Trotskyists fight for the physical destruction of the fascist bands. But a strategy of confrontation with the fascists and their police protectors by small left groups is adventurist, substitutionalist politics. The failure to fight for the mobilization of the proletariat and its mass organizations has, as its opposite side, appeals to the bourgeois state and cozying up to bourgeois liberal forces... Appeals to the bourgeois state are a call upon the bourgeoisie's instrument of domination to employ its *laws* and its *police* against the fascists. Laws against fascists (and other extremists) are...as a rule used mainly against the left. The only class which can smash fascism is the proletariat under the leadership of its revolutionary vanguard."

For Revolutionary Reunification

Tailing after the East German bureaucracy, the Moscow-loyal DKP accepts the division of Germany in the interests of "peaceful coexistence." For their part the Maoists defend the West German "fatherland" against the sup-

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Moskito

Fascists of the National Party demonstrate with full protection of the police.

Remember This Model of USec Unity?

Canadian RWL: Shotgun Marriage Backfires

A year ago this month the competing Canadian organizations of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) fused to form the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL). The fusion took place in the atmosphere of international fence-mending between the USec's centrist majority and its reformist minority led politically by the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP): With appropriate bombast SWP honcho Jack Barnes hailed the Canadian fusion as "a turning point for Canada and the international."

The fusion was not simply the Canadian incarnation of the USec's drive to shelve its stalemated factional polarization and patch up the numerous public splits in its national sections. The political basis for this fusion had been laid by the dramatic rightward evolution of the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) since its original left split from the League for Socialist Action (LSA) in 1973. While the LSA looked forward to numerical preponderance, the RMG was trying to escape the almost total paralysis which had beset its own organization. The fusion of the English-speaking groups was mirrored in French Canada by the amalgamation of the majorityite Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire (GMR) and the minorityite Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSO) to form the Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire (LOR).

This presumed model of international reconciliation was also supposed to signal "a move toward the creation of a revolutionary organization which is able to actually influence the course of mass struggles" in Canada (RMG/LSA joint political committee document). The fusion was touted as the route to "mass" influence as well as a pole of attraction for unaffiliated leftists and smaller "Trotskyist" organizations and as a way to outflank the sizable Maoist organizations in Quebec.

But as the RWL/LOR celebrates its first anniversary, the product of this hasty marriage of convenience is not in good shape. Far from overcoming the weaknesses of its predecessor components, the fusion seems to have compounded them. The tasks reporter to the fused group's Easter plenum stated that "within each national component we remain politically heterogeneous" and exhorted the leadership to "work out its priorities"!

Fusion or Diffusion?

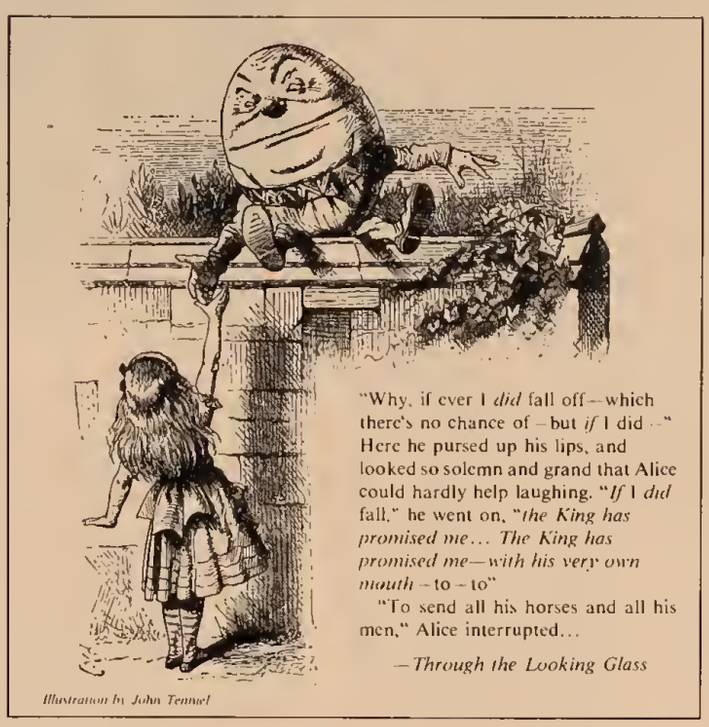
The precipitous decline in the visibility of the fused organization has been noted both within and outside the organization. In fact, the RWL does less public work than either one of its pre-fusion components. The plenum reporter noted "a substantial weakening of our propaganda capacities":

> "In many branches comrades don't have the time or the consciousness to sell the paper; public meetings of the organization are few and far between...comrades don't have time to talk to contacts.... Comrades don't have time to come to the general membership meetings or the fraction discussion, don't have time to seriously think about their political relationship to the organization or their financial responsibility to it...."

Why is the fused organization manifestly less capable of political work than its predecessors? The answer is unwittingly provided by the "Resolution on Tasks of the RWL/LOR." Here the leadership describes the functioning of the Toronto branch, which comprises nearly half of the organization's membership:

> "The Toronto branch of the RWL currently has 16 interventional fractions and almost as many internal committees. The branch has been described as a federation of interventions rather than a cohesive, effective unit.... This political and organizational diffusion of our forces is a major problem faced by most of the other branches as well."

The root of the "diffusion" is indeed that the organization is a "federation of interventions" rather than a united, disciplined party. Unable to resolve the conflicting opportunist appetites of its reformist and centrist components through a hasty shotgun wedding, the cynical honchos of the Canadian USec simply buried the differences under a mountain of "unity" rhetoric. If the LSAers wanted to suck up to the bureaucrats of the social-democratic New Democratic Party (NDP) while the RMGers wanted to tail the Quebec separatists, no problem—the RWL would just do both. For every appetite, constitute an "interventional fraction." But alas for the RWL, wrangling at the base and cliquist jockeying at the top were the surrogate for the political battles over line and priorities which the leadership evaded in the interests of "unity."



"Why, if ever I *did* fall off—which there's no chance of—but *if* I did—" Here he pursed up his lips, and looked so solemn and grand that Alice could hardly help laughing. "*If* I *did* fall," he went on, "*the King has promised me... The King has promised me—with his very own mouth*—to—to"

"To send all his horses and all his men," Alice interrupted...

—*Through the Looking Glass*

Illustration by John Tenniel

On every question, from the youth organization to the NDP, counterposed perspectives have paralyzed the work of the RWL, if not liquidated it altogether. In the women's movement, for instance, an old traditional difference erupted on the question of abortion campaigns, with the ex-RMGers calling for "free abortion on demand" while the ex-LSAers stuck to their parliamentarist demand to "repeal all anti-abortion legislation." Finally, the differences were overcome through a recent decision to curtail participation in the various women's front groups and propaganda blocs the organization has spent much of the past year building.

Another traditional difference between the two wings of Canadian Pabloism, which figured in the 1972-73 factional struggles, was the question of a youth movement. The LSA maintained a policy of building a fake-mass youth group, the Young Socialists (YS), which the RMG had traditionally opposed. Following the fusion, the youth leadership complained:

> "The fusion compromise was not workable.... The YS comrades found themselves in a completely untenable situation. They were forced to attempt to carry out their intervention, to build their organization, in virtual isolation from the RWL.... Six months of isolation and overwhelming uncertainty are producing tremendous pressures and tension in the YS...comrades feel frustrated, isolated, abandoned, and—more and more as time goes on—demoralized.... In Vancouver...several of the leading youth comrades have recently announced that they simply can't take it any longer.
>
> "Was this situation unavoidable? Was the fusion compromise inherently unworkable?... The problem is rooted in the RWL in its unclarity on the youth question."

And what was the "solution"? The YS will be dissolved while the question of setting up a new youth group remains "under discussion" (*Socialist Voice*, 19 June).

Policy toward the NDP—a major factional issue in 1972-73—is another question which the fusion diplomatically avoided in the hope it would just go away. Instead, the conflict of appetites between the social-democratic LSA/LSO and the petty-bourgeois radical nationalist RMG/GMR has touched off a factional outbreak in the fused organization.

The fusing groups had reached "unity" on a simple statement in the Declaration of Principles characterizing the NDP as a "reformist, social-democratic workers party." But as the RWL Political Committee had to admit, "In the final analysis, the Declaration says very little" about whether to support the NDP ("Report on Federal Elections," December 1977).

The "leftist" RMG had never decisively broken from the LSA's record of prostration before the NDP, and the final pre-fusion RMG convention had no great difficulty in adopting the LSA's call for an NDP government. But the sticky situation was Quebec, where the old LSO mimicked the LSA position while the old GMR shied away from supporting the minuscule Canadian chauvinist Quebec NDP. As the "Federal Elections" report noted, "These different tactical [?] approaches to the

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Socialist Voice

Fused RWL leaders: can they go on meeting like this?

WORKERS VANGUARD

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SWP Reformists Rely on the Judge

Bell Shields FBI Finks

"It seemed incongruous, but the tiny Socialist Workers Party had the chief law enforcement official in the United States boxed into a corner last week," the *New York Times* coyly reported on 18 June. Federal district judge Thomas A. Griesa held attorney general Griffin Bell in contempt for refusing an order to turn over to SWP attorneys the unexpurgated FBI files on 18 unidentified informers. A contempt citation would ordinarily land a person in jail directly, but neither the *Times* nor anyone else (with the possible exception of the more starry-eyed SWPers) really thought Bell would see the inside of a prison over this case.

The SWP's motions to jail Bell were quickly denied by Griesa, and on July 7 he was granted a stay of the contempt charge by the Court of Appeals, which ruled this was "an exceptional" case. And indeed it was. For the first time in U.S. history the "chief law enforcement official" in the country had been cited for contempt of court. An "unseemly confrontation between the Executive and the Judiciary," Bell called it (*New York Times*, 7 July).

The Bell contempt citation was the most dramatic event in the SWP's five-year, $40 million civil court suit charging the government with a decades-long illegal campaign to disrupt and destroy the organization and ruin the lives and livelihoods of its members. The case has already forced the disclosure of thousands of pages—formerly "classified" secret documenting a concerted secret police operation of illegal surveillance, burglary, slander and harassment against the SWP and other radical organizations. Obtained in the wake of Watergate, these documents along with material gathered under the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act have proved embarrassing to the government. Particularly galling has been the exposure of the FBI COINTELPRO program detailing the dirty and sometimes murderous "tricks" of FBI agents in the left and black movements.

The trail of discovery has led directly to the government's network of agents, finks and provocateurs (all called "informants" in the FBI's more public discourse). The SWP claims its lawyers need access to the 18 informer files to make their legal case for damages. In his June 30 decision, Griesa said that "the evidence contained in the FBI informant files undoubtedly constitutes the most important body of evidence in this case, recording in immense detail the activities of the informants, the instructions by the FBI to the informants, and the FBI's evaluations of informant activity." He further "noted" that "the documents in the files indicate that the FBI may have used informants ... to remove private documents for production to the FBI, and to perform other types of activities whose legality was highly questionable."

According to Griesa the 18 disputed informer files have been selected as a "representative sample" of the "1331 [!] informants used by the FBI against the SWP and YSA during the period 1960-76." Griesa—who has had access to the secret files in Washington—further reveals that of the informers admitted by the government, fully 300 were "member informants."

But the government holds on tightly to its filthy secrets even while pretending compliance with annoyances like the Freedom of Information Act. The 65,000 documents the SWP has pried loose from the secret files constitute less than one percent of the eight *million* documents the government has admitted possessing on the SWP. And as Judge Griesa's remarks on the contents of the informer files indicate, this one percent is by no means the most incriminating of the material. Documents obtained under Freedom of Information have the more revealing sections blocked out; it is not at all unusual to find an entire page with only the name of the person requesting the file, all other material having been deleted. Especially the identities and activities of finks and agents provocateurs come under the heavy magic marker of the FBI censor.

So it is small wonder that Bell would risk a contempt citation to protect even a "sample" of the unexpurgated documents. As the files' "legal custodian," Bell has insisted:

> "It is essential to protect the pledge of confidentiality which the FBI made to the informers. Otherwise prospective informers would be discouraged from working for the government and this could undermine both domestic law enforcement efforts and foreign intelligence work."
>
> UPI dispatch, 30 June

Pity. Bell has enunciated the first rule of spying: secret agents must work in secret, without fear of legal reprisal. It would be a disaster for the spy agencies if their operatives began to question assignments that seemed too patently illegal, since it is precisely for the slander-mongering, the "black bag jobs," the assassinations that they are hired in the first place. Thus Justice Department lawyers have argued that disclosure of the files of the 18 informers would cause "incalculable harm to the nation's ability to protect itself" (*New York Times*, 8 July).

New York Times

Roddey Mims

Griffin Bell (above): informers trust him to keep their secret; Judge Griesa (left) trusts SWP not to tell tales out of court.

Disclose the Files!

The government wants no more revelations, especially of the sort that implicate higher-ups in the secret police network. To stem the tide of post-Watergate exposures, the government has been working on a number of fronts, including the jailing of David Truong and Ronald Humphrey for 15 years on charges of spying for Vietnam. Thus the government has asserted its "right" to engage in "warrantless wiretaps" and by implication other well-known methods whenever they claim "national security" is at issue. In the Frank Snepp case the government is successfully establishing its "right" to block embarrassing exposure of its activities even when those activities are not "classified." It is cracking down on reporters' need to protect sources. And the Supreme Court recently handed the police another "right"—to invade newspaper offices to confiscate whatever they want. Recalling the Daniel Ellsberg exposé, which caused so much trouble during the Vietnam war, the government wants to be sure that in any future imperialist adventure, the leaky faucets of Watergate are plugged up tight.

So the political fight over the SWP case is an important one. The "socialist Watersuit" is a main event, and the "Friday night fights" imagery has not been lost on the SWP. But how did the government get "boxed into a corner"? The SWP reports thrillingly from courtside where they are battling for a reformed secret police: "There has never been a case before where the SWP and the YSA had the attorney general on the ropes" (*Militant*, 14 July).

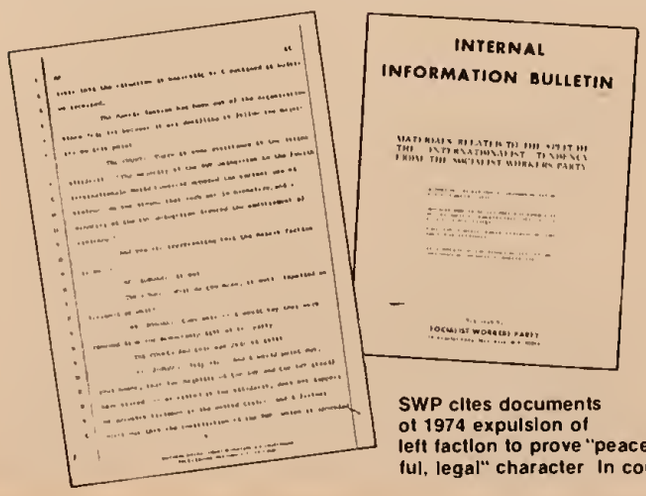
The SWP presents its suit as the legal underdog match of the century, a sort of "Rocky" of the courtroom. In this corner we have the federal government in red, white and blue—a muscle-bound, dirty colossus of illegal machination with unlimited financial, legal and police resources bent on crippling and destroying its opponent by any means, mostly low blows. And in the other corner, in pink and yellow, the SWP—clean, peaceful, legal, frail, small, harassed, financially strapped and flabby. "The litigants," said George Novack in grand understatement, "were unequally matched." Nevertheless the SWP says its case in winnable.

The government has been willing to trade off, compromise or just pay off to avoid exposure of the identities and activities of its agents. In the same week in which Bell was hit with a contempt citation, he tried to politically trade off the firing of FBI New York director J. Wallace LaPrade, who headed up the FBI's search and destroy operations against the Weatherman organization. In the Weatherman criminal case, the government dropped its indictments when ordered by the court to disclose the FBI's illegal spying on the Weathermen and their families and friends. And in the attempt to avoid reopening the Rosenberg case, the government recently coughed up $195,000 to cover the Rosenberg Committee's attorney fees.

Bell wanted to follow the same procedure in the SWP case. When presented with the disclosure order from Griesa, he complained this was never done to the government: "When the government is the defendant in a civil case it has always been able to accept sanctions as an alternative to the release of informants' identities" (*New York Times*, 7 July). In a $40 million damage suit where the evidence against the government is already irrefutable, these "sanctions" could amount to quite a bundle.

Certainly nobody should begrudge the SWP whatever "compensation" it can wrest from the embarrassed government. But this is small change in terms of the government's crimes against the left. Whatever was done to the SWP was done to the Communist Party (CP) a thousand times worse. From the Palmer Raids, when thousands of Communist immigrants were rounded up and deported without the slightest fig leaf of "due process," through the Smith Act trials which sent CP leaders to jail for the "crime" of political affiliation, and right up to the present day, the bourgeoisie has trampled on the civil rights of the Communist Party as if it were a gang of mad bombers.

The CP was "disrupted" not merely by the dirty tricksters on the sly, but as open, official government policy. While



SWP cites documents of 1974 expulsion of left faction to prove "peaceful, legal" character in court.

the FBI plied its trade planting finks by the thousands, visiting employers and landlords, forging, spying and conspiring other branches of the state were keeping their end up. The courts convicted Communists of "thought crimes," the Congress invented "Catch 22" legislation setting up loyalty oaths and prosecuting those who signed to keep their jobs, the IRS went after the CP's money.

Where is "justice" for blacklisted trade unionists hounded out of industry? What kind of "compensation" can there be for the Communists and fellow travelers whose lives were destroyed on the basis of their associates and their libraries by the McCarthyite inquisitors? The capitalist state which now slaps the hands of the FBI for an excess of anti-SWP zeal had no such scruples about fabricating a case against the Rosenbergs to witchhunt the CP as a foreign spy agency, and did not stop short of public executions. How much will the killer capitalists pay for the lives of the Rosenbergs?

Reformists at the Bar

It is certainly principled indeed intelligent—to use available legal means in an effort to hamper the dirty work of the FBI. This the SWP has done quite successfully. But the precondition to the SWP's present legal successes was the systematic extirpation of every residue of revolutionary content from the politics of the once-Trotskyist SWP.

The Spartacist League could never have won such concessions from Judge Griesa. The SWP has worked for the past decade and a half to make itself the kind of party which could plausibly appeal to a branch of the government to uphold its bourgeois-democratic rights against the FBI's illegal incursions. The SWP has single-mindedly sought since the mid-1960's to demonstrate its "respectability" and "reliability," its reformist prostration before the bourgeois state.

The SWP reformists have run a strictly legalist and civil-libertarian campaign differing in thrust not a whit from the ACLU, which supports the SWP's Political Rights Defense Fund. Even their public activities around the case are tailored to buttressing the narrow legal arguments. At a July rally in NYC's Foley Square, the SWP avoided militant slogans like "Down With the FBI/CIA" or "Unmask the FBI Agents Provocateurs" in favor of "Obey the Court or Go to Jail."

Whereas revolutionists would use the courtroom as a platform to denounce the system of secret political police whose purpose is to intimidate and disrupt the left and labor movements, showing how this apparatus is integral to capitalist rule, the SWP implies the courts will use this case to make the spy system more "democratic." Thus Fred Halstead, long-time SWP spokesman and its candidate for governor of California, proclaimed over the radio: "Judge Griesa's ruling should serve as a warning to police officials here in California, as well as nationally, that this kind of operation must come to an end." How nice—Judge Griesa hands down a decision or two and the bourgeois state will dismantle its covert war against the left and labor movements.

The SWP's touching faith in the judicial reformability of the repressive apparatus of the capitalist state is nowhere more clearly seen than in its relationship to Judge Griesa. The SWP was indeed lucky to get as its judge a Watergate reformer—that is, a man convinced by the Watergate affair that the FBI/CIA is running an inefficient operation. For such reformers, spying on and burglarizing loyal American citizens are unnecessary and rather a breach of taste.

Out of the Watergate exposures there developed a consensus for streamlining the secret police, mainly through whitewashing Congressional investigations. For the liberals, the lesson was that one group in the ruling class should not treat another as though it were the class enemy. As usual, the real issue is expediency, dressed up in arguments about what is abstractly "legal."

Tailing the Watergate reformers, the SWP took as its central task proving it was an organization worthy of the capitalists' trust. In this case the class was admirably represented by Judge Griesa, the very model of the East Coast elite. Griesa maintains the Harvard man's blue-nosed contempt for the Fordham graduates who inhabit the FBI. A Nixon appointee (suggested by right-winger James Buckley), he is a pinstripe-suited corporation lawyer who lives in an apartment on Manhattan's upper east side with his grand piano and harpsichord. He reads classical Hebrew and Greek and plays tennis regularly. He may also be an honest man in his own terms. In any case, his aristocratic temperament recoiled at the government's stream of stupid lies. To hear the SWP tell it, though, Griesa rises majestically above the class struggle in the interests of classless "democracy."

How was this mutual admiration society established between the SWP and the judge? First of all thanks to the evident paranoia of the FBI, which for its 1960-76 operations against the SWP used more than *thirteen hundred* informants—this for an organization whose total membership probably did not exceed a thousand for the bulk of this period. Surely Judge Griesa can agree that the SWP is less of a threat to "national security" than the FBI's blowing huge sums of government money shadowing and persecuting the SWP. In fact, fifty years of government spying and harassment directed against the SWP and its Trotskyist predecessors led only once to a successful prosecution—the 1941 conviction and subsequent jailing of eighteen Trotskyist leaders under the Smith Act for the "crime" of revolutionary internationalism in the face of wartime patriotic frenzy.

And then the government came into the courtroom and lied through its teeth. The FBI even lied to its own attorneys, and they all lied in court. And this time they got caught.

In 1974 the FBI swore the COINTELPRO program "was not applicable" to the SWP. But by 1975 the SWP had pried loose the documentary proof that this claim was, in Griesa's cautious words, "less than candid." Then the FBI said its surveillance was merely "to alert the public to the nature and activities" of the SWP—a sort of "What's Going On" page sponsored by the government. But as Judge Griesa summarized:

> "The documents show FBI plans to place informants within the SWP and YSA.... According to the documents, the FBI interfered with travel reservations of members, took steps to cause speaker hall rentals to be cancelled, and circulated false information ... The documents show that the FBI caused local law enforcement officers to make arrests and break up functions ... the FBI arranged for a raid of a SWP summer camp for alleged state law violations ... According to the documents, the FBI attempted to secure the eviction of the Philadelphia SWP office from a public building...the FBI sent fraudulent letters...to induce these [school administrators] to discharge SWP or YSA members from teaching positions...."

The whole mess really blew wide open when one FBI informer file was uncovered. Timothy Redfern was arrested by the Denver police and it was revealed he had been involved in some of the more than 90 documented FBI burglaries of SWP offices. Said Griesa: "It was apparent that the FBI had full knowledge of these burglaries. Finally, it was clear that the FBI had intentionally falsified the answers to interrogatories to conceal the fact of the burglaries."

These "unfortunate instances" of "misrepresentation by the FBI," argued Griesa, "...furnish some plausibility for plaintiff's assertion...that they need at least a representative sample of actual, complete files, and that they should not be relegated to summary information or expurgated documents prepared for them by the Government."

But it was not simply that the government victimized the SWP and then lied about it. Consider the Hampton family's case brought against the government for money damages resulting from the FBI's setting up the murder of Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. That case was thrown out of court, no doubt because the Panthers were considered a "dangerous," "revolutionary" organization. But it's pretty hard to pretend the SWP is either dangerous or revolutionary.

Tell it to the Judge

So the SWP is doing what comes naturally to reformists: trying to win the confidence of the judge. In the early days of the "socialist Watersuit," the SWP falsified the revolutionary traditions of Marxism, redefining them as the pacifist, electoralist policies practiced by aspiring social democrats (see "SWP Renounces Revolution in Court," *WV* No. 59, 3 January 1975).

The SWP did more than swear to engage in "no violence." When right-wing columnists mounted a witchhunt scare against the SWP's presumed international cothinkers of the European United Secretariat (USec) as a "terrorist wing of the Fourth International," the SWP waved its opposition to the USec vicarious guerrilla enthu-

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Chief Justice Burger Criminal?

Another member of the Nixon gang has been exposed: Nixon-appointed Chief Justice Warren Burger. According to James Hougan's forthcoming book about CIA/FBI agents, *Spooks* (excerpted in the September *Playboy*), Burger—then head of the Justice Department's Civil Division in 1954—acted as the judicial cover for an ongoing criminal conspiracy against Greek shipping tycoon Aristotle Onassis.

Onassis was targeted by the CIA/FBI when he tried to muscle in on the U.S. oil cartel's exclusive hold on Saudi Arabian oil shipping. Along with Hjalmar Schacht, Nazi Germany's financial evil genius, Onassis pulled off the Jidda Agreement, a secret contract with dying King Saud for ten percent of Saudi oil shipping. The CIA/FBI, acting as the direct arm of U.S. oil interests, mounted an anti-Onassis campaign of slander, harassment and legal prosecution. Agents illegally wiretapped his office, shadowed him and his top employees, used bribed journalists and leaked "disinformation" for smear attacks in the press. The far-flung plot even included having a Peruvian fighter plane bomb and strafe an Onassis whaling ship at sea.

The key operatives were CIA agents Robert Maheu and Robert Gerrity, Ex-Howard Hughes aide Maheu, one of the world's most notorious secret agents, runs a CIA cover operation of "private cops" for hire and was the go-between in the CIA/Mafia assassination plot against Castro. Gerrity told author Hougan how he and Maheu got the assignment:

> "Rose Mary Woods ushered us in and gave us the usual coffee treatment.... Nixon came in and, right off, asked us how we were going to take care of the Jidda Agreement. And we told him.... Then Nixon gave us the whole *Mission: Impossible* bit 'I know that you'll be careful,' he said, 'and that you're very good at what you do. But you have to understand that mistakes can be made by anyone, and that, while this is a national-security matter of terrific importance, we can't acknowledge you in any way if anything should go wrong'."

Long before Watergate, Nixon was engaged in hiring out the CIA/FBI cops to do their dirty business for the billionaire capitalists in the name of "national interest." Standard operating procedure. And what was Burger's role in the plot? The future chief justice is revealed as a crucial member of the Nixon gang. He was in charge of the legal assault on Onassis, preparing indictments charging him with illegal sale of military surplus vessels. He was also the recipient of a lot of "black" (illegal) information collected by an underground network of CIA "spooks." Gerrity said Burger told him he'd give the spies "judicial oversight" of their activities. And how much did he know about the illegal wiretaps, the CIA-bribed journalists and their planted smears, the shadowing? "Everything," shrugged Gerrity.

The *New York Times* and *Washington Post* have picked up the Burger story, reporting that Maheu confirms the plot while a Burger spokesman denies Burger received secret information. The Watergate word is "stonewalling."

So the Watergate reformers missed a big fish. Burger not only got away, but after demonstrating such "reliability" was appointed by his partner-in-crime Nixon to the highest court in the land. From his lofty promontory this black-robed Tartuffe has been readying the electric chair for the black and poor, spitting upon indigent women who need abortions, writing into law

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Roddey E. Mims

FBI agents rallied in support of indicted former director Grey in April.

Showdown Coming in Portugal?

RIGHTISTS TOPPLE SOARES GOVERNMENT

For Revolutionary Mobilizations to Defend the Agrarian Reforms and Nationalizations!

LISBON, 3 August Eight months ago when his Socialist government fell on a parliamentary vote of confidence Portuguese prime minister Mário Soares asserted that this was a sign of stability. After all, this was "the first normal governmental crisis" since the overthrow of the Caetano dictatorship on 25 April 1974. In January a coalition was formed with the conservative Center Democrats (CDS) which was supposed to last until the next parliamentary elections in 1980. Now that government has fallen as well, but this time the jolly prime minister is hardly crowing about stability.

The December ministerial "crisis" was partly a maneuver by Soares to force the CDS and the Communist Party (PCP) to support the minority Socialist (PS) cabinet or take the consequences. However, this time around it comes in the context of a generalized rightist offensive following a CDS ultimatum and the summary dismissal of the prime minister by General Ramalho Eanes, the Portuguese president. At present the outcome is quite uncertain, and the sequence of escalating events could turn into a major test of strength between left-wing and openly counterrevolutionary forces. At stake are some of the main achievements of the "revolution of the carnations" which was abruptly turned around in the fall of 1975: the widespread nationalizations in industry and finance and the land reform.

General Eanes

Throughout the spring rightist provocations have been mounting, beginning with an April 25 speech by the president which was widely interpreted as a vote of no confidence in Soares. Taking their cue from the "professional soldier" who organized the 25 November 1975 coup that sealed the fate of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA), the Center Democrats threatened to resign. Although wheedled into continuing the coalition, they soon presented condition: return of all seized agricultural estates that had not been formally expropriated by September, and immediate payment of compensation to the former owners. A month later the three CDS ministers turned in their portfolios and on July 24 Eanes cashiered the PS prime minister.

The Socialists responded with an angry communiqué accusing the CDS of aiding the extreme right-wing forces in "destabilizing democratic institutions...the first step and necessary condition for renewed anti-democratic outbursts and coups" (*Tempo*, 29 July). Eanes attempted to put the onus for the crisis on the PS. In a televised address August 1 he gave Soares four days to come up with a new coalition or else face a prime minister selected by the president to head a "caretaker government" until early elections could be held. However, the Socialists refused to accept the ultimatum, accusing the president of seeking to concentrate excessive powers in his hands. (Eanes is also armed forces chief of staff and chairman of the Revolutionary Council.) Instead, Soares demanded he should either name a prime minister who would have the president's support or else call for an all-party government, which would also include the PCP and the rightist Social Democrats (PSD a bourgeois party heavily supported by small landowners).

Counterrevolution On the Rise

The rightist escalation is by no means limited to governmental intrigue. Last fall saw the emergence of a fascistic movement into the light of day in the form of the MIRN (Independent Movement of National Reconstruction), led by former General Kaúlaza de Arriaga This hardline Salazarist was the bloody butcher of Mozambique in the colonial war which sapped the Portuguese army and brought on the 1974 "captains revolt." At the same time PSD leader Sá Carneiro, *o Chefe* (translated: Der Führer), as he is called by his movement, mounted a maneuver to oust moderate leaders of his party and then force Soares out of office through a campaign of destabilization."

While Eanes had played a largely passive role in the December-January ministerial crisis, by the spring the "moderate" president was aggressively leading up the rightist charge. In early April he removed Vasco Lorrenço, the last of the MFA center leaders to hold an operational command, as head of the Lisbon military region. In early May Eanes dropped a bombshell by announcing that he was permitting former Salazarist President Américo Tomaz to return from Brazilian exile.

Fascist rally in Portugal last year. Lavelberg/Gamma-Liaison

International reaction has not been inactive. Earlier, in mid and late 1975, the U.S. and West Germany were funneling millions of dollars a month to the Socialist Party, which was then spearheading a rightist mobilization in the name of "democracy." (When this extended to burning down PCP offices in the conservative north, Soares defended this, calling it a "popular revolt" against Stalinist dictatorship.) Now that the PS was leading the government, however, the western imperialist powers began turning the screws by demanding that the government tighten the belts of Portugal's workers, still the lowest paid in western Europe. The carrot in this blackmail was a $750 million loan; the stick was a threat to shut off all credit if Soares did not implement a rigid austerity plan prescribed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Already the Portuguese masses had been hard hit by successive devaluation cutback "packages" imposed by Soares, contributing to galloping inflation which has lowered real wages to 1973 (i.e., pre-April 25) levels. Complaining about the staggering trade deficits run up by the PS government (largely political in origin, as the Socialist leaders hoped to avoid draconian measures which could have provoked a militant working-class outburst by living off credit), the IMF called for raising taxes, reducing the government budget deficit, a 20 percent maximum wage increase (in the face of 37 percent inflation in the last twelve months) and liberalizing restrictions on imports. After a show of resistance, Soares "gave in" and signed on the dotted line May 4.

While taking meat and milk out of the mouths of Portuguese workers, the state has also been cracking the left over the head in stepped-up repression. In the early morning hours of June 20, a vast police operation (involving the judicial police, the republican national guard, the public security police and even the air force) swooped down on the offices of the Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat (PRP). Among the 18 arrested were PRP leaders Isabel Do Carmo and Carlos Antunes. And only a week and a half earlier a young Maoist was killed by cops protecting a rightist demonstration celebrating a Salazarist holiday.

Yet at the same time that repression against the left is escalating, the fascists and ultra-rightist killers are going free. The agents of the hated secret police (PIDE), arrested after April 25, are now virtually all at liberty. And in early July, eleven members of a reactionary terrorist conspiracy, responsible for 62 different bomb attacks (out of a total of 572 between May 1975 and September 1977), were released from custody. Among them was the head of the murderous gang, Motas Freitas, who was police chief in the city of Porto at the time of his arrest.

Threat to Agrarian Reform and Nationalization

While the left wing of the MFA was wiped out by Eanes' November 25 power grab and the MFA "center" has since been removed from operational military command, the Portuguese workers have managed to preserve

positions of strength which the big monopolies find intolerable. The agrarian reform gives the PCP effective control of a key region on the doorstep of the capital (a strategic reserve behind the industrial red belt south of Lisbon), while the state has taken over 60 percent of industry and 90 percent of banking. Knowing that they cannot recover these losses without a fight, the right-wing ultra-reactionaries have been itching for a showdown while Soares seeks social peace through piecemeal dismantling of the nationalizations and collective farms. For his part Alvaro Cunhal's PCP places its faith in the "revolutionary constitution" (the same constitution which permits Eanes to oust the government at his pleasure)!

The Communist Party speaks of these measures as "the conquests of April 25." However, although the radicalized captains did overthrow the Caetano regime, every one of the now threatened conquests was the result of revolutionary action by the working masses. The hated PIDE was abolished when thousands of workers surrounded the secret police headquarters, hunting down the torturers in the street. The key nationalizations of the powerful banks (through which a handful of families controlled the bulk of the economy) came when Lisbon workers mobilized against an attempted right-wing putsch by Spinolaist officers on 11 March 1975, and the agrarian reform was carried out not by waiting for decrees by the center/right-dominated Constituent Assembly but through land invasions—despite the best efforts by the PCP to hold back its ranks. These conquests of the workers will not be defended by empty appeals to the faded "spirit of April 25" but only in the same way they were won—by mobilizing the masses to defeat the reactionaries by eliminating their base of support. This in turn requires not merely "defense of democracy" but breaking from the reformist temporizing of the treacherous PCP and PS and a revolutionary struggle for power.

Before the land reform Portugal's agrarian structure was the most oligarchic in Europe. In the north peasants with tiny plots (usually less than one hectare in size) were dominated by local *caciques* (rural "bosses") and the church. In the south huge estates extended over virtually all cultivatable land. Three thousand latifundia (averaging 500 hectares in size) held between them three quarters of the land (Alvaro Cunhal, *Contribuição para o estudo da questão agrária* [1958]). Unlike Latin America, however, these mammoth estates were worked not by sharecroppers but by a sizable agricultural proletariat, and among these rural workers the PCP held absolute hegemony.

In the summer and autumn of 1974 the agricultural workers of the Alentejo region (beyond the Tejo river from Lisbon), organized in their union, demanded a minimum wage from the owners and above all a guaranteed number of jobs around the year. Previously there would be enforced idleness for months during the winter for whole towns of laborers as the type of cultivation—frequently olives and cork trees—required little labor except at harvest time. The rest of the year was starvation time for the workers, who seldom ate meat more than three times a week. The *patrões* (bosses) responded to these demands by refusing to plant wheat for the next harvest.

Following the abortive Spinolaist putsch of 11 March 1975, the agricultural workers of the Alentejo gave their answer to this "lockout" by seizing more than a million hectares, including almost all of the large estates. Their planting and harvest saved Portugal from having a first-rate food crisis that year due to the landowners' sabotage. Subsequently most of this land was formally expropriated by the PCP-dominated Fifth Provisional Government of General Vasco Gonçalves, which fell in September 1975 as a result of the Socialist-rightist offensive.

The bourgeois reactionaries naturally wanted to halt the land reform altogether and return the seized land to the previous owners. To gain political support they whipped up the landholding peasantry in the north against a mythical PCP threat to seize their minuscule plots. (The Portuguese farmers confederation [CAP], which was formed after the first Communist Party office was burned in the town of Rio Maior in July 1975, is dominated by the PSD and even more right-wing elements; at first posing as the voice of the small peasant, it is now openly dominated by the large landowners and *caciques*.) The Socialists also wanted to undo the land reform, at least in part, because they saw the existence of a large PCP-led agricultural proletariat within striking distance of the capital as a direct political threat.

The Communist workers on the collectivized estates have not divided them up into tiny plots, but instead set up some 450 "collective production units" (UCPs). The UCP members worked for a wage based on the sales of their collective farms and decided policy at mass meetings. The policy of the first Socialist agricultural minister, Antônio Lopes Cardoso, was to continue the expropriations, legalizing the land seizures, but to encourage (with government credits) those who wanted to leave the UCPs, divide up the land and set up cooperatives.

Rightists Make Stand Over Land Reform

This was not enough for the reactionaries, who labeled Lopes Cardoso a "Communist stooge." So last year Soares installed a second PS agricultural minister, António Barreto, who had a plan for a full-scale assault on the UCPs. By restoring a "reserve" to the former owners, the "Barreto law" (passed a year ago) would remove 350,000 hectares from the collective farms in many (if not most) cases, making the latter unviable as production units. Meanwhile, under a complicated point system the landowners could receive from 500-5,000 hectares, depending on the land use.

In order to justify this agrarian counter-reform the right cited last year's poor harvest as proof. However, the 1975 harvest under the collective system was a near record, and the UCPs have had tremendous success in increasing jobs: total employment in the agrarian reform zone is up from 21,700 before the expropriations to 64,200 in 1976-77. The real reason for the economic difficulties of the UCPs is political: the Soares government cut off the vital bank credits for more than 100 of the collective farms. Barreto himself has made clear what are the actual motivations behind the return of the land:

> "The Socialists cannot feed this terrain to the Communists. We cannot permit a sort of PCP fiefdom in a strategic region."
>
> *Expresso*, 24 September 1977

As could be expected, the agricultural workers have been unwilling to give up their land without a fight. In May 1977 laborers near the town of Mora lay down in front of tractors dragging plows to mark new boundaries, and last August more than 70 people were injured when workers protesting a land seizure clashed with government troops in and around Evora. Hardly a week went by without a battle as mounted police and *tanks* of the repuhlican national guard sent in to protect the returning landowners hrutally repressed the UCP members.

However, these repeated confrontations led to increasing PCP hostility toward the Socialist government. In addition to the coalition with the CDS, Soares sought an inner-party agreement with the Communists during the December-January ministerial crisis. Although opposition within the PCP prevented an agreement to support a PS-CDS cabinet, it is widely assumed that there was a tacit agreement by Soares not to pursue the agrarian counter-reform in such a provocative manner. The press began speaking of a five-year period before all the "reserves" were handed over to the landowners, and a new agricultural minister, Luis Saias, replaced the hated Barreto.

The Center Democrats, however, soon found themselves under pressure from the right. While Sà Carneiro's PSD was doing its best to bring down the coalition government, the CAP farmers threatened to blockade the main north-south highway at Rio Maior. A repeat of an action they took on the eve of the November 25 rightist coup, this was a clear call for army intervention. So throughout May and June the CDS leadership called first for a stepped-up pace of return of seized farmland, then for Saias' resignation; finally the CDS spokesman in the agricultural ministry resigned in late June, followed by the three CDS ministers.

The Portuguese right is clearly looking to bury the remaining conquests of the 1974 mass upheaval through an attack on the nationalizations and the agrarian reform. The future of Portugal, whether as another Chile or through the rekindling of the revolutionary fires, may well be decided over these conquests. For mass mobilizations to extend the agrarian reform and nationalizations!

PS-PCP Maneuvers

In the face of the provocative rightist threats and maneuvers the Socialists have sought to pressure Eanes into a firm declaration of support for Soares as prime minister. The Communist Party, in turn, has

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May Day, 1978 — Avante!

Farm workers march in support of agrarian reform. — Portugal Information

Editor's Note: *In the context of an effort by U.S. imperialism to revive the Cold War atmosphere after the Vietnam debacle, there is now a wide ideological offensive against Leninism in the name of "democracy" and even "socialist democracy." Both right-wing and liberal Soviet dissidents solemnly declare that Lenin's rule was the original source of the crimes of Stalin and his successors. And these pronouncements are well publicized in the bourgeois press. Eurocommunist Santiago Carrillo renounces "Leninism" in favor of "pluralist democracy." And this too is hailed by imperialist spokesmen.*

In response to this growing anti-Leninist chorus, we recently published a two-part article on the 1921 Kronstadt mutiny, traditionally a battle cry for both anarchist and social-democratic opponents of Bolshevik rule ("Kronstadt and Counterrevolution," WV Nos. 195 and 203, 3 March and 28 April). The Kronstadt mutineers' main slogan was "All power to the soviets but not the parties," a characteristically "leftist" attack on the government of the revolutionary proletarian vanguard. As further contributions we are here reprinting an article by Max Shachtman originally published in the July 1934 New International, *followed by a letter criticizing the* WV *article on Kronstadt and our reply.*

Shachtman's article, "Dictatorship of Party or Proletariat?" treats the relationship between the Bolshevik government and proletarian class rule in a more general, theoretical way. It is a polemic against those social democrats, centrists and anarcho-syndicalists who sought to exploit the growing moral revulsion against Stalin's bureaucratic terror (including the persecution of the Trotskyist Left Opposition) for anti-Leninist purposes.

In 1940 Max Shachtman broke with Trotskyism over the central question of defense of the USSR, despite its Stalinist bureaucratization, against imperialism. By the end of his life he had degenerated into a right-wing social democrat who supported Kennedy's abortive Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba. However in 1934 Shachtman was one of the most talented and effective propagandists in the Trotskyist movement. In this period of increasing liberal and social-democratic anti-Sovietism internationally, his defense of the Bolsheviks' revolutionary dictatorship is an excellent answer to those "socialists" who support Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade. Only by supporting the measures necessary to defend the conquests of the October Revolution, particularly *during the Bolsheviks' greatest isolation, can Marxists call for the necessary proletarian revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and re-establish the soviet democracy of Lenin and Trotsky.*

Penguin

Max Shachtman in 1933.

From the Archives of the Revolution

DICTATORSHIP OF PARTY OR PROLETARIAT?

Illustration by Soviet artist Belin, 1928

BY MAX SHACHTMAN
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Ever since the Russian revolution restored the idea of proletarian dictatorship to its rightful place in living Marxian doctrine, the social reformists of all varieties have condemned it as obsolete or rejected it with a contemptuous reference to its possible or exclusive applicability to Uzbecks, Bashkirs and other Asiatic Bolsheviks. In the last year, however, the titanic shock of the Austrian cataclysm has blown breaches through the democratic dogmas of official socialism and everywhere in its ranks new voices are being heard.

"The establishment of the proletarian dictatorship," declares the latest program of the American Socialist Party's "Militants Group," "is again being proclaimed by one party after another as the first step on the road to socialism." Otto Bauer has somewhat belatedly reminded himself that the "revolutionary dictatorship of the working class" ought to be established when next the opportunity is afforded in Austria. The Detroit convention of the Socialist Party voted for the idea, after which a corps of National Executive Committee lawyers, apparently oblivious of the fact that the United States Supreme Court would willingly and freely do the job for them, was sent scurrying through law libraries to find out if the dictatorship of the proletariat is constitutional. Even Mr. Norman Thomas is in the mode and dallies distantly with one of the less impolite pseudonyms for the dictatorship, workers' democracy.

If the late Elbert H. Gary could say, "We are all socialists now"—it can be said today, "We are all for the dictatorship of the proletariat now." And exactly in the same spirit. For, are we not to be permitted a meek skepticism about the sudden conversion to proletarian dictatorship on the part of many who up to yesterday were justly considered congenital Right wingers? Alas, the skepticism is more than warranted the minute one looks a line further than the formula itself in the various new documents that multiply like rabbits.

The resolution of the "Left" wing minority at the Paris conference of the Second International last August declares itself, for example, for the "dictatorship of the revolutionary party." The Militants Group, which supported this resolution, has tardily discovered that this is a bad translation (*cf.*, their program, p. 15). It should read "the dictatorship of the revolutionary *classes*." Which classes? The proletariat and what other? To muddle up what is already obscure, we are told further that proletarian democracy "is the only guarantee for the development of the dictatorship by the revolutionary classes *into* a dictatorship of workers and peasants." Assuming for the moment that by the time this article appears it will not have been discovered that another bad translation has been made, it is not improper to ask just what is to be the content of the dictatorship by the revolutionary *classes* which, with the aid of one thing or another, is to *develop into* what is apparently something else, a dictatorship of workers and peasants.

We are further confounded by the proposal (p. 16) that the "phrase 'dictatorship of the proletariat' may not be advisable to express the ideas for which it stands...it is desirable to designate it by some other term, such as 'workers' democracy'." The American Workers Party thus gains an adherent, for it advances essentially the same idea in its program and discussions. But the Militants Group is not the only one. Norman Thomas (*New Leader*, May 12, 1934) shows just what can be done with this "pseudonym" for the dictatorship of the proletariat, by saying "that even in a transitional period the ideal to hold up and to work for is workers' democracy *rather than* a dictatorship of the proletariat, which means a dictatorship of one party."* The Militants Group program (p. 14) which is for the proletarian dictatorship (but not for the "Russian way") is, however, opposed to the "one party dictatorship for which Stalinism stands." (We shall see presently who stands for that.) One of the latter-day Militants who wisely hopped on its handwagon at the last moment as the most effective way of saving reformism and who instantly became a prominent luminary Haim Kantorovitch rounds out the conception: "What we have in Russia at present is not a dictatorship of the proletariat, but a dictatorship *over* the proletariat." (*Towards Socialist Reorientation*, p. 19, Italics by H.K.)**

So they are all for one kind of dictatorship of the proletariat or another, just as even Morris Hillquit was in 1921 when he cleverly adjusted himself to the spirit of the day in order to save the spirit of yesterday. But they all recoil like one man from the Medusa: "Dictatorship of the party," or "dictatorship of one party." (The Militants Group proposes the re-legalization of the Mensheviks in Russia!) To some, that is pure Bolshevism. Others, who wrap themselves in a few shreds of Bolshevism against the winds of Left wing criticism, shrewdly make the idea seem odious by calling it Stalinism.

* * * *

The hostility to a dictatorship of the party is shared by the American Workers Party. In its open letter to the Revolutionary Policy Committee of the Socialist Party it assails the Stalinists for their "revisionist identification of workers' democracy with party dictatorship." In the discussion session between its sub-committee and the Communist League of America's (June 6, 1934), a warm polemic developed because of our refusal to accept their standpoint on this question. Now, the dictatorship in all its aspects and implications remains the fundamental question of the program. The conception of comrades Budenz, Burnham and Hook was not only that the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the party are not identical (which they are not, to be sure), but that they exclude each other, the latter producing the degeneration of the former; that there is an *immanent contradiction and conflict* between the two. Our own standpoint was not only gratuitously compared with Stalin's, but we were confidently challenged to present and defend it.

It is not in the spirit of accepting a challenge that we intend to do precisely that, but more out of consideration for the obviously urgent need of establishing clarity in this highly important question, mindful not only of the A.W.P. position but also of the position of those thinking socialists who no longer shy away from either the phrase or the idea of the proletarian dictatorship (even in America).

Is the dictatorship of the proletariat identical with the dictatorship of the party? Obviously not. That would be as absurd as to ask if the proletariat itself is identical with its party. Did any representative Bolshevik ever entertain such an idea, before or after Lenin's death? Never, to our knowledge. In 1922, the eleventh congress of the Russian Communist Party "especially underscored" the resolution of the eighth congress, in 1919, on the mutual relations between party and Soviet organs: "The functions

of the party collective must in no case be confounded with the powers of the state organs, such as are the Soviets. Such a confusion would yield disastrous results, particularly in the military field. The party endeavors to direct the activity of the Soviets, but not to replace them." (*Russische Korrespondenz*, April-May 1922, p. 283.)

Then it is not a dictatorship of the party, said the Bolsheviks!

Not so fast! It is a dictatorship of the proletariat. So the Bolsheviks said, and so indeed it was. But never did they put the question: dictatorship of the proletariat *or* dictatorship of the party, dictatorship of the proletariat *versus* dictatorship of the party. They left that kind of metaphysic to two classes of opponents: the reformists, led by Kautsky, and the ultra-Leftist, semi-anarchist or semi-syndicalist groups, led by the German Communist Labor Party. The reason why they never *counterposed* the two will be seen from the writings of Lenin and other authoritative spokesmen. *Magister dixit*—that does not prove the validity of one side of the argument or the other. Not necessarily or at all times. But this time what is involved is precisely what these authentic teachers did say on the question. Consequently we permit ourselves to confine the dispute essentially to quotations from Lenin, Trotsky and others so as to establish whether the dictatorship of the party is Leninist or "revisionist," i.e., a Stalinist innovation.

"The question arises:" asked one group of German ultra-Leftists in its pamphlet of 1920, "Who should be the wielder of this dictatorship; the Communist Party or the proletarian class...? On principle, should we strive towards the dictatorship of the Communist Party or the dictatorship of the proletarian class?"

To which Lenin, who advised western revolutionists to praise the Bolsheviks less and learn from their experiences more, retorted: "The very posing of the question: 'Dictatorship of the party *or* dictatorship of the class?—Dictatorship (party) of the leaders *or* dictatorship (party) of the mass?' is proof of a quite incredible and hopeless mental confusion. People wear themselves out in order to concoct something extraordinary, and in their intellectual zeal make themselves ridiculous." (*Collected Works*, Vol. XXI, p. 225 [German edition].)

At the end of the same year, in a speech to the party fraction in the eighth all-Russian Soviet congress, Lenin dealt with exactly the same question from a somewhat different angle: "The dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be realized by means of an unbroken organization, for not only with us, in one of the most backward capitalist countries, but in all the other capitalist countries as well, the proletariat still remains so split up, so bowed down, here and there so corrupted (particularly by imperialism in the separate countries), that an all-embracing organization of the proletariat cannot directly realize its dictatorship. The dictatorship can be realized only by that vanguard which has absorbed the revolutionary energy of the class. In this manner there arises to a certain extent a system of cogwheels. That is what the mechanism of the foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat looks like, the essence of the transition from capitalism to Communism." (*Selected Works, The Struggle for the Social Revolution*, p. 590 [German edition].)

Again, in his speech to the educational congress held shortly after the revolution, Lenin declared: "When we are reproached for establishing the dictatorship of a single party and the single socialist front is proposed to us, we reply: 'Yes, dictatorship of a single party and on that score we shall not yield, for it is this party which, in the course of many years, has won its place as vanguard of the whole industrial proletariat'." (G. Zinoviev, *Le Léninisme*, p. 303.)

In this spirit, the twelfth congress of the Russian Communists adopted a resolution stating: "The dictatorship of the working class can be secured in no other way than through the form of the dictatorship of its advanced vanguard, that is, the Communist party."

In far greater detail, we have the view of Trotsky, written down in a work which enjoyed the official approval of the Russian Communists and the Communist International as well as a wide distribution in several languages.

> "The exceptional rôle of the Communist party in the victorious proletarian revolution is quite comprehensible. The question is of the dictatorship of the class. Into the composition of the class there enter various strata, heterogeneous moods, different levels of development. The dictatorship, however, presupposes unity of will, direction, action

Petrograd Soviet, 1917.

"We have more than once been accused of having substituted for the dictatorship of the Soviets the dictatorship of our party. Yet it can be said with complete justice that the dictatorship of the Soviets became possible only by means of the dictatorship of the party. It is thanks to the clarity of its theoretical vision and its firm revolutionary organization that the party assured the Soviets the possibility of becoming transformed from amorphous parliaments of labor into the apparatus of the domination of labor." —*Leon Trotsky*

Along what other road then can it be attained? The revolutionary supremacy of the proletariat presupposes within the proletariat itself the political supremacy of a party, with a clear program of action and an inviolable internal discipline.

"The policy of coalitions contradicts internally the régime of the revolutionary dictatorship. We have in view, not coalitions with bourgeois parties, of which of course there can be no talk, but a coalition of Communists with other 'Socialist' organizations, representing different stages of backwardness and prejudice of the laboring masses.

"The revolution swiftly undermines all that is unstable, wears out all that is artificial; the contradictions glossed over in a coalition are swiftly revealed under the pressure of revolutionary events. We have had an example of this in Hungary, where the dictatorship of the proletariat assumed the political form of a coalition of the Communists with the compromisers decked in red. The coalition soon broke up. The Communist party paid heavily for the revolutionary incompetence and political treachery of its companions. It is quite obvious that for the Hungarian Communists it would have been more advantageous to have come to power later, after having afforded the Left compromisers the possibility of compromising themselves once and for all. How far this was possible, is another question. In any case, the coalition with the compromisers only temporarily hid the relative weakness of the Hungarian Communists, at the same time prevented them from growing stronger at the expense of the compromisers, and brought them to disaster

"The same idea is sufficiently illustrated by the example of the Russian revolution. The coalition of the Bolsheviks with the Left Social Revolutionists, which lasted for several months, ended with a bloody conflict. True, the reckoning for the coalition had to be paid, not so much by us Communists as by our perfidious companions. It is obvious that such a coalition, in which we were the stronger side, and therefore were not taking too many risks in the attempt to make use of the extreme Left wing of petty bourgeois democracy for the duration of an historical stretch of the road, tactically must be completely justified. But nonetheless, the Left S.R. episode quite clearly shows that the régime of compromises, agreements, mutual concessions—for that is what a coalition régime is—cannot last long in an epoch in which situations change with extreme rapidity, and in which supreme unity in point of view is necessary in order to render possible unity of action.

"We have more than once been accused of having substituted for the dictatorship of the Soviets the dictatorship of our party. Yet it can be said with complete justice that *the dictatorship of the Soviets became possible only by means of the dictatorship of the party*. It is thanks to the clarity of its theoretical vision and its firm revolutionary organization that the party assured the Soviets the possibility of becoming transformed from amorphous parliaments of labor into the apparatus of the domination of labor. In this 'substitution' of the power of the party for the power of the working class there is nothing accidental, and in reality there is absolutely no substitution at all. The Communists express the fundamental interests of the working class. It is quite natural that, in the period in which history places these interests on the order of the day in all their magnitude, the Communists should become the recognized representatives of the working class as a whole... The Kautskyans accuse the Soviet power of being the dictatorship of a 'section' of the working class. 'If only,' they say, 'the dictatorship was carried out by the *whole* class!' It is not easy to understand what they actually have in mind by this. The dictatorship of the proletariat, by its innermost essence, signifies the direct domination of the revolutionary vanguard, which rests upon the heavy masses, and where necessary, obliges the backward rear to conform with the head."

Terrorismus und Kommunismus, p. 90*ff*

By this time a fairly accurate idea should exist as to where the "revision" is located, or rather where it is *not* located. Now let us inquire into where a revision, without quotation marks, actually did occur. The results will not prove uninteresting, and to some—surprising.

In 1924, a brochure called *The Results of the Thirteenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party* commented on the phrase "dictatorship of the party" as follows: "I remember that in one of the resolutions of our congress, it even appears, in the resolution of the twelfth congress, such an expression was permitted, naturally as an oversight [!]... Then Lenin is wrong in speaking of the dictatorship of the proletariat and not of the dictatorship of the party," concludes the author with that irony peculiarly his own.

The author is no other than the same Stalin to whom Kantorovitch and others, with such cruel injustice, attribute the introduction into Soviet life of the idea of party dictatorship as against the dictatorship of the proletariat! Had they said black is white they could not be further from the truth.

Immediately after the appearance of the brochure, Zinoviev penned a stiff reply in which the Lenin position was reproduced and which, with the approbation of the overwhelming majority of the members of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau, appeared in *Pravda* (No. 190). By 1926, however, not only had Zinoviev joined with Trotsky in the famous Opposition Bloc but Stalin had gained sufficient control of the party apparatus to attack more impudently and with greater impunity every fundamental idea for which Lenin and the party ever stood. Stalin now took the offensive on the question and raked Zinoviev fore and aft for his views on the dictatorship of the proletariat and the party, especially as expressed in his book *Leninism*, compiled from lectures delivered in 1924 which were, in their time, anonymously directed at Stalin. The polemic can be found, among other places, in the speeches delivered by the two opponents at the November-December 1926 plenary session of the executive committee of the Communist International (seventh plenum).

The theoretical import of the dispute is far from trifling, but the practical results of Stalin's position are of even greater concern. Stalin's standpoint did not mean, as might be superficially indicated, that he stood for the rule of million-headed masses instead of its "undemocratic usurpation" by a comparatively tiny party. Just the opposite tendency should be discerned. After mechanically counterposing the one to the other, Stalin has strangled Soviet democracy by strangling party democracy. The Soviets themselves have been hollowed out into shells because the Stalinist apparatus has systematically

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clubbed the party into an amorphous, impotent pulp. (The reformist elucubrations about Stalin's "dictatorship of the party" are positively ludicrous, even in the sense in which it is used; it is precisely the party that Stalin has crushed!) The indispensable prerequisite for the rëestablishment and the widest extension of Soviet democracy, for the reconsolidation of the proletarian dictatorship which Stalinism has undermined, is nothing short of the rebuilding and restoration to its former supremacy of the revolutionary Communist party in the U.S.S.R.!

To probable critics:

Shouldn't the real (?!) power lie with the Soviets, after all? Yes, but not *as against* the revolutionary party (see, Germany and Austria in 1918, Cronstadt, Miliukov's slogan: "Soviets without Communists"). The Soviet system is the political form of the dictatorship of the proletariat which is firmly realizable only through its vanguard, the party.

Isn't a Soviet-party conflict theoretically possible, and in that case who would submit to whom? All sorts of things are theoretically possible; consequently, "theoretically" the party would submit and seek to convince the Soviets.

Aren't you presupposing an ideal, incorruptible revolutionary party, which you really cannot guarantee? We guarantee nothing in the class struggle. If the party degenerates, fight inside for its regeneration; if that becomes hopeless, fight to build a new one. Without it – no dictatorship of the party, nor of the proletariat; no Soviet democracy—only the triumph of reaction.

How can you one-party-dictatorship people win the socialists when you tell them that after the revolution their party will be suppressed? (The Stalinists often ask us how we can propose a united front with the party that betrayed the workers!) We do not, however, tell the socialists anything of the kind. The revolutionary dictatorship will suppress only those who take up arms against it—the Bolsheviks never did more than that in Russia (see, Trotsky's article in 1932 on Socialist and Communist relations in the struggle to seize power in Germany, *The Militant*, No. 168.)

How can you be so sure that events, let us say, in the United States will follow the Russian pattern in such details? 1. It is not the "Russian" pattern; 2. The Hungarian revolution broke its neck on this "detail"; 3. History is not for professors, but something to learn from, and truth being always concrete, the lessons to be drawn from the history of the last seventeen years, at least, of revolutionary struggle lead to certain inescapable conclusions. We leave it to Kantorovitch to mumble (at this late date!) about the "possibility" of following several "non-Russian" roads to power. We follow Lenin.

Max SHACHTMAN

*Unless otherwise indicated, all italics are my own. M.S.

**Kantorovitch's Militants demand the defense of the Soviet Union, where a dictatorship *over* the proletariat prevails. Why? What class is dictating over the proletariat? What system of property relations does this class represent and defend, well or ill? In any other country where there exists a dictatorship *over* the proletariat (Italy, Germany, France, United States) we regard it as simple social patriotism to "defend the fatherland." Loose and ambiguous language does not always mean a loose mind; sometimes it means an extremely "astute" one.

London, U.K.
17 May 1978

Dear *Workers Vanguard*:

In the 3 March and 28 April issues of your paper you published an extended discussion of Paul Avrich's book on the Kronstadt rising. In suggesting that revolutionaries read this book your paper has done an inestimable good.

But those who read that book will find that your "review" of it shows that it is not only the critics of Lenin and Trotsky who can be accused of "incapacity to interpret the facts before their eyes" (3 March, p. 6). Both the Petrograd strikers and the rebellious sailors are grossly distorted in your description. You claim, quoting Trotsky, that the Petrograd workers were hostile to the Kronstadt rising (3 March, p. 11). Any reader would have to wait till the second part, eight weeks later, to find out that there was massive unrest in Petrograd which partly triggered off the sailors and which was suppressed by the Bolsheviks. This urban turmoil you coyly claim was ended by a combination of propaganda, military strength and concessions (28 April, p. 4). A reader of Avrich will find that you omit to mention such activities as the stopping of rations and mass arrests!

Most importantly you are strikingly selective in your account of the White plot that Avrich has demonstrated. What you don't note is his conclusion that there is no known link between National Center plans for a coup and the actual rising itself. Most significantly, unmentioned by you, the Kronstadt Revolutionary Committee published a brilliant article warning the population of attempts to use the defeat of the Bolsheviks to restore reaction.

There are several other examples of failing to mention Avrich's views or qualifications which affect your own versions of his book. Your articles, bringing to Marxists' and anarchists' attention the involvement of Whites, the anti-semitism among the sailors, the connections of some of the Kronstadt leaders with rightist emigrés after their flight, etc., is certainly the most substantial Trotskyist work to date on the topic. But not only do you not understand Avrich's book, neither do you understand the thrust of critical views on the Bolsheviks in 1921. As you may say the working class was decimated in the Civil War, the Leninists were suspended above the peasantry. But that is not to say that the oppressed class took and held power. On the contrary, destroyed by massacre and privation, let down by the Western working class, the class that took power did not hold it. To say that there was no alternative programme to the Bolsheviks (save defeat) is to say that there was no programme for democratic socialism that was viable for the Russia of 1921.

Yours,
S. Max

Penguin

Heroic Red Army men advance over ice to Kronstadt.

Workers on breadline in early 1920's. Kronstadt revolt got no support from beleaguered urban masses who suffered most from peasant resistance to Bolshevik rule.

* * * * *

WV replies: S. Max raises two specific criticisms of our article "Kronstadt and Counterrevolution" (*WV* Nos. 195 and 203) and briefly presents a general political attack on Leninism. He claims that we distort the relation of the striking Petrograd workers to the Kronstadt mutineers and that we draw an illegitimate conclusion from the evidence Avrich presents about the relation of the counterrevolutionary National Center to the mutiny. He also implies that the Kronstadt mutiny was a legitimate struggle for "democratic socialism," and that we are fatally pessimistic about proletarian democracy in Russia after 1921.

We have never denied or tried to hide the fact that the Bolsheviks used state repression against the Petrograd strikers in February 1921, as well as making concessions to them. In fact, in a polemic against the social-democratic Socialist Labor Party in the very issue preceding Part 1 of "Kronstadt and Counterrevolution," we stated:

> "In February 1921 a strike wave broke out in Petrograd. The Soviet government quelled this through a combination of concessions...and repression (arresting Menshevik agitators)."
>
> "The SLP and the Russian Question," *WV* No. 194, 24 February 1978

Yet in the late 1930's Trotsky maintained that the Kronstadt mutiny "repelled" the Petrograd workers. Avrich confirms this from the side of the Kronstadters:

> "Refugees in Finland later complained that they had thought the Petrograd workers 'meant business' and that the strikes would develop into a full-fledged revolution. Similarly, captured sailors whom [the Menshevik leader] Dan encountered in prison accused the workers of selling out to the government 'for a pound of meat'."
>
> —*Kronstadt 1921*

Why were the Petrograd workers, many of whom had just struck against the Bolshevik government, unsympathetic, if not outright hostile, to the mutinous sailors? Most anarcho-libertarian defenders of Kronstadt (though not Avrich) deny any class conflict between workers and peasants, amalgamating them into the "people" or "toilers" (Max uses the phrase "the oppressed class") versus state authoritarianism. But in any backward workers state there is a short-term conflict of interest between the proletariat and small agricultural proprietors. The former want food at the cheapest price; the latter want the maximum income for their produce. In the economically ruined Russia of 1921, this class conflict was aggravated to the *n*th degree.

The objective impact of the Kronstadt program would have meant even greater starvation for the urban workers. The Kronstadt sailors (largely peasants in uniform) called for an end to grain requisitioning, which would have led to a drastic reduction in the food supply to the cities. Significantly in this respect, the semi-syndicalist Workers Opposition in the Bolshevik Party (also often hailed along with the Kronstadters by anti-Leninist leftists) stood for *continuing* the state requisitioning of grain. The Petrograd workers, whatever their discontents with the Bolshevik regime, instinctively recognized the anti-proletarian nature of the Kronstadt mutiny.

* * * * *

S. Max makes much of the fact that "there is no known link between National Center plans for a coup and the actual rising itself." It is true that there is no *direct*, irrefutable proof that any of the leaders of the Kronstadt mutiny were National Center agents. However, the circumstantial evidence linking the Kronstadt mutiny to White Guard plotting was substantial from the outset, and Avrich's researches have unearthed new material, all of which leads unmistakably to the conclusion that there was a connection.

By way of comparison, there is, for example, no direct evidence that Hitler ordered or even knew about the mass execution of the Jews. Himmler claimed that the official order for "The Final Solution" was for deportation of the Jews, not their mass murder. And in his biography, *Hitler* (1974), the German historian Joachim C. Fest states:

> "For in the table talk, the speeches, the documents or the recollections of participants for all these years, not a single concrete reference of his [Hitler's] to the practice of annihilation has come to us."

Would S. Max care to make the legalistic argument that there is no known link between Hitler and the actual mass execution of the Jews?

The evidence, much of it new, which Avrich presents about the link between the National Center and the Kronstadt mutiny is conclusive for anyone not

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RWL...

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Quebec NDP were never resolved." And a compromise line of supporting the NDP in English Canada but not in Quebec and avoiding raising the slogan of an NDP government did not succeed in keeping the peace as the prospect of another federal election looms. A grouping centered in the LOR's Montreal branch (where it reportedly comprises the majority) has come out against support to NDP candidates in Quebec or English Canada:

> "We want to put into question our traditional policy of support for the social-democracy in view of the key role of the national question involving Quebec and the central axis which must consequently structure our tactical orientation: the struggle for the right to self-determination."

Aside from its elevation of the Quebec national question to the sole criterion for support (of course, not "critical support") to NDP candidates, this grouping ("Tendency A") has little new to offer. Its major organizational proposal, the development of "an extremely serious security policy" (sloganized as "we are outlaws on parole"), bears the stamp of the USec majority's former vicarious guerrillaism, now dumped in favor of the popular-frontist turn which restored a measure of unity to the USec internationally.

The documents of this grouping are, however, illustrative of the demoralization rampant in the RWL/LOR as the promised mass influence failed to materialize for the fused organization:

> "Since September a large number of comrades have thought about quitting the organization. That has to end. .. What we want to do is create a framework for democratically debating, and as much as possible, resolving the political and organizational questions which are the source of tension. We are forming a tendency, secondly, because we are afraid that the debate will be swept under the carpet....
>
> "Let us be clear: if the majority of the organization believed that in the beginning it was necessary to avoid premature polarizations, that time is passed...."

Though politically amateurish in the extreme, Tendency A speaks for a broad section of the RWL ranks in its disgust at the fusion "discussion" process and its distrust of the RWL leadership.

Tendency A also evinces hostility toward the leadership's failing scheme for fusion with the Quebec Lambertiste organization (GSTQ), part of the SWP's game plan for drawing the Lambert current into the USec. Here the difference is evidently a matter of geography. The Montreal-centered oppositionists contemplate the degeneration of their already tension-ridden branch into an outright zoo, but the Toronto-based RWL leadership remains blithe in the face of what it admits are "substantial differences remain[ing] on a series of fundamental questions." Indeed, the RWL leadership did not shrink from explicit anti-internationalism in motivating its desire for a rapprochement with the GSTQ:

> "For our part, we don't believe that such differences, as important as they are, justify the existence of two separate organizations. The building of national revolutionary parties and the evolution of the different national components of international organizations are relatively autonomous. If a real convergence exists on the national level, international differences should not serve as a brake to discussion and common actions .. and we don't make a precondition of agreement on all the international questions for building a common organization."
>
> RWL Information Bulletin, Volume 1, No. 1, January 1978

Night of the Long Knives?

The RWL has apparently fused the LSA's reformist politics with the chronic New Left/Menshevik organizational incompetence of the RMG. At the Easter plenum it was admitted that despite promises of reinforcement of smaller branches through the fusion, the lack of "a clear set of priorities or political focus meant that the leadership was unable to develop and lead a planned transfers program." The pervasive dilettantism evidently extends to the leadership: "[We must] politically motivate transfers and find the cadre as well as being prepared to be part of the process itself [!].. [or] we risk losing not only branches but valuable cadre as a result of demoralization and exhaustion." "It has been virtually impossible to find comrades to act as full-time organizers for the Montreal branch leadership."

The RWL has already suffered a number of resignations of long-time cadres. Another morbid indication, fraught with sinister implications for the presently honeymooning USec bloc, is an apparent purge of long-time SWP loyalists in Canada. In June the two editors of the RWL/LOR press (John Riddell, an LSA leader for nearly two decades, and Colleen Levis of the former LSO) were suddenly ousted and replaced by former RMG/GMR leaders. And the two pre-eminent members of the old LSA Political Committee, Riddell and former right-hand man Dick Fiddler, were dumped from the payroll, ostensible victims of the shrinkage of the RWL's dues base.

We do not envy their replacements the task of holding up Humpty Dumpty. ■

S.F. Longshore Votes, "No"

Herman Puts Over Job-Slashing Contract in ILWU

Union president Jimmy Herman has managed to sell his rotten contract to West Coast dock workers organized in the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). The pact was approved by a vote of 5,495 to 2,474.

Herman's settlement, which will accelerate the massive erosion of jobs on the waterfront, contains no cost-of-living protection and increases the number of "steady men," thereby further weakening the union hiring hall. This settlement was far less popular than the 69 percent in favor would seem to indicate. On July 23, when Herman tried to sell his deal to almost 1,000 longshoremen in San Francisco, he was almost hooed off the platform; the same thing had occurred only a few days earlier in Los Angeles.

In San Francisco, where unemployment on the waterfront is highest and the new contract will double the number of steady men, the ranks voted the contract down 847 to 763. This was the first time in over 20 years that the port of San Francisco, the historic center of the union, has voted down on the first round a contract pushed by the International.

The key issue in the struggle over the ILWU contract was the question of a strike. Fake militant local officials in San Francisco, Los Angeles/Long Beach and Seattle, who were "against" the contract, were just as adamant as Herman himself in opposing a strike. But their line that gains could be made without a strike cut little ice with longshoremen. In 1975 longshoremen twice voted down their contract and sent it back for renegotiation. No strike was called: the longshoremen got nothing. This year a significant section of the employers threatened a lockout in the event of a "no" vote. Saddled with a defeatist and cowardly leadership that preached that a strike would be a disaster, two thirds of the longshoremen voted "yes."

Only the "Longshore Militant" group in Local 10 (San Francisco) posed a real alternative to Herman's sellout. Local executive board members Stan Gow and Howard Keylor issued a leaflet July 20 entitled "Stand Up and Fight! Vote No! Organize for an Immediate Strike!" The "Longshore Militant" put the issue pointblank: "There is only one way to win what we need: an effective coastwide strike!" and demanded the recall of the treacherous Coast Caucus and the election of strike committees in every port to prepare for a militant strike.

In the end the longshoremen voted to accept a contract they didn't want because they had no confidence that Herman, his flunkeys or his timid bureaucratic "opponents" could win anything better. Seeing little chance that those misleaders who warned so strenuously against a strike would lead a serious one, the ranks resigned themselves to a rotten settlement.

Herman's contract will prove just as disastrous as the ones negotiated by Harry Bridges before him. For longshoremen there is only one road forward: the struggle to build a new combative leadership based on the class-struggle principles of the "Longshore Militant," which, unlike the gutless Herman and his errand boys in the Communist Party, openly and honestly prepares longshoremen for a real and necessary fight against the bosses. ■

FBI Finks...

(continued from page 5)

stasts like a white flag, framing up and expelling more than 100 pro-USec members of the SWP on 4 July 1974. Of course, the internal bulletins of that expulsion soon turned up in court as evidence of the SWP's good faith in opposing "violence." Griesa was reassured. The SWP was not a revolutionary party at all, but a legalist, electoralist outfit.

> "There was never anything in my view, beyond the most tenuous suggestion of a possible implication of violence in the United States.... In view of the ouster of the minority faction, I believe that tenuous suggestion has been basically eliminated."

In the latest round of infighting over the informer files, the legal arguments hinge on the reliability of the SWP and its lawyers in keeping the government's secrets. Griesa argues that to allow the SWP lawyers access to the files is not the same thing as exposing government agents:

> "The court wishes to state that, in the five years of experience with plaintiff's attorneys in this case, these attorneys have demonstrated beyond any question their total reliability. They have proved that, while they may strongly object to certain directions of the Court, they will obey these directions to the letter, including orders of confidentiality."

In pursuit of "victory" in the courts, the SWP implicitly accepts the arguments of the FBI and its protectors about the spy agency's "right" to "confidentiality." The SWP's main demand is that its attorneys whose commitment to "professional ethics" presumably transcends any political sympathies Judge Griesa might find suspect be granted privileged access to the 18 informant files, in exchange for safeguarding the information against scrutiny by the public. By allowing its attorneys to be legally barred from conveying this "privileged" information on the FBI even to the SWP itself, the SWP places its own lawyers in the peculiar position of covering up the government's continuing war on the left or facing charges of contempt of court.

The "non-member informants" and the agents who have already left the SWP may well be plying their despicable trade in other left-wing and labor organizations—spying, slandering, skulking about under the cover of anonymity, getting people fired, evicted from their homes, arrested. Will the SWP jeopardize its court victory to "leak" this information to the victims of FBI crimes? Revolutionists might, if necessary, agree under protest to a judge's instructions, but keeping the FBI's dirty secrets vitiates a central purpose of such a suit against the government.

For revolutionists, challenging the spy agency's "right" to bar disclosure of its crimes would be a major focus of any "Watersuit" even on the simplest bourgeois-democratic grounds. In fact, by the mid-1600's, English bourgeois reformers had succeeded in challenging the "star chamber," where people were indicted and slandered without the right to confront and cross-examine their accusers. Shouldn't socialists demand the same rights as "ordinary" people are supposed to have? The entire workers movement must demand that *all* the FBI informant files be made public now!

Down with the FBI/CIA!

Revolutionists would take full advantage of the post-Watergate climate, exploiting differences within the bourgeois camp over how best to organize the secret police, using all legal means at our disposal. But unlike the SWP, revolutionists would not sow illusions about the liberal reformers (and in Griesa's case, the not-so-liberal reformers) of the spy system. Nor would we present the courts as a way of ending it. The repressive apparatus of the capitalist state will exist until the class-conscious proletariat, embarking on the conquest of state power, dismantles the FBI/CIA, opens all the files and brings the architects and executives of their murderous "tricks" to justice.

An aggressive class policy of public exposure of the FBI, exposing also the class basis of the courts, can bring closer that day. But such a policy is not in the nature of the reformist beast. Rather, the SWP scenario for its legal battle recalls the movie "Z" in which one honest judge brings down an entire corrupt government. The SWP has its honest judge and looks forward to a happy ending: a more "democratic" police, a more law-abiding attorney-general, ultimately a reformed government.

But life is not a movie and the SWP will not get its reformed government. In fact, the way things are going these days in the high court, the outcome of its "socialist Watersuit" is not a foregone conclusion. Foes of the FBI should certainly enjoy these efforts to give the FBI a tiny taste of the harassment which it has visited on the radical movement with impunity, but with no confidence that such legalistic campaigns will assist the working people in grasping the nature of the class enemy's state and organizing to replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by the dictatorship of the proletariat. ■

U.S. Postal...

(continued from page 16)

cratic and Republican politician and should underscore the necessity for the unions to form their own political party. But the postal union tops – who have not lifted a finger to defend the victimized strikers, much less call a strike – share with their counterparts in the rest of the trade-union bureaucracies a cringing subservience to the capitalist politicians.

After three months of secret bargaining, they capitulated to the government's intransigence and handed the ranks a contract with wage increases so small they will not even keep up with inflation. The contract contains nothing to halt the automation/attrition drive projected to slash 125,000 jobs over the next five years (on top of the nearly 100,000 lost over the last two contract periods). Urging ratification in mail balloting currently underway in the two largest postal unions, the American Postal Workers Union (APWU) and the National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC), the national officers are handicapped by their complete collapse of authority in the eyes of the membership. Delegates to the NALC convention, held the first week of August in Chicago, repeatedly booed president Joe Vacca and overwhelmingly voted to recommend rejection of the contract. APWU chief Emmett Andrews is likely to get a similar reception at his union's convention, convening August 14 in Denver.

Well aware of the anger and dissatisfaction of the ranks, local postal union leaders all over the country have deserted their national officials and are urging a "no" vote on the contract. But just as eager as their superiors to avoid a confrontation with the federal government, almost all the local leaders are calling for renegotiations rather than a strike. The folly of the renegotiation dodge has already been made clear by Postmaster General William Bolger, who has rejected rehashing the contract. On July 29, he replied with a flat "no" to the desperate plea of APWU president Andrews to front load some of the miserly wage increase to head off a mushrooming rank-and-file revolt against the contract. Bolger said if the proposed contract is rejected, legally mandated fact-finding and compulsory arbitration procedures will commence.

The postal workers have never won anything from the largesse of "neutral" arbitrators or from appealing to the compassion of the capitalist politicians in Washington. They were among the lowest-paid unionized workers in the U.S. and without even collective bargaining rights until their now-famous strike exploded in 1970. In the face of 220,000 striking postmen, all the court injunctions, deployed troops and gnashing of politicians' teeth proved impotent. The postal workers right to strike will be won the picket line. And a solid national strike is the only way they can break through the restraints of government-imposed arbitrators, who will at best offer the postmen only a slightly "sweetened" version of what they already have.

Postal workers must demand the immediate convening of local mass meetings to both take strike votes and elect strike committees. They must not rely on mail balloting, which atomizes the membership and is easily manipulated by the bureaucrats counting the votes. Delegates to the APWU convention should reject the contract *and* compulsory arbitration and, as the largest of the postal unions, vote to lead the 570,000 postal workers out on strike. Shut down the Post Office!

Biller/Sombrotto: Betrayal and Slander

That the postal workers are not on strike already is largely the responsibility of Moe Biller and Vince Sombrotto, the leaders of the 23,000-strong Metro APWU and Branch 36 Letter Carriers in New York. It was the New York unions which led the 1970 strike, making national reputations for Biller and Sombrotto, and it was to these two men that hundreds of thousands of postal workers looked for militant leadership this year.

But while Biller and Sombrotto were anxious to tap the massive discontent of the postal workers in order to expand their influence, they had no appetite for a clash with Jimmy Carter. They pushed the call for renegotiations loudest precisely to divert their restless ranks from the strike at the BMC just across the river in New Jersey.

San Francisco Chronicle

Strike pickets at the Bulk Mail Center in Richmond, California.

Sombrotto carefully stationed himself behind Biller, swearing up and down that he would follow whatever action the Metro APWU took, knowing full well that Biller intended no action at all. Opening a heavy propaganda barrage against NALC president Vacca, Sombrotto had himself nominated for president at the convention (voting will be by mail ballot), while his aides passed out copies of the latest Branch 36 newspaper, featuring no less than nine pictures of the not-immodest Sombrotto, a lot of militant rhetoric, but no strike call.

Biller was under more direct pressure, since the New Jersey BMC strikers were members of his own local and had begun picketing the large Manhattan main post office in order to spread the strike. Biller is a crafty tactician and he began a series of wily and not unsuccessful maneuvers to simultaneously appear militant, discredit the strikers and head off a national walkout.

When the Postal Service fired nearly a hundred strikers on July 24, Biller dramatically announced a strike vote for the next week and vowed to "immediately" initiate a strike should the vote pass, which everyone knew it would. All that week, Biller hurled strike threats and made the national news every day, portrayed as a fire-breathing militant.

It was, however, all an elaborate sham. Biller knew that the courts, which had already handed down restraining orders against the BMC strikers, would similarly intervene to enjoin a threatened Metro strike, particularly if he provoked the judges with enough strike rhetoric. Sure enough, on Friday, July 28, federal judge Frederick Lacey enjoined the Metro APWU from either striking or even taking a strike vote, which Biller had carefully delayed for a week in order to give the wheels of justice time to turn. After all the talk about defying federal law, the president and the courts, Biller immediately pledged obedience and called off the strike vote, leaving the BMC strikers to be beaten into the ground.

Biller was not content, however, to just let the courts and postal authorities work over the strikers. He also wanted to eliminate any challenge to his gutless betrayal. So while he was publicly calling for amnesty for the fired workers, the two-faced hack was viciously assailing them within the union. In an "Open Letter to Bulk Workers," Biller blamed the strike on a "few adventurers." One fired BMC steward told *WV* that at a July 31 meeting of the Metro stewards, Biller launched a one-hour tirade against the BMC strike leaders as "FBI agents," "labor spies" who were "working with management" and "agents provocateurs." These despicable slanders are aimed at driving a wedge between disgruntled postal workers and Biller's leftist critics in the union, who have played a prominent role in both the Jersey and Bay Area strikes. Among the strike leaders were supporters of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), its recent split-off the Revolutionary Workers Headquarters (RWH) and smaller grouplets of Stalinists, social democrats and centrists.

The Maoist-Stalinist groups have a history of combining their reformist programs with frequently adventurist tactics, trying to "jam the unions" with ill-advised wildcats. But in the context of a tentative contract held in disdain by tens if not hundreds of thousands of postal workers and with the history of the well-remembered 1970 strike, which began as a "wildcat" by the New York unions, Biller's cop-baiting and charges of adventurism are nothing but cowardly lies. Biller is vilifying those who have done nothing more than he did in 1970, with the only difference being that he got away with it. Postal workers must reject Biller's contemptible backstabbing and demand that all those fired be rehired and that the union provide money and lawyers for the necessary defense of those victimized, which the union leaders have so far refused to do.

While the postal workers who have been fired and face prosecution must pursue all necessary legal remedies, their fight is integrally bound up with the contract fight and will be ultimately won on the picket lines, not in the courtroom. A national strike would turn the court orders and firing slips into mere scraps of paper and give the postal workers the power they need to fight off the government's job-stealing, wage-cutting offensive.

It is in pursuing the fight for a national strike that the Maoist-Stalinist groups are most disoriented and divided. While supporters of the RCP on the West Coast are still calling for a national strike, the "Good Contract Committee" at the Jersey City BMC, which is endorsed by the RWH, has been downplaying a national strike call. Committee leaders Kenny Leiner and Dave Cline told a *WV* reporter that they supported the law suit filed by the head of the Pittsburgh APWU chapter—and predictably thrown out of federal court on August 2 – to hold up the ratification vote on procedural grounds, a move that was also backed by RCP supporters on the West Coast. The Committee also states that it is considering taking legal action against the APWU for failing to provide adequate representation.

These are petty and desperate measures, which furthermore can only backfire on the postal workers. Inviting the bosses' courts, which have been in the forefront of the government offensive against the postal workers, to determine when and how a ratification vote should be conducted or what constitutes fair representations is like asking hungry wolves to supervise the hen house. Postal workers must keep the government arbitrators' and courts' hands off their unions.

Though the class collaboration of the postal union bureaucracies with the hardlining Carter administration has so far kept the lid on, a walkout by a major, big-city postal local could well blow the situation wide open. Postal workers must demand city-wide strike-vote meetings—and joint meetings of the different unions to coordinate their actions and pave the way for their long overdue merger – in order to stop the mails from coast to coast. And the entire labor movement must stand ready to back the postal workers with solidarity strikes if Carter calls out the troops. Finally, the lesson of Carter's and the Democratic Party's attacks on the coal miners, the postal workers and all trade unionists, the poor and unemployed, must be brought home: No more support to the strikebreaking, budget-slashing capitalist parties! Build a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

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Portugal...

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called for a "left government" constituted by a PS-PCP coalition (*O Diário*, 31 July). The same demand was raised in a joint communiqué by the Liga Comunista Internacionalista and the Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores (LCI/PRT), sympathizing sections of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (*Diário de Notícias*, 31 July).

What would a Socialist-Communist government mean in the present conditions in Portugal? Mário Soares has repeatedly rejected the demand as provoking a deep left-right split in the country and possible open civil war. In the face of the present rightist offensive, such a scenario is not at all impossible. The election of the Spanish Popular Front government in 1936 and of the Chilean Unidad Popular in 1970 certainly led to a right-wing counterrevolutionary mobilization. But would a PS-PCP government mobilize the working class to *win* the inevitable showdown with the counterrevolutionary forces?

If the centrist revisionists of the LCI/PRT feel the need for an "orthodox" precedent for their demand they might point to the revolutionary crisis in France in 1934 when Trotsky called for Communist-Socialist-CGT (trade union federation) government. However, the present situation in Portugal, where the social democrats have been the dominant governing party for almost three years, is entirely different. In 1934 when Trotsky raised his demand it was in the context of joint Communist-Socialist-CGT demonstrations in the streets against fascist provocations. Demonstrations were not enough, he wrote, it was necessary to take this united force and organize the government based on their strength, which alone could smash the fascist menace once and for all.

In Portugal, Mário Soares, far from mobilizing the masses to defend the agrarian reform and nationalizations, has been steadily chipping away at these conquests in carrying out his program of capitalist economic "recuperation." In this the PS was continuing the policies which placed it at the head of anti-communist mobilizations of July-November 1975, and has continued to enjoy the support of the leading imperialist powers. Although the PCP has historically called for "defense of the conquest of April 25," it has repeatedly stressed its support for Eanes and refused to mobilize the working masses against the rightist attacks.

Should the present ministerial crisis escalate into a general confrontation between the workers movement and the rightist assault on the "Socialist constitution," for example, it is not impossible that the Socialist and Communist leaders could be forced to break from Eanes and call their ranks into the streets. In this case the slogan of a PCP-PS-Intersindical government could be placed on the order of the day. But such developments have not taken place, and at present a Soares-Cunhal government would continue the treacherous policies which have placed the Portuguese working masses in such a threatened position today.

The large-scale land reform and extensive nationalizations of 1975 were not part of the program of the MFA nor the result of actions by the demagogic "leftists" of the bourgeois officer corps. They did not result from a deliberate policy of the PCP or from its ministerial maneuvering. They were the product of militant action by the Portuguese working masses seeking to defend themselves against the threat of counterrevolution. They can only be preserved in the same manner—not by static defense or parliamentary horse trading, but by a revolutionary mobilization to expropriate the capitalist class as a whole. The essential condition for success is the construction of a strong, genuinely Trotskyist party as a section of a reborn Fourth International. ■

Hands Off Spanish PORE!

As Spanish cops machine-gun demonstrators and fascist thugs assault the offices of socialist organizations in the Basque region, the courts have joined in victimizing left-wing opponents of the Adolfo Suárez/Juan Carlos "reformed Francoist" regime. In May Miguel Salas, editor of the newspaper *La Aurora*, was dragged before a military tribunal and charged with having "insulted the military." The accusation is based upon an article printed last December by the Partido Obrero Revolucionario de España (PORE—Revolutionary Workers Party of Spain) which criticized the Spanish Communist Party's call for military participation in the government.

The PORE has been the victim of systematic persecution by Franco's heirs because of its refusal to recognize either the "legitimacy" of the monarchy or the "integrity" of the Spanish state. Not only was the PORE singled out by the government for rejection of its request to be legalized (as are virtually all other political parties in Spain), but its militants have been hauled into court on the slightest pretext and charged with little more than their party affiliation. Last January, for example, a PORE-associated corporal at the El Pani air base was arrested along with several PORE members and accused of stealing arms in a clear frame-up (see "Free Santiago Alegria! Drop the Ban on the PORE!" *WV* No. 192, 10 February).

Now Salas has been hauled before the same military authorities on the basis of an article in a legal newspaper. If convicted, he could be imprisoned for several years. Earlier this year a Barcelona acting troupe, "Els Joglars," were similarly charged with "insulting the military" and four of its members were sentenced to two years in prison apiece. The threat to the democratic rights of all opponents of the monarchy is clear, and according to *La Aurora* both the Spanish Communist Party and the Socialist Party of Catalonia have protested this attack on the PORE.

The international Spartacist tendency protests this latest victimization of the PORE and demands that all charges be dropped and that the ban on the PORE be lifted. Organizations such as the pseudo-Trotskyist Liga Comunista Revolucionaria which refuse to take up the defense of the PORE must be condemned for their criminal sectarianism. Their despicable silence undermines the ability of the workers movement to defend all victims of rightist repression.

Once again, however, the PORE's defense is undermined by its own reckless posturing, a characteristic of the entire international tendency led by the highly dubious Michel Varga, to which the PORE belongs. In this case the Spanish Vargaites have taken to announcing a campaign to "prepare the violence of the masses against the state." A banner headline in *La Aurora* (19 May) bombastically announces that "the Fourth Congress of the PORE Declares War of the Masses Against the Bourgeois State." In its report on this same Congress, the American Vargaite publication *Truth* (9 June) cites as the basis for this campaign that "there is not the slightest doubt that the overwhelming majority of the youth in Spain and all of Europe supported the kidnapping of Aldo Moro by the Red Brigades in Italy"!

This sort of bombast by the tiny Vargaite sect is virtually an invitation to increased police/military attacks. Such irresponsible antics are as good as conscious provocation when faced with a government looking for a pretext for an all-out attack on the PORE under the guise of "fighting terrorism." But the PORE's latest ominous turn was not accepted without resistance, it seems, for a member of the editorial board writes in the 9 June issue of *La Aurora* in opposition to the championing of the "radicalism" of the Red Brigades and the Basque nationalist ETA.

Despite the bizarre qualities which mark the entire Vargaite "international" and increasingly dominate the activities of the PORE, these militants must be defended from bourgeois state repression. For all the talk of the "Spanish democracy" of Suárez/Juan Carlos, the slightest presumed "insult" to the military can still result in summary court martial. The PORE must be defended as part of the working-class defense of all anti-Francoist organizations and militants!

Drop the charges against Miguel Salas! Drop the ban on the PORE! ■

Kronstadt...

(continued from page 10)

blinded by partisanship. We will recapitulate:

1) A few months before the outbreak, its principal leader, Stepan Petrichenko, attempted to join the Whites but was supposedly turned down.

2) A few weeks before the revolt a White agent stationed near the base sent his headquarters a detailed report on the military and political situation inside the fortress, with the information that the Whites had recruited a group of sailors on the inside who were preparing to take an active part in the forthcoming uprising there.

3) Petrichenko played an important role in turning a mass protest meeting into a decisive break with the Soviet government.

4) The mutineers accepted food and medical supplies from the Russian Red Cross, a known front for the National Center with an office in Finland that was in contact with the Kronstadt rebels throughout the mutiny.

5) Immediately after its suppression, leaders of the revolt who had escaped to Finland entered into an open alliance with the National Center and the White general Wrangel.

But, says S. Max, didn't the Kronstadters put out propaganda warning against any attempt by White Guardists to exploit the uprising? Of course, they did. No one denies that the *mass* of the peasant-derived sailors were against the restoration of the old order, of the return of the landlords. As Lenin said at the time: "They don't want the White Guards, and they don't want our power either" (quoted in Avrich).

Even if all the Kronstadt propaganda had been written by White agents (and, of course, it was not), they would still have had to denounce capitalist restoration. That leaders of the Kronstadt mutiny were capable of just such duplicity was demonstrated immediately after its suppression. When Petrichenko & Co. entered into an alliance with the White Guards, they agreed to retain the slogan, "All power to the soviets, but not the parties," for its popular appeal. But secretly they determined to set up a "temporary military dictatorship" if they won.

However, whether Petrichenko actually was a White agent is, in a sense, beside the point. Even if the mass of Kronstadt sailors had been politically conscious enough to turn their guns on the White forces sent to "aid" them (and this is questionable), they simply would have been pushed aside. Regardless of the subjective attitudes of the sailors, the success of their mutiny could only have served the cause of capitalist counterrevolution.

Even if we leave aside the issue of White Guardist intervention, the dynamic of the Kronstadt mutiny would have led to capitalist restoration. The Kronstadters' program had nothing to do with socialism, democratic or otherwise. Avrich rightly characterizes it as anarcho-populism. The Kronstadters opposed state farms in favor of private peasant proprietorship; they opposed centralized economic planning in favor of workers self-management. This economic regime necessarily implied the free exchange of commodities between independent producers. Such a reactionary utopian system would have rapidly generated a new capitalist class from among the most successful peasants, artisans and enterprises.

Given the catastrophic economic conditions of 1921, *no* program could have restored proletarian democracy as it existed in 1917-18. In 1921 the Bolsheviks temporarily suspended soviet democracy to preserve proletarian state power. Lenin and Trotsky fully intended to restore soviet democracy when objective conditions allowed. In late 1922 Lenin took the first step toward that restoration in opposing the bureaucratization of the Bolshevik party. Trotsky continued that struggle. Whether and how the struggle against the bureaucratic degeneration of the Russian Revolution could have succeeded is beyond the scope of this reply. A correct policy in the Communist International (e.g., in the German crisis of 1923) would have been a decisive factor. But of the Kronstadt mutiny, one thing is certain: had it succeeded, it would have gravely threatened the greatest victory ever for the socialist cause—the Russian Revolution.

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Rhodesia...

(continued from page 1)

Byron Hove stands as an example of what happens when Smith's waterboys step out of line. Hove, the black Minister of Justice and a close associate of Muzorewa, was fired on April 28 for criticizing racial discrimination in the police and judiciary. Muzorewa, who as an Executive Council member supposedly had a veto over the decision, was not even consulted. But after blustering for three weeks and threatening to resign, the bishop found that he had no alternative but to accept Hove's dismissal. To resign would have left him out in the cold without the backing of the guerrillas or the government.

AP

Black faces for white rule: Smith signs March agreement with Bishop Muzorewa (left), Chief Jeremiah Chirau and Rev. Sithole.

Rhodesia on the Ropes

The white settlers brought the three black puppets into the government as a desperate attempt to forestall the construction of a black-ruled Zimbabwe over the dead body of colonialist Rhodesia. But the attempt is not working. Muzorewa, Chirau and Sithole, despite the latter's claim to the allegiance of substantial numbers of ZANU guerrillas, have failed to attract Patriotic Front fighters to respect a "cease-fire" or join the government side in a war which has greatly intensified since the March 3 settlement. Emmissaries sent by Muzorewa and Sithole to contact the guerrillas have been killed by them instead.

Rhodesian forces have been unable to contain the growth of the guerrilla insurgency, and government casualties have increased to a rate three times higher than the 1977 levels. Landmines and ambushes have made rural roads and even major highways unsafe for travel by whites, and the government's loss of control over substantial areas of the country has compelled some white farmers to make their own deals with the guerrillas, turning a blind eye to their activities in exchange for immunity from harassment and attack.

White Rhodesia is visibly shrinking and, unlike South Africa where the population is 20 percent white with roots that go back centuries, the settlers are simply too few to make an effective last stand. Two thirds of the whites hold British or South African passports and thus have one foot out of the country already.

Unable to suppress the guerrillas militarily or to entice Nkomo to throw his weight behind the "internal settlement" (despite the recent legalization of ZAPU inside Rhodesia), the Smith regime now clings to its final hope the sympathy of British Tories and U.S right-wingers for "plucky little Rhodesia." Attempting to curry favor with these forces the government has sent Sithole and Muzorewa on propaganda tours of the U.S. and Britain and churned out endless atrocity stories about the guerrillas. These tales make good racist copy for the tabloid press but sophisticated Western leaders have been giving them an increasingly skeptical hearing. Andy Young, for example, in his notorious "thousands of U.S. political prisoners" interview charged the Smith regime with blaming the guerrillas for its *own* massacres

While the just hatred of the black masses for the bloody-handed white colonialists leads naturally to attacks on the missionaries who accompany the imperialists to Africa, there is evidence that Rhodesian claims of guerrilla massacres of missionaries and black villagers are indeed cover stories for the atrocities of the regime's black troops. Sister Janice McLaughlin, a Maryknoll nun expelled from Rhodesia by the Smith government, pointed out in the August issue of *Seven Days* the inconsistency in the government's charge that Catholic and evangelical missionaries suffering government repression for *aiding* the guerrillas are the victims of massacres by those same guerrillas. McLaughlin reported that pro-government clergy in the Dutch Reformed Church are apparently immune from attack. She quoted the remarks of a French mercenary who exposed the Smith government's game when he stated in an interview with a Paris weekly that, "I have been told that in some operations there were Selous Scouts [a secret counter-insurgency unit] who disguised themselves as Mozambican soldiers or guerrillas to attack the villagers and travelers or kill missionaries."

Young: Front Man for Cold War in Africa

The House vote to lift trade sanctions if elections are held gave a boost to Rhodesian morale but it contradicted a Senate bill passed the previous week calling for an end to sanctions only if the elected government committed itself to negotiations with the guerrillas. The vote also ran counter to the Carter administration's efforts to bring the guerrillas into the Rhodesian government.

The differences between neanderthals like representative Richard Ichord of Missouri, who led the fight for the House amendment, and the administration reflect the difference between the American Gothic of the far right and the more sophisticated anti-Soviet policies of the Carter-Young-Brzezinski team. The Reaganites have used Andrew Young's notorious mouthings to bolster their domestic campaigns with charges that Carter is "soft on communism." In reality, however, Young is simply playing "soft cop" to Brzezinski's hard-line anti-Sovietism. Given the intense anti-Americanism in the colonial world, it is very useful for American imperialism to have a black foreign policy spokesman who is advertised as a friend of the "Third World." As Carter put it: "The fact of the matter is that Andy Young has been and is very valuable to our country. He has opened up new areas of communications among the nations of Africa in particular" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 30 July 1978).

Brzezinski and Carter who actually design the cold and hot war strategies of U.S. imperialism cannot afford a commitment to the lost cause of white Rhodesia, and they recognize that Nkomo, far from being a "communist," is the only chance for a stable pro-Western Zimbabwe. What Carter and Brzezinski fear above all is that it is now too late for a negotiated solution and that Smith's unwillingness to concede more than a token role to the nationalists will push Nkomo toward further dependence on Soviet arms and perhaps even lead to the intervention of Cuban troops in the final offensive against Salisbury. For the Cubans to participate in the war against one of the last bastions of white supremacist rule in Africa would be disastrous for American imperialism's anti-Soviet interests. It would enormously increase Soviet influence throughout black Africa. A no less important worry for the U.S. ruling class is the fear that most American blacks would solidarize with the Cuban army against Ian Smith.

The administration's concern with the House vote is therefore that it will prolong the Rhodesians' resistance to a U.S.-brokered deal with the guerrillas and that the guerrilla leaders will themselves interpret it as a pro-Smith tilt in Washington.

Military Victory to ZANU/ZAPU!

The white settler regime in Rhodesia is a barbaric anachronism. Although detached from Britain by the 1965 "Unilateral Declaration of Independence," Rhodesia remains a relic of the British colonial empire. The "majority rule" advocated by Smith and endorsed by his black front men is a colonialist hoax in which the white population (four percent and shrinking fast) would hold effective veto power over the parliament by their control, directly or by nomination, over 28 of 100 seats. Moreover the army and the police force the real basis of state power—as well as the upper ranks of the civil service would continue to be dominated by whites for an indefinite period. Revolutionary Marxists reject any political accommodation with the white supremacist butchers in Salisbury and desire a quick military victory for the forces of the Patriotic Front. No Negotiations! Military Victory to ZANU and ZAPU!

Trotskyists have no illusions about the "socialist" and "Marxist" pretensions of the petty-bourgeois nationalist leaders. When these fakers are in power they will be unable to blame the white colonialists for the exploitation of the black masses. Joshua Nkomo is a notoriously opportunist politician. In the early 1960's he pledged his loyalty to the British Crown and supported the 1961 Rhodesian constitution, which was *more* white supremacist than Smith's "internal settlement." Today Nkomo jet-sets around the world courtesy of "Tiny" Rowland, the Rhodesian founder of Lonrho, Africa's largest multinational firm.

Robert Mugabe of ZANU is a practicing Catholic whose "Marxist" rhetoric is the standard cover for bourgeois nationalism in backward countries. His long-standing split with Nkomo's ZAPU is based not on programmatic differences but on personal rivalry and, above all, tribal enmity. While ZAPU is based among the minority Ndebele tribe, ZANU draws its support from among the Shona-speaking majority. Even now there are widespread reports that Nkomo's men are clashing with the ZANU guerrillas as the latter extend their base into Ndebeleland. The defeat of the Smith government would undoubtedly be followed by the kind of intra-nationalist and tribalist bloodletting common throughout black Africa. The end result would be the victory, as in Angola and Mozambique, of a bonapartist despot like Agostinho Neto or Samora Machel.

What was true at the time of the "internal settlement" stands as a powerfully prophetic warning today on the eve of a guerrilla victory:

> "Confining the struggle within the narrow framework of bourgeois nationalism will also mean the continued subjugation of the black masses to poverty and wage slavery. On the morrow of victory, the Nkomos and Mugabes aspiring exploiters one and all will prove as implacable *class* enemies of the African workers and peasants as the white settlers. Only through the establishment of a Zimbabwe workers and peasants government in the framework of a socialist federation of southern Africa, will industry and agriculture be put in the service of the oppressed. This requires the construction of a Trotskyist party and concrete links with the massive and combative black proletariat of South Africa."
>
> "Imperialist 'Majority Rule' Hoax in Rhodesia," *WV*, No 195 (3 March 1978)

W. Germany...

(continued from page 2)

posed threat of the East German "social imperialists." Thus, both brands of Stalinism hand the issue of German unity on a platter to the ultraright. Indeed, the Trotskyists are the only true defenders of the 1953 uprising of the East Berlin proletarian masses, which was not a fascist counterrevolution as both the East German bureaucracy and the West German right would like to claim. In commemoration of the 17 June 1953 events the TLD, alone among the West German left, called for the revolutionary reunification of Germany. As its leaflet proclaimed,

> "June 17 belongs to the German working class, not the bourgeois revanchists and fascist hands! On 17 June, 1953 the East German proletariat, including the workforce of *literally all* major plants, followed the call of the striking East Berlin construction workers. The East German workers attempted to overthrow the bureaucratic-Stalinist state leadership and fight for their own power in a general strike which ranks among the most powerful ever launched in the history of the workers movement."

Pointing out the counterrevolutionary role of the West German Social Democrats in thwarting the insurgent East Berlin workers' call for the general strike *throughout* Germany, the TLD leaflet concludes

> "What was lacking in East and West Germany was a revolutionary party to lead the struggle for proletarian political revolution against the East German and Soviet bureaucracy and for social revolution in the West."

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Toronto...

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letter carriers. No attempt was made to mobilize the entire membership behind the strike until a local meeting was convened *four days after* the drivers had walked out and the letter carriers were locked out.

At this meeting McGarry cynically counseled LCUC members to go back to work and conserve their energy for "future battles" this from the man who put off calling a national strike and directed union members to work without a contract. The Local 1 executive board put forward a strike motion to back the suspended LCUC members but refused to call for *no discipline* against any LCUC member, thereby undermining the legitimacy of the union's work action in front of the membership.

It was left to the best rank-and-file militants and stewards to try to rally the membership behind the union. Ten LCUC stewards co-signed a leaflet distributed at the LCUC meeting entitled "Strike to Defend the Union." The leaflet stated:

> "Management is not only attacking the drivers it is attacking *all* LCUC members. If management can get away with disciplining and possibly firing drivers' representatives carrying out official union policy – they will do it next time to the letter carriers. They will make a shambles out of our union.
>
> "We must stand solid an injury to one is an injury to all. We must all go out together, and stay out until all the safety grievances are resolved, and until management agrees that *no* LCUC members will be disciplined!!"

But in the absence of a systematic mobilization of the membership behind this strike, a ballot vote taken after the local meeting went 536 to 391 against the executive's strike motion with the bulk of the opposition coming from the letter carriers. Twenty-four hours later the drivers returned to work under management's terms, with the threat of reprisals hanging over their heads.

LCUC Targeted

Once the battle lines had been drawn, the refusal of the bulk of the LCUC members to vote for the strike was a blow against the entire union. But the ultimate responsibility for the defeat lies with the trade-union tops. Neither the national bureaucracy nor the Local 1 leaders have made any effort to mobilize the LCUC ranks to fight around the pay cuts and job-slashing that confront *all* postal workers. Particularly among the letter carriers, who are more conservative precisely because they have thus far avoided the brunt of the government's attack, the bureaucrats have perpetuated the illusion that even their present conditions and wages can be preserved without a militant fight.

With the expiration of its contract on June 30 the LCUC, especially its militant Toronto local, was targeted by management. Prime Minister Trudeau, like his senior imperialist partner in the White House, wants to make an "example" of the postal workers. In exchange for all the LCUC tops' "moderation," the government offered a 2 percent raise, reduced cost-of-living adjustment, speed-up and job loss. In Vancouver, the post office leaked a report proposing a 27 percent reduction in letter carrier jobs. Rather than make these fighting issues for all postal workers, McGarry has extended the contract, hoping to beg a few more crumbs from the government.

"Crown Corporation Will Deliver"

Just after Toronto postal workers had pulled down their picket lines, Trudeau returned from his Morocco vacation to "pay his respects" to the Canadian head of state, the queen, at the Commonwealth Games in Edmonton. But before proceeding to greet the monarch, Trudeau demanded prime time on the state-owned TV network to make a speech which took even most of his cabinet by surprise. Obviously, the fervor of Proposition 13 was sweeping Ottawa as Trudeau promised to cut government expenditures by $2 billion and to shrink the government workforce.

But his ire was focused especially on the postal workers. Declaring he was "fed up" with the continual "disruptions" of mail service, Trudeau promised to turn the post office into a "Crown Corporation." Except for the feudal terminology, such corporations are similar to the TVA or the present-day structure of the U.S. Post Office; i.e., a government institution run according to self-supporting and profit criteria. The reorganization of the U.S. Post Office has resulted in the slashing of 100,000 jobs in less than a decade!

Trudeau's speech, especially his proposal to turn the post office into a Crown Corporation, was praised by Canadian business and the bourgeois press. Ironically, this proposal was also hailed as a "victory" by the sometime radical-talking president of CUPW, Parrot. For years LCUC and CUPW bureaucrats have been begging the government to turn the post office into a Crown Corporation in order to bring postal workers under the Canada Labor Code instead of the Public Service Staff Relations Act. But the exchange of one piece of anti-labor legislation for another is no victory for postal workers. For example, the recent Toronto walkout would have been illegal under *both*!

Parrot, in particular, has staked his career on the campaign for a "Crown Corporation" and had his national office put out buttons with the slogan "A Crown Corporation Will Deliver." And given Trudeau's speech, you can bet it will and Parrot and especially his membership will not appreciate being on the receiving end.

For a Nationwide Postal Strike

In his national television address Trudeau confirmed the determination of his government to impose wage controls on public service workers as part of its latest scheme to revive the sagging Canadian economy. The greater trade-union consciousness and militancy of the postal unions coupled with their ability to shut down Canada's mail service system through a nationwide postal strike makes them the biggest threat among government employees to Trudeau's attempts to impose his latest spate of anti-labor laws. The government already has Bill C-45 banning postal strikes during federal elections on the books and is moving to build up its arsenal of anti-labor legislation.

The government's hardlining on the contract, its anti-union legislation directed at public employees and Trudeau's ominous "reorganization" of the post office must be a clear warning to postal workers. The burning need now is for an immediate, nationwide counter-offensive. Otherwise there will be only more Torontos, more victimizations of union militants and the systematic demoralization and exhaustion of the most combative elements of the union.

At the July 20 Toronto Local 1 meeting, Bob McBurney, a shop steward and recent delegate to the LCUC national convention and a co-signer of the statement issued at the July 26 mass meeting, distributed a leaflet which counterposed a fighting strategy to the gutless class collaboration of the Parrots and McGarrys, who have chained postal workers to the job without a contract. The leaflet stated:

> "A joint strike is urgently needed to defeat the government offensive. Local 1 has led the way in joint action with the CUPW in the past year and must vigorously pursue a joint conference to elect joint strike and negotiating committees, open to the membership, to conduct a joint strike and win a joint contract, laying the basis for a badly needed merger of the CUPW, LCUC, and GLT."

Postal strikes, like all government workers strikes, are battles against a capitalist employer who literally makes his own laws, appoints his own judges and commands his own armed strike-breakers. Such strikes directly pose the need for the working class as a whole to have its own government. But such a government will never be won by the right-wing, strikebreaking, English chauvinist social democrats of the New Democratic Party nor by cowardly business unionists like McGarry and Parrot. The fight within the unions to replace the McGarrys and Parrots by a class-struggle leadership, linked to the struggle to win the workers from the reformist NDP (and in Quebec, from the bourgeois-nationalist Parti Québécois) to a real workers party, is the only means to forging the historic militancy of Canadian labor into an instrument for proletarian power. ■

Haitians March in NYC, Miami

No Deportations to "Baby Doc's" Terror Island!

WV Photo

Demonstration in New York City on August 3.

"Deportation means death for Haitian refugees!" This was the slogan taken up by nearly 100 Haitian immigrants and their supporters demonstrating August 3 at the Haitian and Bahamian consulates and U.S. passport office in New York. The demonstrators were protesting the stepped-up campaign of harassment and deportation directed at "illegal" Haitian immigrants in the U.S. and the Bahamas and demanding asylum for Haitians fleeing the brutal Duvalier dictatorship. In Miami some of the estimated 15,000 Haitians in southern Florida staged a candlelight march and vigil that same night.

Organized by the Ad Hoc Committee Against Mistreatment of Haitian Refugees, the New York protest publicized the plight of the tens of thousands of Haitians who have fled to the Bahamas and the U.S. to escape the starvation and political repression under Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier's regime. A mock coffin carried by the protesters symbolized the fate of hundreds of refugees who have drowned while attempting the perilous ocean crossing from Haiti in overcrowded and unseaworthy boats.

The New York and Miami demonstrations were directed at the recent crackdown on Haitian "illegals" by the U.S. and Bahamian governments. In early June the Bahamian Minister of Labour and Home Affairs, Darrell Rolle, announced a "sustained round-up and repatriation of all illegal immigrants" (Nassau *Tribune*, 3 June 1978). Hundreds of Haitians were jailed, their homes were ransacked and Haitian women were raped. Hundreds more, joining the flood of Haitian refugees to Florida, took to leaky boats.

In sharp contrast to the red carpet treatment given anti-communist Cubans and South Vietnamese, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service greeted the Haitian refugees by beefing up its forces in Florida and moving to speed up deportation proceedings!

The labor movement must not allow the U.S. government to sentence Haitian refugees to death by deporting them to Duvalier's torture chambers! No Deportations! Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign-born Workers!

Burger...

(continued from page 5)

the demands of the racist mobs screaming in the streets. How excruciating for the ruling class to have this pompous crook as the central symbol of its law. So why not impeach him?

As communists, we are not too surprised. Such practices are an organic part of the daily workings of the capitalist state. Of course the secret police apparatus is at the service of the top corporations to wage the little wars of intrigue against foreign competitors just as the capitalist military wages the big wars of imperialist rivalry. As over Watergate, our fight with Burger is not limited to his dirty tricks against competing sections of the bourgeoisie, but centers on his daily work as the chief hatchetman of bourgeois reaction. While we would look with favor on an impeachment of the chief justice, our struggle is against the criminally unjust class system he so hypocritically represents. ■

***Workers Vanguard* is published monthly in August. The next issue will be dated 8 September 1978.**

WORKERS VANGUARD

Firings, Arrests in Government Attack

Defy the Injunctions! For a Nationwide Postal Strike!

With a heavy-handed display of police power, the Carter administration crushed the post office walkouts which erupted July 21 in reaction to the rotten contract agreement announced by postal union leaders and the U.S. Postal Service. By preventing the walkouts from spreading into a major postal strike, the government has won round one of the postal contract fight. But the disgust for the tentative agreement that is widespread among postal workers could still provoke a national strike and a showdown with the strikebreaking U.S. government.

The walkouts which hit the strategic Bulk Mail Centers (BMCs) in Jersey City and Richmond, California, with shorter job actions in Baltimore, Washington, D.C., Kearny, New Jersey and Los Angeles, were slapped almost immediately with court injunctions upholding the federal law banning government employee strikes and ordering an end to picketing or any other "concerted refusal" to work. Nearly 200 workers were fired as postal inspectors, cops and federal marshals made midnight raids on workers' homes to serve summonses and firing notices, took hundreds of pictures and miles of videotape for later use in court and shoved pickets off access roads leading to the huge processing centers.

In Richmond, 22 workers virtually the entire strike leadership were hauled into court, scheduled for contempt hearings later in August and warned of "heavy time" should they reappear on the picket lines. In Jersey City, 67 workers were on the judge's hit list if they refused to cease picketing, and two strike leaders will be tried for contempt of court later. As we go to press, there are still picket lines up in Richmond, but they are manned only by strike supporters, not postal employees, and over 90 percent of the workers are back on the job. Workers report that the inside of the BMCs are like armed camps, crawling with supervisors and postal inspectors fearful of renewed walkouts. At the Richmond facility, postal authorities were suspending workers for even wearing buttons calling for a better contract or defending the walkout until they were restrained by an ACLU class action suit.

Carter is playing hard ball with the postal unions, eager to toughen up his anti-inflation program of clamping down on wages. His vicious strikebreaking, backed up by the threat to call out troops should a national postal strike develop, is supported by every Demo-

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New York postal workers picket the main post office July 19. WV Photo

Stop Reprisals Against LCUC

Militant Drivers Spark Toronto Postal Shutdown

TORONTO, 3 August Stabbed in the back by their national union leadership, Toronto postal drivers of the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC) Local 1 returned to work today with the threat of management reprisals hanging over their heads. The drivers hit the bricks on July 26 over the suspension of the LCUC members who refused to drive unsafe trucks or work under hazardous conditions at postal garages.

The Local 1 walkout took place with both major Canadian postal unions, LCUC and the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW), working without a contract. CUPW, representing clerks and mail sorters and led by a left-talking demagogue, Jean Claude Parrot, has worked 15 months without a contract. The LCUC, headed by Robert McGarry, has now been two months without a contract. Both Parrot and McGarry have repudiated the militant traditions of the postal workers, who built their unions with a nationwide mass walkout in 1965.

In the absence of a nationwide mobilization of postal workers, the more militant and combative sections of the workforce have been forced to go it alone in isolated local strikes and wildcats. In the past several months in almost every major Canadian city there have been postal worker walkouts, in most instances by CUPW members and LCUC drivers. The government has tried to exploit craft differences not only between the unions, but within the LCUC between the drivers and the less militant letter carriers, seeking to quash these rebellions by victimizing strike leaders. Literally scores of shop stewards and local union officials have been fired or suspended as the government has systematically attempted to demoralize the unions as contract negotiations drag on.

In Toronto management provoked a strike over unsafe working conditions for drivers, an issue which the letter carriers did not immediately see as their own. For months the union had unsuccessfully gone through the grievance procedure in an attempt to get management to repair unsafe mail courier vans. Finally, the union authorized drivers to refuse the unsafe work. On July 26, drivers who did were suspended and by the end of the day, with union sanction, all the drivers had walked off the job.

For six days the strikers held firm. Drivers and militant letter carriers manned the picket lines around the clock. For the first time in ten years CUPW and General Labour and Trades (GLT) mechanics' union leaders called on their members to respect the LCUC lines. What should be a gut reaction by every trade unionist, respect for picket lines, was re-established, mainly through the solidarity of the drivers with earlier CUPW and GLT strikes.

The LCUC was thus in a good position to back the postal bosses down and deal a blow to the government's "divide and conquer" schemes. But thanks above all to the treachery of the LCUC bureaucracy, the solidarity of CUPW and the postal mechanics was not matched within the ranks of the Toronto union. But national LCUC president Robert McGarry refused to sanction the drivers' walkout, issuing a public statement to the Toronto press asserting that the safety defects "weren't as big as they (the local) thought" (Toronto *Globe & Mail*, July 29) and refused to take a position on the disciplines.

The Local 1 executive board authorized the walkout only when confronted with a virtual revolt from the militant drivers and then conducted it in a narrow and bureaucratic fashion which served to further polarize drivers and

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 214 — 8 September 1978

Keep it Solid to Win!

NYC Press Strike Solid

For a Union Daily Newspaper!

NEW YORK Now into its fourth week, the New York newspaper strike remains solid as the city faces the most important labor battle seen here in years. The solidarity shown on the pressmen's picket lines by the rest of the newspaper unions has greatly strengthened the resolve of the strikers and thrown a monkey wrench into the publishers' plans to run a *Washington Post*-style scab operation. That the bosses are hurting there is no doubt: shutting down the daily papers in the financial capital of the world's largest imperialist power is not just any strike. The battle is crucial to the entire New York City labor movement and the printing trades as a whole: unlike so many recent strike situations in the industry and city, the union solidarity and militant determination of the strikers in this case could be crucial ingredients for a stunning *victory* over the publishers. But this will not come by simply waiting for the bosses to capitulate They already provoked the present strike by imposing job-slashing work rules, then locking out the other unions when the deliverers backed the pressmen.

The outcome of the strike is intimately bound up with the overall near-desperate situation of the New York printing trades industry plagued by runaway shops, narrow craft unionism and a recent history of the various crafts crossing each other's picket lines. And while the union ranks have shown a real enthusiasm to struggle, at present the situation is locked into a bureaucratic framework by a union leadership which only knows how to negotiate its private deals with the publishers and operates with a defeatist go-it-alone mentality. To break the situation open the pressmen must take the strike beyond the traditional limits of craft unionism and mobilize the rest of NYC labor behind the fight Certainly the bosses are united—the publishers' announced plan for a joint scab paper is only the latest dangerous indication.

The strike against the *New York Times*, the *New York Post* and the *Daily News* is the latest battle in a long war waged by newspaper publishers against the printing trades unions. The bitter 1975-76 *Washington Post* strike not only broke the pressmen's union there but strengthened the newspaper bosses' nationwide union-busting campaign. Similarly the outcome of the present strike, in the center of the printing industry and militant stronghold of the printing unions, may well determine their future for many years to come. Both sides are currently dug in for a long siege with the knowledge that two major New York City newspaper strikes in recent memory, the 1962 printers walkout and the 1966 Guild strike at the *World-Journal Tribune* each lasted well over 100 days.

Moreover, the strike will have a crucial effect on all New York labor, which *must* take an active interest in this battle. or it will greatly regret it. For years the unionized printing and garment trades were the city's industrial backbone. Today, the local garment trades have been gutted, displaced by imports produced under virtual slave labor conditions in Taiwan, Hong Kong and South Korea and by runaways to the low-wage, non-union south. The bulk of the industry's workers remaining in New York are now among the lowest paid in the city. As with garment, the printing unions here are necessarily threatened because they too have long existed as an island of higher paid labor in a sea of lower wage scales. In recent years there has been a proliferation of runaway print shops, particularly to New Jersey, Long Island and the surrounding regions. There, even when organized into unions, workers get paid at a fraction of NYC union rates and with greatly reduced manning scales.

Essentially because of the difficulty of prompt delivery from outlying regions of the massive quantities of papers necessary to service New York on a daily basis, the publishers of the large metropolitan dailies have found it difficult to move their massive operations outside the city. The *Times*, *Post*, and *News* are, in fact, the last major stronghold of the printing unions in New York. The publishers' strategy in the current battle is straightforward: level the city union scales to the lowe. standards of surrounding areas. If they win, it will represent a further sharp blow to the New York labor movement. A successfully waged strike, on the other hand, not only can preserve present gains for the unions, but also lay the basis for organizing New York's largely non-union cold-type commercial shops, upgrading union standards in outlying areas and reversing the exodus of union jobs that has contributed to the impoverishment of the New York City population, much of which is black and Spanish-speaking.

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WV Photo

Pressmen shut down New York Times editorial offices.

PAGE 2

USWA: Fight for Right to Strike!

PAGE 6

Avenge Letelier–Smash Chile Terror Regime!

Can't Fight ENA With Sadlowski/McBride

USWA Convention: Fight for the Right to Strike!

The issue posed pointblank at the 19th Constitutional Convention of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), scheduled to begin September 18 in Atlantic City, is the need to dump the pro-company policies that make it impossible for the union to defend itself against the escalating attacks mounted by the bosses. These defeatist policies are shared by *both* wings of the USWA bureaucracy, not only the staid conservatives around McBride but also the self-proclaimed "mavericks" of the Sadlowski-Balanoff camp. Steelworker militants must organize to throw out *all* these competing labor fakers, for without such a struggle they cannot forge the militant leadership necessary to put an end to unemployment, speedup, unsafe working conditions and the rest of the ills which are their lot under the present exploitative system.

It is only a few months since the coal miners ended their militant, historic 110-day strike. The determined miners, maintaining their roving picket lines in the face of scabherding by the cops and National Guard as well as the reactionary Carter government's attempt to invoke Taft-Hartley, succeeded in beating back a considerable number of the take-away demands of the coal barons, who count in their ranks the major steel companies. If the miners were unable to win a real victory, it was only because their cowardly leadership kept giving away at the bargaining table what the miners were winning on the picket line.

In the face of this militant example, the USWA leaders have forced steel workers to endure layoffs, plant closings and cuts in real wages without even attempting to fight. It has been almost two decades now since the USWA waged a serious national strike. With over a million members, making them the largest industrial union in the AFL-CIO, and occupying a strategic sector of the economy, the Steelworkers have the power to bring the giant trusts to their knees.

Yet, instead of leading the battle against the companies, USWA president Lloyd McBride and his predecessor, I.W. Abel, have been the foremost advocates of the companies' "right" to make profits. Every major policy pursued by the USWA International over the past decade—from the joint union-management productivity committees, to the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), to support for protectionist legislation designed to keep out foreign steel imports—has been motivated by claiming that propping up the sagging competitive position of the declining American steel trusts would guarantee the jobs and working conditions of steel workers.

Yet, what have all McBride's guarantees of labor peace, his collaboration with the companies in speedup and automation schemes, his willingness to pit American against European and Japanese workers in a dog-eat-dog struggle for jobs, produced for USWA members? The long-developing crisis of the U.S. steel industry, basically a product of its outmoded plants and aging equipment losing markets to more modern and efficient foreign competitors in a shrinking world market, has not been solved. When the effects of that shaky position first peaked in the summer of 1977, upwards of 65,000 steel jobs were cut to bolster the bosses' profits.

Today, even with a temporary upsurge in domestic steel production and the mills operating at 90 percent capacity, some 5,000 workers remain fired at Youngstown Sheet and Tube's Campbell Works, as are thousands of others at Bethlehem's facilities in Johnstown and Lackawanna and other plants that were partially or wholly shut down in the past year. Speedup and automation have meant more steel produced with nearly 200,000 fewer workers than just 15 years ago; pay packets have shrunk drastically under double-digit inflation. And the USWA leadership's refusal to fight has only emboldened the bosses, who have forced long strikes at companies like Anaconda, Latrobe and Pullman by their demands for outright takeaways of such hard-won union gains as established pay and pension rates and existing seniority provisions. This is only a harbinger of what is in store for workers in basic steel.

Lloyd McBride — WV Photo

Ed Sadlowski — WV Photo

For the Right to Strike—Defend Picket Lines!

While the International openly endorses the no-strike pledge, the Ed Sadlowski/Jim Balanoff wing of the USWA bureaucracy which controls powerful District 31 (Chicago-Gary) has consistently capitulated to McBride. While giving lip service in the past to the right to strike, they have demonstratively flunked every real test. During Sadlowski's presidential campaign, he stated that he would honor the ENA contract—and so he did! When the basic steel agreement expired in August 1977, the Sadlowski opposition did nothing. The new contract was shoved down steelworkers' throats with only a peep of protest from Sadlowski at the basic steel conference but with no call for strike action. Then, when the iron miners struck over issues including wages, threatening to explode ENA, Sadlowski & Co.—no less than McBride—refused to call for the strike's extension to basic steel. And when the massive mill closings came later, both wings of the USWA bureaucracy refused to call for strikes against the bosses, instead limiting themselves to whimpering appeals to the capitalist government.

Now the Sadlowski/Balanoff gang has all but abandoned even their paper opposition to ENA, claiming that ENA is here to stay until at least 1983. They are instead attempting to line up local union presidents on the single issue of the membership's right to ratify contracts. Certainly, militants favor this demand. But, under ENA, if there is no contract settlement, the contested issues go to compulsory arbitration—which is always stacked in favor of the companies. Without the right to strike—and a leadership determined to exercise it—the right to ratify doesn't count for much. The coal miners went on to win a contract better than the ones they were initially offered not because they had the right to vote on them, but because they backed their demands with a militant strike. On the other hand, New York City transit workers voted down contract offers several times this year, but without a leadership—or even an opposition—that demanded strike action, they ended up saddled with the city's initial offer. Delegates to the convention must demand not only membership ratification of contracts but: render the ENA null and void—eliminate the no-strike clauses and compulsory arbitration of grievances—full right to strike by the locals without prior approval of the International!

The acid test for anyone who claims to support the right to strike is defense of picket lines. The opposition bureaucrats, as well as the McBride machine, have consistently flunked this test. Last June at the giant Inland steel plant outside Chicago striking bricklayers threw up picket lines. Any union leadership worth its salt would have mobilized steel workers in support of the bricklayers. But USWA Local 1010 president Bill Andrews, a central figure in the "right to ratify" bloc, along with the rest of the local leadership, issued a statement asserting that they were supporting the International's policy that the USWA would *not* defend members disciplined for observing the picket lines. When Local 1010 members who respected the picket lines anyway protested this scabherding policy, they were ruled out of order both at a Local 1010 meeting, and at a subsequent District 31 conference (by Balanoff himself)!

Subsequently, militants at Inland put forward a convention resolution demanding that the union sanction respect for picket lines. Although this was voted down with the active aid of the Local 1010 bureaucracy, the resolution should be acted on by the convention:

> "Resolved, that the 19th USWA Constitutional Convention
> "1) Condemns the policy of crossing another union's picket lines under any circumstances, and instructs all USWA members to honor all such picket lines.
> "2) Commits the resources of the International to carry out this policy

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Sadlowski Opportunists Fall Out

Two years ago John Chico was elected president of U.S. Steel Southworks Local 65 in Chicago. At the time Chico, supported not only by Ed Sadlowski but also by numerous pseudo-socialists in the Southworks plant, defeated Frank Mirocha, a supporter of I.W. Abel.

Recently, with U.S. Steel threatening to shut down the Southworks mill, Chico has moved rapidly to the right, anxious to demonstrate to the company how "responsible" the union is. Chico's bureaucratic management of Local 65, including refusal to permit membership ratification of the local contract and his sponsorship of a gag rule requiring all resolutions put forward at local meetings to be screened beforehand by the local executive board, have increasingly embarrassed his erstwhile supporters on the left.

The simmering antagonisms erupted recently in an open split. The Chico slate for convention delegates was challenged by one put forward by Steelworkers Organized for Solidarity (SOS), led by a couple of the local's grievers and at one time or another including supporters of such reformist groups as the Socialist Workers Party, Communist Party and Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF). With no programmatic differences of substance separating the competing slates, the clique character and unprincipled politics lying behind the split were underscored by the fact that SOS ran in the election in a bloc with the Christian Democratic Organization, whose key leaders supported right-winger Mirocha in 1976!

Voting in his home local in balloting for election tellers, Ed Sadlowski supported the Chico slate. Well aware that the incumbent leadership slate of Chico would outpoll their SOS opponents, Sadlowski simply dumped the phony leftists who have been swearing by this Arnold Miller of the USWA for years!

Meanwhile, the Breakout group,

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No Arbitration–Strike Now!

Postal Workers Cancel Sellout Contract

With an eleventh-hour sleight-of-hand maneuver, the Carter administration managed once again to avert a threatened nationwide postal strike on August 28. Just hours before the National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC) had scheduled a walkout, United States Postal Service (USPS) chief William Bolger backed off from his consistent refusal to renegotiate the contract which had been rejected in mail balloting by the Letter Carriers, the American Postal Workers Union (APWU) and the Mailhandlers Division of the Laborer's Union. In order to head off militant action, Bolger agreed to a proposal from Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service director Wayne Horowitz for a 15-day period of renewed talks under the supervision of federally appointed mediator James Healy. If no agreement is reached by September 16, Healy will arbitrate any remaining items and declare a binding solution.

For postal workers, the renewed "negotiations" are a transparent sham. In the first place, if the government negotiators are unable to piece off postal union bureaucrats with either a reshuffling of the miserly 19.5 percent wage increase over three years already offered or a few additional pennies per hour, the compulsory arbitration that federal law mandates and that Bolger insisted on is still the final step in the process. Second, the talks are restricted, at the government's insistence, to only two issues, wages and the no-layoff clause that the government had already agreed to. The back-breaking speedup which has cut 100,000 postal jobs in the last decade; the forced overtime; the sharp deterioration in working conditions and safety standards; the USPS' "open shop" policy and undermining of union standards through the increasing use of "casuals" and "flexies"; also fringe benefits and the firing of over 200 postal workers who struck the Bulk Mail Centers (BMC) at Jersey City and Richmond, California—none of these critical issues are up for discussion.

Though postal union leaders called off their unions' scheduled strikes in exchange for such absurd terms, widespread anger in the postal workers' ranks—against both their own leaders and the government's contemptuous offers—could still blow the deal wide open. While the government can rely on the contemptible cowardice of the union tops, these officials have next to no authority left with their memberships.

At the mid-August convention of the 300,000-member APWU, the largest of the three postal unions involved in joint bargaining with the government, union president Emmett Andrews was prevented for over an hour from delivering his opening address by hundreds of angry delegates who booed and shouted their disapproval as they demonstrated up and down the aisles. Placards denouncing the "disgraceful contract" and "gutless officials" abounded. By a five-to-one margin the delegates voted to recommend rejection of the contract. Andrews blustered and continued to predict ratification, but when the mail ballots were counted on August 25 the vote was 94,000 to 78,000 against the pact.

The same scenario had been played out earlier in the Letter Carriers. Even after he was booed and jeered at the NALC convention in Chicago at the end of July, where the delegates voted overwhelmingly to reject the contract proposal, Letter Carriers president Joe Vacca asserted that he would be vindicated by the mail ballots. Instead, the NALC membership voted 78,000 to 58,000 for rejection. The relatively small Mailhandlers union, with 40,000 members and an arch-conservative leadership, was widely expected to be the one union sure to approve the contract. Yet its members also voted to reject, completing the clean sweep.

WV Photo

Sombrotto (center) with New York delegates at NALC convention in Chicago.

Unfortunately, the deep discontent of the postal workers has been thwarted not only by their top union officials but also by slick opportunists posing as militants, epitomized by the leaders of the New York Letter Carriers and APWU, Vince Sombrotto and Moe Biller. Realizing that the ranks would not swallow the miserable contract terms announced last July 21, Sombrotto and Biller saw a chance to feather their own bureaucratic nests by denouncing the national negotiators and calling for "renegotiations." Meanwhile they avoided a clash with the government by keeping the lid on strike action. Recalling the 1970 postal strike, spearheaded by the New York unions, postal workers all over the country waited to see what New York would do. But instead of spreading the strike, Biller and Sombrotto let the militants who had gone out at the strategic BMCs in California and New Jersey be beaten into the ground by a combination of mass firings and court injunctions.

Now that the renegotiation they demanded has begun, Biller and Sombrotto are bleating again. Protesting the limited scope of the new negotiations Sombrotto labeled them a "scam" while Biller has reportedly been discussing the "possibility" of strike action with other APWU leaders should the current talks result in arbitration. While the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party, the two largest groups of the American "left," breathlessly repeat every new utterance of Biller and Sombrotto without a word of criticism, the Spartacist League has repeatedly warned postal workers not to place their trust in the feeble protestations or stalling tactics of these fakers.

The APWU has recently ballyhooed the traditional labor slogan "No contract—no work." With the official rejection of the tentative agreement by all three unions, there is now no contract. Postal workers must counter the temporizing of their leaders with the demand for an immediate strike! Joint mass meetings of the unions should be held in every city; strike committees should be elected and picket duty assigned. If, as is not unlikely, individual locals walk out, postal militants must insure that these strikes are not left to be isolated and crushed. Shut down the Post Office nationwide!

Challenge to Carter

The still unfolding crisis over the postal contract has presented a major challenge to the Carter administration, becoming a real government vs. labor showdown. With plunging popularity polls Carter is anxious to prove that he can do something right. And after the militant coal miners waged a 110-day strike, laughed off his Taft-Hartley injunction and won a 37 percent wage increase at a time when the government was stressing wage "constraints," the postal workers looked easy to get.

The postal workers are, after all, divided up into different unions and, with the dramatic exception of the 1970 strike, lack traditions of militant struggle. According to federal law they do not have the right to strike, and the government has amassed an extensive array of strikebreaking weapons against them, ranging from court injunctions and firings to the contingency plan "Operation Graphic Hand," which calls for 100,000 troops to be deployed to man the post offices.

Carter's game plan, however, fell victim to labor's reaction against the stepped-up big-business offensive. As a rash of public employee strikes swept the country, the postal workers balked at a proposed settlement that contained only about half the wage increases most other unions were winning. Even the crusty conservative labor officialdom is disenchanted with the preacher from Plains. The UAW's Doug Fraser walked off the Labor-Management advisory group chaired by former Labor Secretary John Dunlop, protesting the capitalists' "one-sided class war," and AFL-CIO chief George Meany put the last nails in the coffin of the postal settlement when he declared during the balloting that the contract was "inadequate" and that he expected it to be rejected. When Carter reacted hysterically (a top White House aide said the president was "as mad as I've ever seen him") and NALC president Vacca groused that "Mr. Meany might help us after he destroyed us," Meany quickly pulled in his horns. He praised the farcical renegotiation as "in the true tradition of collective bargaining and trade unionism" and denied any plans for launching a "new labor party." But the postal workers had already voted down the tentative agreement.

While labor's leading hacks tried to back off from a sharp break with Carter over the postal contract, much of the rest of the labor movement realized that the postal workers were taking on the government's wage-"restraint" policy on behalf of all unions. Should the postal workers break through the bureaucratic arrangements of their leaders and the government to launch a national strike, that sympathy must be translated into concrete action, including a general strike should the federal government attempt to use troops against the postal workers. In addition, what started out as an attempt to ramrod an inferior contract down the throats of the postal workers should become a turning point for the labor movement to repudiate the attacks of the Democrats and Republicans and the treachery of their own union leaders. The unions should draw the necessary political conclusion from the mounting capitalist offensive against all workers and launch a workers party to oust the capitalists and form a workers government. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 214 8 September 1978

Cleveland Mayor Squeaks By in Recall

CLEVELAND On August 13, 31-year-old Dennis Kucinich, the enfant terrible of Cleveland City Hall, faced the electorate after just nine months in office in the city's first-ever mayoral recall election. Both the mayor and his adversaries, organized as the Recall Committee to Save Cleveland, portrayed the contest as critical to the survival of the city. Kucinich's TV spots showed hungry "special interest" groups carving up a City Hall-shaped cake while pro-recall ads featured a weeping Terminal Tower – the city's aged symbol in Public Square – distraught over the demise of Cleveland under Kucinich. When the dust settled the self-proclaimed "people's mayor" had won by 236 votes (1 2 of 1 percent), a margin narrower even than in the cliff-hanging November election which put him in office

Though Kucinich hailed the vote as "a victory for the poor and working people who knew they had a government they could call their own," and the recallers proclaimed their "moral triumph" which nearly toppled the mayor, neither side in fact offered any solutions for the mass of the population of this racially polarized city deep in the throes of capitalist urban decay. In this often vicious mud-slinging battle between contending reactionary bourgeois politicians, Marxists did not take sides. And on the day of the balloting, most voters stayed home. The turnout among registered voters in predominantly white wards was 48 percent and just over one third voted in black districts.

Nehez/Cleveland Press

Nighswander/Time

Left, cops strike against mayor; far right, Kucinich.

A Tale of Two Cities

As in virtually every major American city, the race question permeates Cleveland city politics. The sharp racial polarization is geographically demarcated with the Cuyahoga River the dividing line between blacks on the East Side and whites on the West Side of town. For more than two years the prospect of court-ordered school busing haunted city politicians. Both sides in the recall battle assiduously stumped for black votes but neither the mayor nor the Recall Committee ever raised busing as an issue. The recallers accurately branded as racist Kucinich's distribution of different campaign materials to black and white neighborhoods. On the East Side Kucinich leaflets lamented the "insufficient" police presence in the ghettos, while West Side flyers attacked black City Council president George Forbes, a bitter foe of the mayor. The anti-Kucinich forces, however, did not criticize the mayor's anti-busing stance because that would instantly alienate most of the West Side voters who provided 85 percent of the signatures on the original recall petitions.

With both sides ignoring the most explosive issue facing the city—school integration—the recall contest was nothing but a cynical dogfight over patronage and other spoils of elected office. When 12 of 13 black city councilmen, the local black newspaper and a number of black ministers came out for recall, Kucinich responded by breaking ground on an East Side sewer project, touring the ghettos and digging up a group of black churchmen who supported the administration. Despite his demagogic claims to represent all the "little people," most black voters had no stomach for the mayor who in 1973 campaigned for a West Side city council seat by labeling his rivals as pawns of George Forbes and the next year "accused" his opponent of supporting a Martin Luther King national holiday. With little enthusiasm for a bloc with the unsavory crowd which opposed Kucinich most blacks abstained on August 13.

Having disposed of the busing issue by tacit mutual agreement with the Recall Committee (see accompanying article) the mayor still had to contend with a nest of political enemies. As a city councilman, Kucinich broke party ranks in 1971 to support Republican Ralph Perk over Democratic incumbent Carl Stokes, the nation's first black big city mayor. That act earned Kucinich the enmity of both black voters and the Democratic machine. In 1977 after defeating Perk, Kucinich squeaked past Ed Seighan, the Democratic Party's nominee, by 2,900 votes in the runoff.

Kucinich has not brought about any significant reforms (not even the new dog catchers he once promised pedestrians) which might have established a base among the working and middle classes. In February he pledged, "There will be no tax increase, while all city assets are retained," but in mid-July he proposed the sale of nearly $10 million in city land and recently recommended an increase in property taxes to the highest level in Cleveland's history. Furthermore, the mayor's (empty) rhetorical salvos against big business "crooks" have won him no friends among the city's bourgeoisie.

This summer the chickens came home to roost. Both daily newspapers came out for the recall and while Kucinich starred on the local Bowling for Dollars TV show, 645 Democratic precinct leaders voted overwhelmingly for his ouster. Twenty-four of 33 councilmen were against him, as was the school board president. The Ohio Conference of Teamsters and the executive committee of the Cleveland AFL-CIO took the same position. Among major labor organizations only the UAW supported the mayor, kicking in a substantial $25,000 contribution.

"Arrest Us If You Can!"

Undoubtedly Kucinich's biggest mistake was in squaring off with the cops. In an Akron speech the mayor unaccountably (though accurately) characterized police generally as arrogant and corrupt, and the reason why "the Mafia is alive and well in most of our big cities." This landed him a $5.1 million slander suit and the hostility of the Cleveland department. The recall itself was sparked by his dismissal of Richard Hongisto, the liberal ex-sheriff from San Francisco and the ninth Cleveland police chief in 15 years. (Once the darling of pseudo-socialists in the Bay Area, Hongisto is now supervising the New York state prisons, including Attica. See "'People's Mayor' Axes 'People's Cop'," *Young Spartacus* No. 64, May 1978.) Then on July 13 the city police went on "strike."

The cop "strike" posed a paramilitary challenge to the fetters of civilian control and constituted an immediate threat to blacks and working people. The 19-hour "job action" was the response of the Cleveland Police Patrolmen's Association (CPPA) to the firing of 13 cops who refused to walk solo beats in the crime-ridden Cuyahoga Metropolitan Housing Authority (CMHA) projects. For CMHA duty the cops demanded the use of patrol cars which carry shotguns, rather than motorscooters which do not. Even before the CPPA's "strike" vote, city union leaders voiced their support. Teamster and sanitation unions ordered their members to respect the strike-breakers' "strike."

Equipped with a temporary restraining order, a cocky mayor took to the streets where he learned something known by millions of blacks from daily experience: the police make their own laws. Kucinich told reporters he "saw policemen roaming in packs, drunk and stopping traffic." Firecrackers exploded around him and at an East Side station "pickets" dared him to get out of his car. Everywhere Kucinich was taunted and cursed City "Safety Director" James Barrett got the same treatment. "Arrest us if you're so brave," one cop challenged his boss.

With his authority in shambles Kucinich asked Ohio governor James Rhodes for 500 National Guardsmen and state troopers to maintain order. Rhodes, who sent murderous troops to Kent State in 1970, would not lift a finger against the cops. The White House told Kucinich that federal troops could not go in before the National Guard. Meanwhile, panicky store owners deluged private security agencies with pleas for protection. One rent-a-cop chief warned that "shooting is the last resort,... but there will be no broken windows for the downtown merchants."

By the next afternoon, CPPA head William McNea rightly claimed "a victory for the police" and exultant cops whooped it up at the Justice Center. The firings were reduced to suspensions with pay. No fines were levied and the original dispute was sent to arbitration. In this case, the cops' "grievance" was the allegedly insufficient manpower (and firepower) to guarantee the execution of their dirty work with impunity.

Workers must have no illusions in the mayor's claim to defense of democracy against police "anarchy." Kucinich argued that the police *already* had a sufficient force to maintain capitalist law and order among the ghetto poor. "When a policeman has a gun, that's his company," he told CMHA residents. Likewise, militants would oppose any call for deployment of National Guardsmen or federal troops, who like the private cops would terrorize black neighborhoods, not smash the police. But class-conscious unionists must bitterly fight any expression of support for the cops by the labor bureaucrats. Cops are not workers but hired goons and hitmen for the bosses. A victory for their "strike" would be a blow against the entire labor movement, as the cops assert their bonapartist appetites for freedom from civilian control.

Dial 7 for Civil Disorder

Kucinich may be able to patch things up with his enemies, but it will take more than the grits-and-catfish "summit" breakfast with George Forbes to save a city on the verge of going under.

Already, substantial service cutbacks have resulted from a court order requiring payment of a $12 million debt or foreclosure on city assets by a local utility. *After* busing was postponed, the state, stipulating program and staff reductions, coughed up a $20 million loan for the public schools. None of it was for teachers, however, who are preparing to strike after enduring 300

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Teamster Striker Murdered–Stop the Scabbing!

Shut Down California Supermarket Chains Statewide!

In what has become one of the most bitter major strikes in recent years to hit northern California, a Teamster warehouse picket, 25-year-old Randy Hill, was brutally run down and killed by a scab at a struck grocery distribution center in Vacaville on August 21.

Even according to the scabherding police, the scab, Glenn A. Sobolik, "was driving on the left side of the road at relatively high speed with his lights off..." (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 23 August). When another Teamster picket, Robert Lovingier, went to Hill's aid, Lovingier was struck by a second car driven by another scab. Hill was killed, while Lovingier suffered a broken leg and other injuries.

Needless to say, if a scab had been killed, the police would have arrested everyone in sight on charges of murder. But given the bosses' "justice," the murderer Sobolik was released on $3,000 bail and charged with the lesser *misdemeanor* offense of "reckless driving and manslaughter." The second scab driver got off scot-free with no charges.

This cold-blooded murder emphasizes the bosses' viciousness in the six-week-old strike of Teamster warehousemen and drivers against the four major supermarket chains in northern California—Safeway, Lucky's, Alpha Beta and Ralph's (plus the Lucky-owned Gemco stores). Since the defeat of the 1976 San Francisco city workers strike, the bosses in the Bay Area, long a union stronghold, have been waging their part of the general capitalist offensive against labor with a particular ferocity—resulting in the death of an International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) striker in August 1976 in the defeated Handyman strike, and now another picket killed. The employers have ruthlessly revived anti-union tactics of the 1930's, while the cowardly labor bureaucrats have retreated, pleading impotently with their so-called "friends of labor" in the Democratic Party, who have stood solidly with the capitalists and ordered their police forces into the fray against the unions. The fact that the Food Employers Council (FEC) has now chosen to square off so boldly with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT), the single most powerful union in the country, is an ominous sign—and the outcome will clearly shape the 1979 ILWU/IBT warehouse negotiations as well as the Teamster master freight contract negotiations.

The FEC deliberately escalated the confrontation on August 9 by initiating a *lockout* against the 3,500 Teamsters affected by the contract bargaining—a union-busting tactic not seen in major negotiations here for many years. In July the only Teamster unit on strike had been maverick Local 315, whose 1,100 members struck the Safeway distribution center in Richmond a week after its contract expired on July 11. With Safeway reportedly receiving large subsidies (up to $1 million per week) from the employers' association, it launched a massive scabherding operation. Since Local 315's independent contract has a reputation as a pacesetter in the area's food distribution industry, the strike quickly turned into a test case for the industrywide negotiations between the FEC and the Western Conference of Teamsters. The bosses made a series of sweeping take-away demands in the area of sick leave, holiday pay, pensions and seniority and insisted on outright abolition of the union hiring hall.

Teamsters picket Safeway chain in Richmond, California. WV Photo

The striking members of Local 315 have also been fighting a vicious speedup campaign launched by Safeway some time ago. The scheme uses computers and motion picture studies of jobs to set "standards," increasing production by as much as 50 percent. For example, the scheme allows workers only 4.8 minutes per day to go to the bathroom!

The strikers report that hundreds of off-duty cops, private guards and even military police have been riding shotgun on scab trucks and escorting scabs into the distribution warehouses. Some of the scabs have reportedly been black youth channeled into scabbing by the federal CETA jobs program. Meanwhile, a local judge has issued an injunction against mass picketing, the FEC has brazenly printed full-page ads calling on consumers to "shop where the pickets are" and Safeway has started to openly advertise for scab drivers at $10.10 per hour.

Predictably the tremendous potential power of the Teamsters union has been hottled up by the sellout artists of the Western Conference bureaucracy headed by William Grami. Grami's last claim to fame was leading Teamster goons against farm workers in 1973, when the IBT stole contracts from the United Farm Workers. At first Grami tried to isolate the Local 315 strike, denouncing it as a "wildcat" and refusing to call out the other locals whose contracts had also expired. But in San Jose, Alpha Beta Local 287 wildcatted, leading the FEC to lock out workers at Lucky's August 9. This forced Grami's hand, and the International had little choice but to sanction the fait accompli and make the strike official throughout northern California. The official sanction meant that 30,000 other union members would be encouraged to respect the Teamster lines—Retail Clerks, Butcher Workmen and other miscellaneous unions.

But Grami & Co. did everything to undermine class solidarity. When 50,000 retail clerks in southern California struck the supermarket chains on August 20 for their own contracts—a perfect opportunity to link up the unions in a solid statewide strike—the official IBT policy was to observe the Retail Clerks picket lines only at the supermarket stores but not at the distribution centers. Even at the stores, union drivers reportedly allowed scab managers to unload the trucks. (The Southern California strike was reportedly "settled" on August 25.) Predictably, the Retail Clerks bureaucracy has responded with similar treachery. On September 1, Local 588 (Sacramento area) announced it would start sending its members back to work across IBT picket lines on September 3. Union militants must answer this with an elementary union lesson: a picket line means "Don't cross!"

Perhaps the most enraging maneuver by Grami to date was his attempt to herd the ranks back to work right after the murder of Randy Hill. With much fanfare, Grami and the FEC, with the "help" of a federal mediator, jointly announced a "tentative settlement" on August 22—which amounted to nothing but going back to work while the issues would be settled by an arbitrator! The agreement would have provided "amnesty" not only for the strikers but also to "company people charged with misconduct"! Angry IBT members responded by picketing the negotiation site in Burlingame on August 23, while another angry demonstration of teamsters took place at the Lucky's headquarters in Dublin, where no IBT officials dared show their faces. Rank-and-file sentiment was so heated that the eight local union presidents did not even try putting the arbitration deal to a vote, but rejected it out of hand.

Grami & Co. have been preaching non-violence and dangerous legalist substitutes for the mass picketing and defiance of court injunctions necessary to win the strike. At the mass memorial meeting for Randy Hill on August 27, IBT officials tried to argue against further demonstrations. Jack Goldberger, president of the 40,000-member Teamsters Joint Council No. 7, called instead for an idiotic law whereby any "unskilled cop be required to put up a bond"—as if to encourage use of "professional" cop strikebreakers! IBT first International vice president George Mock urged that "the best way to pay our respects is to go home and pray"!

A joint meeting on August 25 of IBT leaders and other union leaders—including ILWU president Jimmy Herman, San Francisco Central Labor Council chief Jack Crowley and others—produced nothing but more pitiful pleas for legislation to restrict "the use of armed guards and professional scabs in labor disputes." (The Communist Party's *People's World* of 2 September labeled this reformist confab a "historical meeting.") It is absolutely clear that these labor traitors have so tied themselves to the capitalist politicians and government that the only "strategy" they can conceive of is calling on the government whose job it is to police picket lines, escort scabs and arrest militants to change its class character. The council of cardinals will elect a rabbi to the papacy before the capitalist government will cease backing the employers in battles with labor. And for the labor fakers' treachery the workers are paying in blood.

The intransigence of the employers and the determination of the ranks is however making it difficult for the bureaucrats to sell out this strike. On September 6, the refusal of the FEC negotiators to budge from their take-away demands caused the Teamster leaders to break off negotiations and threaten to spread picketing to Southern California. Striking Teamsters must not settle for mere bluster but demand that the grocery chains be shut down state-wide *now*!

One natural ally of the embattled Teamsters should be the ILWU, which jointly bargains with the Teamsters in the warehouse division. In fact, a Local 315 strike leader did approach the ILWU Local 6 Stewards Council on August 3 and received support from members of the Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition group in the ILWU. According to the latest "Warehouse Militant" Militant Caucus members presented a motion calling on the ILWU to honor the Local 315 picket lines, collaborate in strike activities and "refuse to ship any goods to stores or warehouses normally supplied by Local

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Carter Pushes for "Human Rights" Junta

U.S. Indictments Cover Up CIA/FBI Links

AVENGE LETELIER—

SMASH CHILE TERROR REGIME!

On the fifth anniversary of the bloody coup which placed it in power, the terror regime of Chilean dictator General Augusto Pinochet is anything but stable. Last week it again declared a state of siege, the "legal" proviso for the arbitrary military rule under which the tormented country has suffered ever since that fateful September 11 in 1973. Only last spring the state of siege had been "lifted" (without changing the savage realities of life under the generals one iota), in order to satisfy Washington's clamor for cleaning up the junta's image. Now it is back so much for the "human rights" facelift

With the White House decision to pursue the investigation into the assassination of former Chilean diplomat and cabinet minister Orlando Letelier, Pinochet's days are clearly numbered From the beginning all leads pointed to the black hand of the DINA, the tyrant's secret police, but at first Pinochet was protected by the complicity of U.S. imperialism's own hit men. Now that Jimmy Carter has decided to wash his hands of the butcher of Santiago, however, the rats are abandoning Pinochet's sinking ship. Even pro-fascist generals are suddenly discovering democratic convictions.

The hated Pinochet could well end up sharing the fate of Rafael Trujillo, the murderous "Benefactor" of Santo Domingo who was unceremoniously tossed to the jackals when the U.S. had no further use for him. But if it is Washington that pulls the trigger, and not a popular uprising of the Chilean masses which deposes the *prócer* (patriotic leader), he will simply be replaced with another jackbooted oppressor. The CIA gains, the workers lose.

Already the imperialists are congratulating themselves over last month's federal grand jury indictments of five Cuban exiles, three top Chilean military intelligence men and an American fascist killer. The *Washington Post* (3 August) praised the prosecutor and FBI agent on the case as "international symbols of the dogged persistence of U.S authorities to solve the Letelier murder case." The London *Economist* (26 August) added its stamp of approval: "With the recent indictments, no one can call [Washington] sluggardly in pursuing Mr Letelier's killers." And while the bourgeois press crowed, liberals in Congress denounced Chilean death squads and (briefly) threatened an arms boycott of the junta. All were relieved to forget that the U.S. was in large part responsible for unleashing the hangmen and torturers in the first place.

Those who seek to avenge the vile murder of Orlando Letelier must understand that they cannot look to the "justice" of imperialist "democracy." For "reasons of state," the real authors of the crime will go free, whether or not the actual trigger men have to do some time. And deals are already being made to let the small-fry fascists and gusano murderers who carried out the bombing receive minimal sentences. Meanwhile the FBI and CIA —*which knew in advance that a plot was afoot and did nothing to stop it!* pose as the heroes who tracked down the culprits.

Santiago/Miami/Langley

A former foreign and defense minister in Salvador Allende's Unidad Popular (UP) government, as well as one-time ambassador to the U.S., Orlando Letelier was a prominent link between the Chilean exile movement and influential imperialist liberals. So when he and his aide Ronni Moffitt were killed on 21 September 1976 in a bomb blast which demolished his car seconds after the two had driven past the Chilean embassy in Washington, the finger of guilt pointed straight at Pinochet and his DINA. But for months the Justice Department investigation into the murder languished, mired in a welter of false leads, procrastination and deliberate bungling, until the Carter administration did a turnaround in its policy toward Latin American dictatorships.

Once Washington decided it actually wanted to find Letelier's killers, the "methodical" pace quickly accelerated. Federal prosecutor Eugene Propper, now being portrayed as a single-minded assassin hunter, gave up trying to blame the murder on jealous lovers and the left and soon discovered involvement by anti-Castro Cuban exiles. The key break came with the identification and subsequent extradition of U.S. citizen Michael Vernon Townley, a long-time resident of Chile who was the key DINA operative in the Letelier plot (see "Pinochet's the One!" *WV* No 202, 21 April 1978).

Townley, an explosives expert with plenty to hide, sang like a bird to cop a plea. His evidence is detailed and damning. The 15-page indictment implicates as the principals in the plot Pinochet's right-hand man and former DINA head, General Juan Manuel Contreras; DINA operations director Lt. Colonel Pedro Espinoza; DINA operative Captain Armando Fernández, who entered the U.S. with Townley under false diplomatic passports to set up the assassination. In addition, the grand jury charged five Cuban counterrevolutionaries, members of a CIA-trained gusano terror squad operating out of Miami and New Jersey. Among them are Guillermo and Ignacio Novo, Bay of Pigs veterans who have been under constant FBI surveillance since their 1964 bazooka attack on the UN when Che Guevara was speaking there.

The list of participants is lengthy, the connection to the junta and even Pinochet's intimate circle is explicit, and the three DINA officials named were arrested in Chile. All that is necessary, say the self-laudatory liberals, is to let justice take its course. Hardly. The DINA officials are only under "house arrest," and unlikely to be extradited without the prior ouster of Pinochet. And Townley, as the *Washington Post* dryly observed, has been treated more like a star witness than a murder suspect, *even though he admits planting the bomb which blew Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt to smithereens.* Townley is only being charged with "conspiracy to murder," and in exchange for pleading guilty to this single charge the government and judge have promised a three-to-ten year sentence with parole to be recommended after 40 months!

In Washington this unsavory killer is being referred to as Pinochet's John Dean, the man who "blew the whistle" on the DINA Dean was hardly a model of moral rectitude, but even he looks clean compared to Michael Townley. Both Townley and his Chilean wife were active members of Patria y Libertad (Fatherland and Liberty), a fascist organization whose symbol was a scorpion, when it was receiving extensive aid from the CIA to finance sabotage and disruption against the Allende regime. He first came to public attention in 1973, when he was part of a bomb mission that killed a night watchman in the city of Concepción, Chile. In addition to offering his services to the DINA, Townley aided the FBI in finding an ex-CIA gusano at the time of Henry Kissinger's visit to Santiago in May 1976.

In earlier articles (see "The Long Arm of the DINA," *WV* No. 149, 18 March 1977) we documented how the brothers Novo have been under FBI surveillance for years; how agents had tailed the Cuban hit men to their initial meeting with Fernández and Townley at the Miami English Lobster Club; that the FBI even stumbled into the June 1976 meeting in a Santo Domingo hotel where the assassination plans were discussed by CORO (the Cuban counterrevolutionary organization headed by Orlando Bosch), along with plans to blow up a Cuban airliner (which later took 73 lives). We reported how the FBI dragged its heels in the the investigation: for instance repeated leaks of the same "new" evidence of a "Santiago/Miami connection," the details of which were in the hands of the Justice Department only days after the murder had taken place.

This evidence has now been further corroborated by reporters Ernest Volkman and John Cummings in their July 1978 *Penthouse* article, "The Assassination of Orlando Letelier." They also provide some insight into why it took the "plodding, yet innovative" investigators to come to the obvious conclusion that Pinochet's secret police were behind the plot. Refusing to follow the trail to the DINA, the FBI first directed its agents to investigate Isabel Letelier and any other woman who knew Orlando Letelier to determine if there could be a "vengeful woman angle." Then they were told to pursue ex-boyfriends of Ronni Moffitt on the chance that she was the real target – the attacker presumably being an insanely jealous former lover who also happened to be an expert with C-4 plastique explosives. Finally they were told to pursue the theory that the assassination was the work of leftists who thought Letelier had betrayed them. It was not until Gerald Ford left office that the FBI began to investigate whether the bombing murder was a rightist attack!

Carter Wants a "Human Rights" Junta

The day after the grand jury indictments were handed down, the U.S. House of Representatives was in an uproar over the tinpot Latin American dictator who had the gall to execute his opponents on Yankee soil. In a grand gesture of "human rights" indignation the House voted to scold Pinochet by halting a shipment of military goods to Chile pending extradition of the DINA officials. However, by August 3 the good Congressmen had reversed themselves, under pressure from the Carter administration which conveyed its concern that "justice" would be undercut if the indictments were seen as a politically inspired maneuver designed to topple the Santiago regime.

Of course, it is just that. Indeed, informed sources note that the investigation was given a sharp boost late last winter by the personal interest of Rosalynn Carter, after she returned from a Latin American tour smarting at criticism for hobnobbing only with the dictators. During its first year in office the Democratic administration had simply pressured its Latin American dictator-allies for a few cosmetic reforms (renaming the DINA, sham "amnesty" in Chile, phony elections here and there) State Department Latin American chief Terrence Todman praised the Pinochet regime for its "advances" in the field of human rights. But the contradiction between the concentration camp realities and Carter's moralistic rhetoric was too visible, particularly at the gathering of OAS

despots in Washington to witness the signing of a new Panama Canal treaty last September.

Late last year Washington did an about-face in its Latin American policy. Todman was shipped off to Madrid and replaced with a "human rights" liberal; Washington's previous unconditional support to Nicaraguan strongman Somoza was canceled, and the green light was given to the Letelier investigation. By spring of this year Washington was abuzz with rumors that the U.S. was ready to sanction an internal coup within the Chilean junta. The well informed British publication, *Latin America Political Report* (17 March), wrote:

> "Accusations by the Patria y Libertad leader, Pablo Rodriguez, in *Qué Pasa* [a pro-government Chilean publication] last week that the latest moves in the Letelier case were part of a CIA plot to destabilize the government were not as paranoid as they sounded. But President Augusto Pinochet has brought the wrath of the United States administration down on his head by his own intransigence."

The shift in U.S. policy immediately began to put pressure on the Pinochet regime from within the military. Last March at a meeting of the Council of Generals of the army, 13 voted to demand the president's immediate resignation (against 17 who wanted to give him several more months). Another development was the appointment of General Herman Brady as presidential counselor in charge of coordination with the armed forces. Brady is closely identified with the Pentagon and is seen, according to the *Latin America Political Report*, as "the most favoured candidate [to replace Pinochet]...a 'clean' substitute, with no record of involvement in the repression or the secret police."

Until he was abruptly dismissed by Pinochet in mid-July, another front runner had been air force General Gustavo Leigh, a member of the junta who had been busily building up "democratic" credentials after breaking with his old cronies in Patria y Libertad. Leigh's dismissal provoked the mass resignation of 19 of 21 generals in the air force in solidarity with their chief. While this removed a thorn in Pinochet's side (Leigh had been publicly sniping at the junta chief for months), the ostentatious display of solidarity indicated that unity is far from absolute within the Chilean armed forces.

The discontent within the junta (including Admiral Merino, another Pentagon supporter) is closely connected to increasingly oppositional noises coming from the Christian Democrats (whose election campaigns in 1964 and 1970 were heavily financed by the CIA, as were its subversive activities against Allende). And when the Letelier case "broke" this spring, the influential *El Mercurio*, which had received heavy CIA subsidies in the past, published photos leading to the identification of Townley as one of the DINA agents who traveled to Washington on false diplomatic passports.

For Workers Revolution to Smash the Junta!

No matter who gets the nod from Washington, neither the U.S. nor Chilean bourgeois opponents of Pinochet are about to "unleash democracy" in Santiago. The U.S. is clearly pushing for a reformed military option, a junta with a "human rights" face, perhaps with the adornment of Christian Democratic ex-president Eduardo Frei. Similarly, next door in Argentina the State Department has been trying to strengthen the hand of junta leader Videla, the "moderate" mass murderer, rather than opposing the military regime as such. And in this attempt to pull U.S. imperialism's chestnuts out of the fire, they can count on the cooperation of virtually the entire Chilean left, from the Communist and Socialist Parties (now negotiating loudly with the Christian Democrats) to the MIR. But if Washington gets its way and there is nothing but reshuffling of the generals, it is the workers and poor of Chile who will pay the price.

Ironically, five years ago these same groups were adamantly insisting that the Pinochet coup was 100 percent "Made in U.S.A." At the time they were seeking to hide their own complicity in supporting the bourgeois Allende coalition, seeking alliances with the pro-coup Christian Democrats and fostering illusions in the "constitutionalist" officers such as Pinochet. Today these "realistic" reformists fall into line as soon as the White House snaps its fingers, on the hopes that "democratic" Uncle Sam will win the struggle for them. So to these pseudo-Marxists imperialism is just a dirty word, or at most a foreign policy.

And what is this beacon of "human rights" in the Americas? It is the same Yankee imperialism which provided the money and arms to assassinate General René Schneider in 1970 in the hopes of provoking an army coup to prevent Allende from coming to power. The same power which financed the Patria y Libertad fascists. The same regime which organized the hoarding of food, runs on the banks, a crippling truck owners "strike" and the counterrevolutionary housewives' pots-and-pans demonstrations to "destabilize" the elected UP government and "make the economy scream." The same reactionary gendarme which collaborated every step of the way with Pinochet's 1973 coup. *This* is who calls the shots for the Chilean Christian Democrats, and whom the reformist left now relies on.

While the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence uncovered mountains of evidence of U.S.-financed and instigated subversion in Chile, the cover-up of American involvement still goes on. On 10 August the *Washington Post* reported that in the interest of U.S. "national security" three out of six charges against

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Cambio 16

The Chilean army. Will they goose-step to the tune of Jimmy Carter's "human rights" campaign?

NYC Press Strike...

(continued from page 1)

Certainly the bourgeoisie understands the broad implications the strike has for all NYC labor. Terrified that the kind of class-struggle tactics and labor solidarity which won the Guild (journalists) strike at the *Daily News* two months ago would become the norm and spread to the rest of city labor, Governor Hugh Carey rushed out with a statement August 16 warning the printing unions not to upset the city's precarious fiscal balance. Carey's attempt to blame the unions for management's lockout infuriated the labor movement and caused the governor to make an embarrassing retraction/denial the very next day.

The New York Publishers Association—currently headed by the sinister, deeply anti-labor *Post* publisher, Australian press lord Rupert Murdoch—deliberately forced the 9 August strike and never had any intention of negotiating seriously. The pressmen and all other craft unionists except the printers of Local 6 of the International Typographical Union (ITU) have been working without a contract since March 30. The publishers had planned in advance to provoke a strike in August when advertising revenue is at its lowest ebb. They announced that new work rules *cutting manning scales in half* would be posted on August 8 in the pressrooms of the three major dailies. The deadline was extended by 24 hours after federal mediator Kenneth Moffett arrived, but the Publishers Association refused even to consider a last minute union counter-proposal. Instead, in a direct slap in the face to the unions, the publishers not only posted the new work rules but held a press conference to announce their action *while the unions were still sitting at the bargaining table waiting for the publishers' return*! Pressmen immediately set up picket lines at the *News* building and the battle was on.

In the last decade or so the printing trades unions' traditions of solidarity have broken down as one after another the craft unions crossed each other's picket lines. In contrast, the present strike stands out for its unaccustomed unity. From the beginning the Newspaper Guild and seven other craft unions in the Allied Printing Trades have been honoring the pressmen's lines. This heartening development is the direct outgrowth of the electrifying Newspaper Guild strike against the *Daily News* earlier in the summer. When the Guild went out June 14 against the *News* management's outrageous "giveback" demands, it sent shock waves of enthusiasm across the printing trades. Spontaneously, thousands of workers arrived on the picket lines to back up the Guild and "persuade" the drivers not to cross. After two nights of confrontations with cops and scabs, after two *News* trucks were burned, the strikers succeeded in shutting down the *News*' scab edition and defeated the bosses' attempt to cripple the Guild.

The present strike is riding high off that experience. Specifically, the Guild strike frustrated the publishers' attempt to set up a *Washington Post* situation in which they hoped to continue publishing by inducing other printing tradesmen and Guild members to cross the pressmen's lines. Since the walkout began the pressmen's strike has expanded into a general printing trades action as four other unions the Paper Handlers, Machinists, Mechanics and the Newspaper Guild—have officially declared strikes against one or more of the papers over their own grievances.

Automation and Speedup

The publishers' goal in forcing this strike is to drastically slash the ratio of men to press plates. The present standards were, in fact, established as the outcome of a defeated pressmen's strike in 1923. But although printing presses now operate at much higher speeds than they did 55 years ago, the number of men needed to run them has not changed substantially. What the publishers want is nothing but a massive speedup and work-intensification drive. The city papers, especially the money-losing afternoon *Post*, yearn to cut labor costs by achieving the lower manning ratios enjoyed by the publishers of their Long Island and Westchester County suburban competitors. Although publishers' newcomer spokesman Murdoch repeatedly denied that they had in mind to fire half the pressmen, he gave the game away in a televised interview when he declared that the publishers "cannot go on forever employing two people for every job."

For many years automation has laid the basis, both here and abroad, for the decimation of the printing trades unions. The introduction of advanced offset printing processes and computerized photographic typesetting technology made thousands of skilled workers superfluous. The ITU, especially, was hard hit by automation and has largely been driven out of small-scale printing shops. While union typographers survive at most big-city dailies, their numbers continue to dwindle.

In 1974 "Big 6," once the militant center of the ITU, signed an eleven-year contract guaranteeing lifetime job security for 1,800 of its members. But this was at the cost of giving the *Times* and the *News* a free hand to automate at will, insuring that by the time the agreement expires the union will be but a shell of its former self. Now the publishers hold a gun to the head of Big 6, trying to turn it into a union of strikebreakers by threatening to cancel the contract and so forth. This is how the publishers induced ITU to cross the Guild's lines at the *News* last June and to abstain from open support to the pressmen in the current strike.

Automation has been used by the monopoly publishers to rip the guts out of the ITU as well as most of the other printing trades unions on the composition side. But the pressrooms have been quite a different matter. It is generally conceded that the pressmen have the hardest, dirtiest and most dangerous work in the newspaper industry. Noise levels are deafening—a dozen Concordes could fly through the room and nobody would notice. Inhaling ink and poisonous fumes with every breath, the pressmen work in conditions that flagrantly violate government health and safety standards. Strikers told *WV* reporters that the *Daily News*, for instance, has defied Federal orders for years as well as refusing court-authorized union inspection teams access to the pressrooms.

Unlike the rest of the crafts, the pressmen's skilled work has remained virtually unchanged over the years. Automation alone was not enough to defeat them, and thus they have borne the brunt of the publishers' union-busting attacks in recent years. In strikes from Los Angeles to Kansas City to Miami, pressmen have seen their unions smashed and been forced to leave town to seek work or have been forced out of the industry entirely. Although the pressmen were willing to fight hard at the *Washington Post*, they had no strategy to win the active support of the rest of the unions or to unite the populace around them. That long fought battle was broken by massive scabbing, including the use of live-in strikebreakers imported from a Publishers Association training facility in Oklahoma City. In the aftermath, the defeated *Post* pressmen were blackballed from employment in their trade. Thirteen of their number went to jail or paid court-ordered fines on frameup charges.

The solid support at the New York pressmen's lines to date is a far cry from the massive scabbing at the *Washington*

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Kenyan Dissident Jailed for Anti-Kenyatta Novel

Free Ngugi!

In the opening scene of *Petals of Blood*, Ngugi wa Thiong'o's critically acclaimed novel an indictment of post-independence Kenya a trade-union radical is awakened from a "fast sleep":

> "He heard a knock at the door. He leapt out of bed in his pyjamas. He found a heavily armed police contingent at the door An officer in khaki clothes stepped forward.
> "'What is the matter?'
> "'You are wanted at the police station.'
> "'What for?'
> "'Routine questioning.'
> "'Can't it wait until tomorrow?'
> "'I'm afraid not.'"

Just how close to reality this scene was became clear when the author was himself arrested last December 31. In the middle of the night 12 uniformed cops carted off Ngugi, Kenya's most celebrated author and head of the Literature Department of Nairobi University. Under Kenya's all-purpose repressive law for the "Preservation of Public Security" he was held incommunicado, and according to Amnesty International he remains imprisoned (or worse) with *not a single charge made against him!*

The unofficial charges and the real reasons for Ngugi's victimization are well known. The arresting cops spent an hour examining his library, then seized about 100 books as "evidence" (*New York Times Book Review*, 19 February). For Ngugi's "crime" is his anti-government thought and the talented literary expression of these views to an expanding and appreciative international audience. He had become a literary dissident against the neo-colonialist rule of Jomo Kenyatta. And that government which has for years been the showpiece of African liberalism demonstrated what will happen to malcontent intellectuals who expose the emptiness of Kenyatta's slogan *harambee* (roughly translated, let's all pull together).

In the past Ngugi was not considered a threat. His fiction was set in colonial Kenya, before and during the Mau Mau revolt of the early 1950's. Since Kenyatta became a popular hero when the British jailed him as a Mau Mau leader, and as this period has now become part of the nationalist regime's official mythology, the novelist's sympathies for the rebels were "safe." But Ngugi maintained those sympathies and with them a capacity to tell the truth about social conditions in independent Kenya, in Kenyatta's country. This has made him a dangerous man.

Petals of Blood, soon to be published in the U.S., has occupied Ngugi's creative energy for the past six years. The novel looks at the effects of independence from the viewpoint of the Kenyan masses and finds that things have not changed all that much. The shantytown misery of the average man and woman continues to exist beside the conspicuous riches of the ruling class. But now the oppressors more often than not have black faces. The simple moral/political universe of his earlier works, in which the villains were the European colonialists, has given way under the impact of the new reality of Kenya.

Petals of Blood reserves its most potent venom for the new black rulers with their flashy cars and harems. Tied financially to British and U.S. imperialism, their position rests on the ruthless exploitation of the worker and peasant masses who brought them to power. The shantytowns have grown larger. The villagers are driven from the land and into jobless poverty, prostitution, alcoholism and despair. The land is still owned by a privileged few, like the Kenyatta family—now one of the largest landowners.

In the novel the Trans-Africa Road has transformed Ngugi's fictional village of Ilmorog; but Karega, the trade-union organizer hero, says of such changes:

> "Within only ten years—how time galloped, he thought—Ilmorog peasants had been displaced from the land: some had joined the army of workers, others were semi-workers with one foot in a plot of land and one foot in a factory, while others became petty traders in hovels and shanties they did not even own, along the Trans-Africa road, or criminals and prostitutes. "

Ngugi does not claim to be a Marxist, but the growth of political awareness in his characters is measured in the recognition that the struggle of the masses does not end with *uhuru* (independence). His hero builds a union among the brewery workers of Ilmorog and leads a strike of "the children of the New Road" against the African bosses. He thinks of his own history along with the history of Kenya:

> "The trouble with our trade unions is that too often they are led by businessmen...employers. How can an employer lead that which is fighting against employers? You cannot serve the interests of capital and labour at the same time. You cannot serve two opposed masters ... one master loses ... in this case labour ... the work ... the heat ... crumbs from the table ... I left ... I walked from Mombasa ... on foot ... looked for jobs amongst agricultural plantation workers ... But I could never stay more than two months ... slaves slavery ... they are paid one hundred shillings a month ... and for that they sell their whole family labour ... man, wife and children ... living in one hut condemned to picking sisal and tea-leaves and coffee. . Many times I would sit and think we people... we built Kenya Before 1895 it was Arab slavers disrupting our agriculture. After 1895 it was the European colonist: first stealing our land, then our labour and our own wealth in the way of taxation ..so we built Kenya, and what were we getting out of the Kenya we had built on our sweat?" [ellipses in original]

Such thoughts, even placed in the mouths of fictional characters, are perilous in Kenya. Further, Ngugi has written a play in the tribal language of the Kikuyu, the largest and politically dominant tribe in Kenya. He said he wrote it so "my mother could understand it." But with the theme of hungry peasants and workers struggling against their neo-colonial exploiters, it was clear that Ngugi was aiming for a wider audience.

The Public Security Law under which Ngugi was arrested was often used against Kenyatta's opponents. The legal rights and conditions for political prisoners are worse than those for common criminals: no visits, no books, no letters, no writing and perhaps torture. But Ngugi can regard himself lucky that he has not already been murdered. When the president unleashed a wave of arrests of parliamentary opponents after the 1975 elections, he used a graphic analogy: "People appear to have forgotten," he said, "that the hawk is always in the sky and ready to swoop on the chickens."

It is not likely that Ngugi forgot the hawk. He no doubt understood there were grave risks in attempting to puncture the wall of silence surrounding the decaying despotic regime. It was the truth about *uhuru* that Kenyatta hoped to silence with the imprisonment of this courageous novelist.

Kenyatta's successors may attempt to gain credibility by undoing the worst

Ngugi wa Thiong'o — Hill and Co

excesses of the Kenyatta years. But Ngugi will remain a threat to them as well, for they too will be part of the tribalist cliques fronting for imperialist exploitation that *Petals of Blood* so sharply exposes. They too will try to suppress their critics with imprisonment or death. But it won't work. The utter failure of black nationalist rule to relieve the misery of the African masses cannot be hidden, and the rise of an independent workers movement cannot forever be prevented through demagoguery and repression. The international workers movement and all champions of democratic rights must come to the defense of Ngugi and others persecuted for telling the truth. Free Ngugi!

Telegrams of protest can be sent to: Acting President Daniel arap Moi, P.O. Box 30520, Nairobi, Kenya. ■

Kenyatta...

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modernize the country by attracting Western businesses, encouraging white settlers to go into industry, etc. The skyscrapers have soared in downtown Nairobi, and Kenya boasts an annual increase in its gross domestic product of 6.6 percent. Every month 700 new cars are imported for the new black commercial and governmental elite which jams the streets of Nairobi.

But in stark contrast to the tourist hotels and state office buildings, Nairobi also contains the shanty towns of the poverty-stricken workers and the unemployed. Six years ago the International Labor Office estimated that the unemployed and working poor made up 20 percent of the city. Even the World Bank has complained about what it terms "shortcomings in distribution and employment." It is not surprising that Nairobi has become an armed camp, due to the dramatic escalation of violent crimes.

Kenya's lumpenproletarians were only imitating the example of their rulers, among whom the Kenyatta "royal family" has played a spectacular role. Together with his fourth wife, Mama Ngina, Kenyatta controlled the Nairobi gambling casino, coffee and sisal plantations, office buildings, manufacturing firms and tourist resorts. Mama Ngina is reputedly the leading trader in ivory exports, which threaten to decimate Kenya's elephant herds. Kenyatta's sister, the mayor of Nairobi, is reportedly also involved in the ivory smuggling. Acting as classical upstart despots, the Kenyattas simply deported businessmen seeking to obtain payment of large outstanding bills owed them by the family.

But in addition to corruption, Kenyatta's other concern was far more sinister; "For a country with Kenya's well-earned [!] reputation for democratic orderliness," wrote the Toronto *Globe and Mail* (23 May 1975), "the mortality rate among politicians is striking. Mysterious car accidents, killing of MPs and party politicians have been numerous." In 1969 the flamboyant CIA-backed trade-union leader Tom M'boya was slain. M'boya was from the minority Luo tribe. In 1966 Oginga Odinga, a Luo opposition leader alternately courted by the Chinese and Soviets, was forced into retirement, and subsequently his aide Pio Pinto, an Indian, was shot.

In 1975 J.M. Kariuki, a wealthy Kikuyu and Kenyatta's most powerful competitor within the clique-ridden ruling party, was kidnapped from the Nairobi Hilton Hotel and murdered. Kariuki had been the major parliamentary critic of the ivory contraband and had introduced a bill limiting the size of landholdings. A parliamentary inquiry accused the commander of the General Services Unit (GSU) of complicity in the murder. The GSU is a military force drawn from the same sub-group of the Kikuyus as Kenyatta and acted as his Praetorian Guard counterbalancing the regular army, which is primarily composed of members of the small Kamba tribe.

Kariuki was a Mau Mau veteran, and at his burial another former rebel leader and now MP, Waruru Kanja, proclaimed: "We are ruled by gangsters. We know of these dirty plans by a certain clique. But we shall not yield an inch. We shall die one by one telling the truth just as Mr. Kariuki has and he thrown into Ngong Hills for hyenas to eat."

The following two years saw the arrest of five MPs, while oppositionists were warned that "to imagine, devise or intend the death or deposition of the president" was a capital offense. More recently Ngugi wa Thiong'o, a well-known novelist, was arrested for writing *Petals of Blood*, which severely criticizes the Kenyatta regime. Less well-known is Kenyatta's suppression of students and workers strikes in 1974. That year the University of Nairobi, Kenyatta University College and the East African Railway Training School were shut down in a protest over school conditions while railway and bank workers went on strike for higher wages. In response Kenyatta imposed an indefinite ban on all strikes.

The Fruits of Tribalism

Despite Nairobi's skyscrapers and foreign cars tribes remain the dominant form of social organization. The tribalism and political murder in Kenyatta's Kenya differ from Idi Amin's blood-soaked Uganda only in scale. Ethnic divisions in these artificial states inherited from colonialism have not been overcome by a revolutionary social overturn and genuine economic development. Rather, the old tribalism is strengthened by the contending bourgeois cliques

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Steel...

(continued from page 2)

and defend any steel workers victimized for refusing to cross a picket line."

For Union Democracy—No Government Intervention in Internal Union Affairs!

The opposition bureaucrats are accusing McBride of planning to replace referendum election of International officers by their election at conventions. It is certainly true that at present the McBride bureaucrats would prefer election of officers at conventions, where the presence of several hundred appointed staff men, and numerous delegates with proxy votes in addition to their own, works in favor of the International. For their part, Sadlowski & Co. support referendum elections simply because they think it presently affords them a better chance of being elected.

In fact, the present membership referendum is hardly the most democratic method of electing International officers. Such a procedure, in which individual candidates confront an atomized membership, leaves sections of the geographically dispersed membership inaccessible to all but the most powerful machines and tends to de-emphasize the crucial question of the candidates's *program* in favor of publicity throwaways. Militants should fight for annual, democratically elected and conducted conventions, at which officers would be elected on the basis of the positions they took on the concrete issues debated by the delegates. Such a procedure, which in fact existed in the early years of the United Auto Workers, provides a basis for real political struggle at conventions at which opposing caucuses can compete for the support of delegates, and that is why it is anathema to both the McBride and Sadlowski bureaucrats. Of course, in the present context, to vote for a McBride proposal for election of officers at undemocratically run conventions would represent no extension of union democracy; militants would be forced to abstain on such a resolution.

The slogan of "union democracy" has traditionally been used by opposition bureaucrats as a cheap ploy to unseat the incumbents without changing any real policies. After all, who ever ran for union office claiming to oppose democracy? Abel shouted "union democracy" in his campaign to oust McDonald. Now Sadlowski & Co. use the same vapid slogans against Abel's successor McBride. But in reality, neither wing of the USWA bureaucracy has any right to claim the mantle of workers democracy, whose very existence demands the independence of the trade unions from the capitalist government. Sadlowski has consistently sought to get the federal government to supervise, re-run and inspect union elections, using the reactionary Landrum-Griffin Act. The USWA International recently retaliated, suing Sadlowski for accepting financial support from wealthy liberals and corporate foundations. The capitalist government intervenes in unions not to guarantee "democracy" but to straitjacket union militancy, as can easily be seen in the case of the Mine Workers, and to assert and reinforce its "right" to run the internal affairs of the unions. Placed in power by the Labor Department, the Mine Workers' Arnold Miller quickly showed his loyalty to his patrons in the government, breaking wildcats, attempting to enforce anti-strike injunctions and during the recent contract struggle functioning literally as a stooge for Jimmy Carter. Steel worker militants must demand that the government keep its hands off the union!

For a Workers Party to Fight for a Workers Government

At a time when arch-conservative AFL-CIO head George Meany has become increasingly critical of Carter, USWA delegates should be outraged that the Democratic president has been invited to address the Steelworkers convention. Carter's hardlining in the postal negotiations, his threat to use federal troops against striking postal workers, following his attempt to invoke Taft-Hartley against the coal miners, only underscore the viciously anti-labor character of the Democratic Party. Delegates must repudiate both capitalist parties and instead call for building a workers party based on the unions.

Both McBride and Sadlowski endorsed Carter in the last elections. And both wings of the USWA bureaucracy falsely look to the Democratic Party and the capitalist state to bail out workers from the crisis in steel—McBride through his advocacy of protectionist legislation, Sadlowski/Balanoff primarily through their impotent appeals to Carter to force the steel trusts to become more "competitive" by lowering prices and accepting cuts in profits. The steel crisis, fueled by the declining competitiveness of the domestic industry, will only intensify as the economy turns downward. The American steel bosses can restore higher profit levels only at the expense of steel workers, through more speedup, plant closings and cuts in wages and pensions, or by exporting the crisis abroad by restricting foreign imports, thereby precipitating trade wars and threatening a new world war. In supporting the capitalist parties and their system of cut-throat competition and inevitable depressions, both the McBrides and Sadlowskis betray the interests of the working class. Only by smashing capitalism and replacing it with a workers government, which would run the steel industry as part of a planned, centralized economy, will the genuine needs of steel workers and all other workers be met, putting an end to unemployment, inflation and war.

Militant Campaigns for Convention Delegate

In sharp contrast to the dead-end varieties of pro-capitalist unionism endorsed by both wings of the USWA bureaucracy, at least one candidate for convention delegate ran on a class-struggle program. Sam Hunt, of U.S. Steel Local 1104 in Lorain, Ohio, while not elected, received a substantial 15 percent of the vote in his first bid for delegate. Hunt, who is respected for his adamant refusal to cross picket lines, ran on a program and established record of principled opposition to both the Abel/McBride and Sadlowski/Balanoff bureaucrats, as well as their local apologists.

Opposing the bureaucracy's protectionism, which only pits U.S. against foreign workers, Hunt called for creating more jobs at *company* expense through a shorter workweek at no cut in pay. And while both McBride and Sadlowski/Balanoff are preparing to shelve the strike issue at the convention, Hunt submitted a resolution calling for an end to ENA and all no-strike clauses in the contract and preparation for an industrywide strike for jobs for all. Instead of the bureaucracy's whimpering to the government over plant closings, Hunt demanded a labor mobilization, plant occupations and nationalization to reopen all shut steel plants.

Hunt also blasted the "affirmative action" Consent Decree, which has been essentially endorsed by both factions of the USWA bureaucracy. He condemned it for allowing the government to meddle in union affairs and rewrite the contract, while at the same time preserving the heart of the discriminatory departmental seniority system through which blacks and other minorities are maintained in the dirtiest, lowest paying jobs. Against this racist, union-busting scheme, Hunt called for USWA action to establish full plantwide seniority, union control of hiring and upgrading on a first-come, first-served basis, ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, maternity leave at full pay and 24-hour childcare centers financed by the companies. Hunt also demanded that the USWA fight for integrated housing and education and mobilize labor/black defense guards to crush the Nazis, Klan and other scum who seek to organize racist terror campaigns.

Hunt referred to his consistent record of seeking to get the union to take up fighting policies. In contrast, he noted that the fake-militant Rank and File Committee (RAFC), affiliated to the National Steelworker Rank and File Committee which is politically supported by the reformist Communist Party, has time after time allied itself with the bureaucracy to derail and sabotage militant action and labor solidarity. Hunt pointed, for example, to the RAFC and bureaucrats' joint opposition to his call on the USWA to hot-cargo scab coal and organize a one-day work stoppage to protest Taft-Hartley during the miners strike. Hunt pointed out in a August 13 leaflet that RAFC, which also supported Democratic Party politicians and endorsed court suits against the union, repudiated militant struggles because "they are too busy tailoring their program to fit the likes of Arnold Miller and Sadlowski/Balanoff."

The USWA can become a union that genuinely fights for the interests of the rank and file. But it will not be done by the Sadlowskis and Balanoffs, any more than by the Lloyd McBrides. Only when steel workers are won to a program of class struggle and rid themselves of the pro-capitalist, scabherding labor fakers of all stripes, can the USWA be transformed into a militant, class-struggle union. ■

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Fall-Out...

(continued from page 2)

politically supported by the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), suddenly denounced both the Chico and SOS slates. Despairing of winning any support for its policies inside the union (its convention candidates finished last), Breakout announced plans to help organize an impotent demonstration outside the upcoming USWA convention, claiming that the convention will be a "stacked deck" and that "our main force will clearly be on the outside." Of course, what these patently dishonest opportunists failed to mention is that in the past they have supported and built illusions in the traitors like Sadlowski, Balanoff and Chico who will be *inside* the convention!

Militants should draw the lessons from the fiasco of Sadlowski-ism in Local 65. The bureaucratic and class-collaborationist Chico regime is exactly what Sadlowski in power would be. By continuing to back Sadlowski the pseudo-socialists reveal the emptiness of their revolutionary pretensions: varying shades of red rhetoric on the outside but one and the same brand of cringing reformism in the unions. ■

Cleveland Recall...

(continued from page 4)

layoffs, months of payless paydays and two years without a raise.

In sheer magnitude, Cleveland's fiscal crisis is not as great as New York City's 1975 collapse (although a Kucinich leaflet echoed Abe Beame's swan song and begged voters to "Give him time to finish the job"). However, the consequences for the working people will be no less disastrous. The imperialist bourgeoisie is ultimately unwilling to let the world headquarters of its financial and corporate empire go down the tubes. But Cleveland is a different matter. The golden age of John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie and Mark Hanna is a faint memory. Standard Oil's cancellation of plans for a long-awaited office tower in decrepit Public Square was merely another nail in the coffin. Every year 25,000 more leave the city than come in. U-Haul firms have to import empty vehicles to keep pace with the exodus. Endless editorial reminders of the excellent orchestra and museum will not stem the tide. The city's own bourgeoisie has itself despaired. "Leadership in Cleveland," the *New York Times* recently noted, "has left for the suburbs entirely."

For the working class the decay has been evident for decades, as Cleveland has lost over half its jobs in heavy industry since the 1950's. For blacks it is worse. Last year teenage unemployment in the Glenville ghetto area was 40 percent. And the bourgeoisie knows well that Glenville could explode again as it did in 1968: code 7 on city bus radios is for "civil disorder." As in many another decaying metropolis the general hopelessness spawns racist reaction and even fascism among poor whites, with blacks the inevitable target. For months the swastika-adorned office of the United White People's Party has stood unmolested on the near West Side. The home of NAACP president Austin Cooper was recently fired upon by night riders—one week after delivery of a Ku Klux Klan letter naming Cooper as the tenth on a list of those to be hanged.

"Left" Idiocy in the Recall Dogfight

Kucinich's slimy career as an ambitious racist con man, cynically claiming to support the little guy, typifies the record of most American politicians. Had he been removed from office under the current relationship of class forces, it would have been primarily for firing Hongisto and for insufficient respect for the Democratic Party establishment—hardly crimes in the eyes of the working class. Supporting the recall only meant spreading illusions in the Forbes wing of the party.

However, faced with a choice between two anti-black, anti-working-class forces, the reformist left took opposite sides. The Socialist Workers Party's *Militant* (11 August) admitted that "replacing him [Kucinich] with another Republican or Democrat won't solve anything" but nevertheless backed the Democratic machine's recall effort. The Communist Party (CP) supported the "anti-monopoly mayor," even implying that Kucinich supports busing. The CP's *Daily World* (5 August) hoped that widespread "disgust and disaffection" with the bourgeois political parties would lead to a new formation consisting of Kucinich, the UAW Democratic Committee members and "other independent progressives."

Under militant leadership, the labor movement would draw the conclusions from the obvious dead end of bourgeois politics and struggle for the construction of a workers party which would fight for a workers government. The parties of capitalism offer nothing but continued unemployment, exploitation and racial oppression. ■

NYC Press Strike...

(continued from page 7)

Post. People were scandalized when *News* columnist Jimmy Breslin crossed the lines instantly he was labeled "Son of Scab." Altogether there have been only a handful of these scum. At the *Times* building the strikers keep a camera on hand to photograph the scabs after Guild representatives, standing by, identify them At the same time the publishers continue to hold out in the hope that, as the strike enters its second month, they can undermine the present unity and persuade one or more of the craft unions to return to work. As a minimal step the unions must insist that no one go back to work until the demands of all the striking unions are satisfactorily resolved Such a policy, combined with an aggressive strike strategy that would put the unions on the offensive against the publishers, provides the key to maintaining the labor solidarity crucial to winning this strike.

The Parasite Papers

Since the strike removed the three dailies from NYC newsstands, several small-time publishers with ambitions to make a quick buck have moved to satisfy New Yorkers' craving for news with tabloid-size "interim" papers. The three biggest *City News*, *Daily Press* and the *Metro* function roughly as satellite operations of the *Times*, *News* and *Post*, respectively Printed in the suburbs at what passes there for "union scale," and written by Guild reporters and staff writers, the new rags got off the ground when the struck publishers turned over distribution networks and advertising lists for the use of the new dailies. *Post* publisher Rupert Murdoch reportedly bought up the first 150,000 copies of *Metro* for his Queens subscribers who might otherwise be lost to the Long Island *Newsday*.

These "interim" papers, these parasites, exist primarily to provide a cushion for the publishers by getting the advertisers off their backs. Also, by at least minimally quenching the NYC population's thirst for news, they take off a lot of the social pressure for a quick settlement. Thus these parasitic rags are intended by the publishers to be and are inherently strikebreaking newspapers While most of the new dailies insist they will close down after the strike, rumors are flying that, if the situation drags on, Murdoch may simply fold the failing *Post* and run with the cheaper new paper. For the publishers, the parasitic "interim" papers are a partial and highly unsatisfactory stopgap solution. Before the strike solidarity prevented it, the newspaper bosses were preparing to run a major *Washington Post*-style scabherding operation out of the struck plants. At *WV* press time it was reported that the publishers may now be preparing to try such an action again; they are apparently negotiating to put out a joint major Manhattan-based scab daily.

It is clear why the publishers are backing the "interim" papers; what may not be immediately obvious is why the printing union bureaucracy cooperates in letting these parasitic rags come out. Just like the ITU, which chose not to fight but to gut the union in exchange for lifetime job security, the Pressmen's bureaucracy is mainly concerned with keeping the strike within the limits of narrow craft unionism. Accepting the bureaucratic separation of the craft divisions, they find the parasitic press a convenient way to piece off reporters, mailers and drivers and to keep them from scabbing on the strike. Given the obvious demand for news the bureaucrats also try to get off the hook and allow the "interim" papers to come out in order to avoid becoming the target of popular anger over the lack of papers. This unholy alliance, where inherently strikebreaking newspapers are put out for the mutual convenience of bosses and reformist union leaders who both want to make the situation less explosive, can be likened to a popular front. And like a political popular front, the ultimate effect and purpose is to prevent the workers from engaging in militant struggle against their exploiters In this case, the "interim" papers serve to *lengthen* the strike, removing social pressure for a quick settlement, and to *isolate* the strikers.

Of course the printing trades bureaucracy will argue that there is no alternative that if they shut down the parasitic press the Guild will go back to work, the deliverers will scab and the pressmen will be alone. Is there really no alternative to allowing these papers to come out until management can induce one or another union to go back just like at the *Washington Post*? Is there really no alternative to sitting back and waiting while the *Metro* grows up to take the place of the *Post* or the sinister Murdoch gets his big-time scab operation running? This is what will happen without a strategy to appeal to the interests of all sections of the working class.

WV Photo

Newspaper Guild pickets outside the Daily News building in June.

There *are* alternatives concrete steps which could break the pressmen and other striking unions out of the present dead-end configuration and put the bosses on the run. What they require is a militant struggle which does not accept the narrow limits of craft unionism For example, look how the present situation would be unlocked if the striking unions were to launch a fight for a *labor daily* in New York City. In the 1926 British general strike the striking unions successfully maintained popular support for their struggle and countered the government's union-busting daily rag by putting out a large-scale strike daily. In the present situation, particularly with the publishers now threatening to put out an undisguised scab paper, the proposal for a labor daily becomes more important than ever

New Yorkers are clamoring for their newspapers? The labor movement can give them a high quality daily, not a glorified TV guide/shoppers throwaway, and one which tells the true story about the strike. Is there a danger of Newspaper Guild scabbing? The *unions* will hire them, at full NYC scale! Are New Jersey pressmen putting out the bosses' parasitic papers at less than NYC rates? Let the union daily newspaper be printed by the *same* workers, not at Jersey rates, at full New York City scale! Instead of pitting NYC against Jersey workers, establish the principle that any newspaper coming into New York City is printed at NYC wage scales! Such a program would reveal the interim papers as scab operations and lay the basis for New York and New Jersey workers to line up at the Holland Tunnel and stop the scab bundles as they come through!

Not just the printing trades workers, but *all* of NYC labor must be lined up behind a labor daily—for the whole labor movement has a burning interest in winning this strike. So far the Central Labor Council has given the pressmen only the most token support, just as they do with any other strike. The Labor Council hasn't waged a struggle in decades; they long ago abandoned the traditional Labor Day parades But what a powerful show of support it could have been to have a million workers marching in the streets, all with the first copy of *New York's Labor Paper* in their hand!

Another important aspect to the union paper would be the principle of *no capitalist advertising*. Our allies are not Murdoch and the department stores, but the workers of New York City. Cast A&S and Macy's into the outer darkness, then let them go and scream at the publishers. The union paper can have the sports-page, pictures of the Pope and Jackie Kennedy, whatever, but no capitalist advertising. To help the Central Labor Council finance the paper let the pension funds liquidate some of the Big MAC bonds back into wages for the Guild writers and union printers!

A New York City labor daily can be the mechanism to break through the bosses/bureaucrats' unholy alliance and broaden the terms of the strike so that a victory for the printers is a victory for New York City labor. In making a direct appeal to the interest of the suburban printing workers it lays the basis for a fight for a hard, uniform, high printers wage rate in America.

The printing and newspaper industries should be covered by a strong industrial union. As it is, the publishers adroitly play one union off against another, using the advances of technology not to improve working conditions but to introduce speedup and break the several craft labor organizations, increasing the already despotic powers of the publishers over their employees. New York is the stronghold of the printing trades unions, and the present strike represents a key opportunity to put a halt to the alarming decline of these unions by building on the already present inter-union solidarity. But to do so requires a bold policy which can speak to the interests and felt needs of the entire printing trades, the rest of the labor movement and the working people of New York. Having stood idly by as the public employees unions were straitjacketed by Big MAC, and viewing the steady drain of jobs from New York, the labor movement has a vital interest in seeing the present newspaper strike *broadened* so that it can *beat* the publishers' union-busting offensive. Keep the newspaper strike front solid –for a labor daily in New York! ■

Hua/Shah...

(continued from page 12)

partially inspired by a sinister meddling by Moscow and warned against "superpower intervention in the affairs of other countries."

The Hua-Shah Pact

The spectacle of an alliance between an infamous autocrat and the ruling clique of the world's most populous deformed workers state is not a new development. Ever since Mao began courting the "King of Kings" in 1973, Iran has occupied an important place in Peking's heart. Dispensing with its usual aesopian language, Peking bluntly called upon the Shah to build a veritable military juggernaut to confront the USSR and to police the Persian Gulf, particularly Oman, where guerrilla forces (formerly supported by Peking) were threatening a medieval sultanate. For example, the official Peking news agency Hsinhua in its Tokyo-edition *Daily News Release* of 17-18 June 1973 put it bluntly:

> "[Iran] has to strengthen its defenses in view of the prevailing situation in the region. It is necessary and understandable for Iran to take measures to strengthen her defenses for safeguarding her security, independence and sovereignty ... We hope and are convinced that your country, under the leadership of His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah, will build herself into a prosperous and powerful country."
>
> quoted in *China's Alliance with U. S. Imperialism* (Spartacus Youth League Pamphlet)

Peking has had nothing but praise for "His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah" as the Iranian army bombed everything that moved across the interior of Oman and SAVAK rounded up everyone in Iran suspected of being opposed to the regime. Contrary to the delusions of a number of now homeless Maoists these crimes are not peculiar to the palace coup which brought Hua and Teng to power. Support to the Shah, to the Chilean junta, to Ceylonese counter-revolution, to NATO all occurred while Chiang Ching stalked the Forbidden City. The roots of Chinese betrayals lie in the extreme (and in this case anti-Soviet) nationalism that is endemic to Stalinist bureaucratic rule

Yugoslav Socialism

The itinerary of Hua's recent travels clearly reveals the anti-Soviet monomania which dominates all Chinese diplomatic maneuvers. For, apart from Iran, the other two countries on Hua's tour were precisely those European deformed workers states which have historically been thorns in the side of the Kremlin Yugoslavia and Romania.

Romania, a Warsaw Pact member, has always been circumspect in its "independence." Hence, Romanian president Nicolae Ceausescu was reportedly careful to obtain Brezhnev's approval before inviting Hua and took additional care to guarantee that nothing too provocative was uttered during the latter's stay. But Hua operated with far less constraints in Belgrade. Clearly feeling an anti-Soviet kinship with Tito, Hua praised Yugoslavia (on the tenth anniversary of the Soviet attack on Czechoslovakia) for its struggle to "repel any enemy that would dare mount an invasion."

Such affection is not without its ironies. Titoism was for many years the cardinal heresy in Maoist dogma. Mao supported Tito's expulsion from the Cominform and described Titoism as "dangerous revisionism." During the initial period of the Sino-Soviet schism Tito acted as a surrogate target for Chinese polemics against Khrushchev

But the Serbo-Croatian "counterrevolution" appears to have gone the way of the "Gang of Four." Thus, recently printed editions of a 1962 speech by Mao which contained an attack on Tito no longer brand Yugoslavia as a "bourgeois country"; and in the last year forty Chinese delegations have been sent to study Yugoslav so-called "workers self-management."

State-to-State

Yet tactful incursions onto the Soviet Union's East European turf are small change in the worldly schemes of the Heavenly Palace. For the essence of Chinese foreign policy is to cement an anti-Soviet alliance with teeth, the sort

of teeth possessed by imperialism and its lackeys.

Within the last year China has signed a "Peace and Friendship" treaty with Japan that contained an anti-"hegemony" (the polite term for "social imperialism") clause, sent foreign minister Huang Hua weapons-shopping to NATO, established diplomatic relations with the feudal sheikdom of Oman, made overtures to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait and sent advisers to train the forces of the Zairean despot Mobutu Sese Seko.

While hard-core Maoists will protest that these are merely "state-to-state" relations which do not diminish the revolutionary luster of China's policies, they are probably the only people in the world who continue to believe this. For wherever there are anti-Soviet points to be scored—in Chile, Pakistan, Angola or Zaire—China has been quick to abet imperialist reaction.

"Human Rights"

The linchpin of current Chinese policies and the development which has provided most of the openings to the neocolonialist tyrants of the "non-aligned" countries and to the weapons markets of NATO is the alliance between China and U.S. imperialism itself. Last spring the Carter administration decided to play the "China card" in its anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign. As a demonstration of his intentions, Carter dispatched his two most crazed hawks, Zbigniew Brzezinski and Sam Huntington, to China last May. In Peking Brzezinski allayed Chinese uneasiness about SALT while Huntington described his to-date secret magnum opus, Presidential Review Memorandum-10, to an attentive Teng. The atmosphere was so cordial that at the Great Wall of China, Brzezinski was heard to quip, "The last one to the top gets to fight the Russians in Ethiopia."

The fruits of this friendship were soon forthcoming. Shortly after the Brzezinski trip, the heads of NASA, the National Science Foundation and the National Institute of Health visited Peking. At the same time, Carter convinced Japan to sign its treaty with China and announced that he would not oppose weapons sales to Peking.

It has since become obligatory for every anti-Soviet heavy to play the "China card." Close on Brzezinski's heels was Eugene V. Rostow, founder of the anti-Communist Committee on the Present Danger. At the recent Western European Union meeting, right-wing British Tories led the fight to approve military aid to Peking. Carter has arranged a fall visit to China by his most versatile warmonger, Peking favorite James Schlesinger. And Ronald Reagan, himself, is toying with the idea of a pilgrimage.

Russian Roulette

Despite the admiration of Western journalists for the diplomatic shrewdness of Teng and Hua, Peking is playing a very dangerous game. Aside from the atrocious and concrete aid given to reactionary tyrants, aid which weakens the working class internationally, Chinese foreign policy threatens the existence of the Chinese deformed workers state itself.

For the guns with which Peking wishes to ally and strengthen—those of NATO, CENTO and U.S. imperialism—are just as surely directed at Peking as at the Soviet heartland. Imperialism's overriding hostility toward the Soviet Union derives from a recognition that it is by far the most powerful of the states that have broken from the world capitalist system. In the final analysis, it is only the existence of the militarily powerful USSR which protects the social revolution that occurred in China in 1949. Should the present anti-Soviet fantasies of the Maoist bureaucracy ever be realized, China too will be restored to a state of colonial subjugation even worse than under Chiang Kai-shek. And the triumphant imperialists will certainly exterminate the leaders of the Chinese bureaucracy to whom they now bestow diplomatic courtesies. This might be considered poetic justice, but it will be scant retribution for the most terrible of counterrevolutionary betrayals. ■

Letelier...

(continued from page 7)

ITT executive Edward Gerrity are being dropped. Gerrity was indicted for perjury in denying his company's role in trying to buy the 1970 Chilean elections. In fact, the rest of the charges may be dropped as well in order to protect government secrets; a Justice Department spokesman noted that "cases like this are under constant review."

From the moment of Letelier's assassination we insisted on the guilt of Pinochet's DINA. And it's nice that a little justice is finally being done. But we warned against any reliance on the obviously complicit U.S. imperialist state:

> "We demand that the assassins of Orlando Letelier be arrested and prosecuted, but we express our utter lack of confidence in the U.S. bourgeoisie to do so! We denounce as well the complicity of the American government in this vile assassination. How is it possible that Pinochet's hit men are able to carry out their murderous work in the streets of Washington with impunity? The answer is all too obvious.
>
> "The world working class must raise a mighty cry of protest against the brutal murder of Orlando Letelier. Not a penny of aid to the Junta! Hot cargo Chilean goods! The assassination of Orlando Letelier will be avenged through proletarian revolution to smash the blood-soaked Pinochet dictatorship!
>
> "Pinochet Asesino! Orlando Letelier Murdered," *WV* No. 126, 24 September 1976

Those who looked to the "democratic" imperialists to topple the Pinochet regime gave a shout of joy when on August 2 the U.S. House of Representatives voted to embargo arms to Chile. But only a day later their shouts were silenced as the fickle liberals backtracked on orders from Carter. This should be a lesson in the futility of relying on the class enemy to defend the oppressed and exploited. In contrast the Spartacist tendency points to the action of the San Francisco dock workers who last June pointed the way forward for proletarian solidarity with the Chilean masses by hot-cargoing bomb parts to the bloody junta (see "ILWU Stops Bombs to Chile," *WV* No. 210, 30 June 1978). It is through genuinely internationalist actions such as this, and through the forging of a revolutionary Trotskyist vanguard party in Chile itself—in bitter struggle against the Stalinist and social-democratic reformists who paved the way to the bloody September 11 debacle—that the Chilean workers will rise again.

Avenge Orlando Letelier! Not a "Human Rights" Junta "Made in U.S.A." but Workers Revolution to Smash the Chilean Terror Regime! ■

Kenyatta...

(continued from page 8)

within the Kenyan African Nationalist Union (KANU), the ruling party. The tribal chief's fly whisk is taken up in the service of the pin-striped suit.

Nowhere is this more clearly seen than in the struggle to succeed Kenyatta. Almost all of the contenders, members of Kenyatta's inner circle, come from the Kiambu district, as did Kenyatta. They all attended the Alliance High School in the town of Kikuyuals and then Fort Hare University in South Africa. This Kikuyu inner circle has divided into factions, each seeking to get its candidate elected at the KANU party congress. On the conservative side is Charles Njonjo, the long-time attorney general, who recently called for an end to the black African states' boycott of South Africa. Verbally more radical is the foreign minister Munyua Waiyaki, who postures as an "anti-imperialist" before the UN and Organization of African Unity.

In this situation, the interim president, Daniel arap Moi, from the tiny Kalenjin tribe, can only be the client of one of the Kikuyu factions (he is currently backed by Njonjo). The Kamba, small but powerful in the army, remain an unknown factor. It is worth noting that in Uganda, Amin's rule is based on a small Nilotic tribe which has virtually monopolized the army and had to viciously oppress the other, larger tribes to remain in power.

But it is not surprising that KANU, which was touted as the great unifier of the Kenyan peoples, is in reality a factional cockpit for the Kikuyu elite. Mzee, the "Grand Old Man" of Kenya, rose to the presidency as a Kikuyu tribalist. From the start he defended even the most retrograde and barbaric practices of the Kikuyu heritage. Thus in a famous anthropological study, *Facing Mount Kenya*, he defended the brutal practice of clitoridectomy (*ina*) performed on young girls at the age of puberty, on the grounds that it was a mechanism for tribal solidarity.

The basic forces are the same, whether in the 47 military-ruled states of black Africa, the few remaining islands of phony "African socialism" or this "showcase" of liberal neo-colonialist rule. At most a thin veneer of western culture and capitalist economy is laid over traditional social structures. An Oxford-educated elite may be at home in the capitals of Europe, but as soon as any serious social unrest breaks out, the underlying tribalism and other indices of backwardness are quickly bared. This is not merely a holdover from the past: imperialism actually intensified and formalized ethnic rivalries with its divide-and-rule policies. Today the same patterns are fostered by the requirements of maintaining a political base in an environment of massive poverty.

In the epoch of the great bourgeois revolutions, the destruction of feudal barriers led to (and was the result of) a powerful development of productive forces. But in the period of imperialist decay, the ruling class necessarily maintains institutions of economic and social backwardness out of fear of the consequences of an uprising by the oppressed masses. The national independence which Kenyatta helped attain is a historic advance over colonialist rule fundamentally because it is now the domestic tyrant and not the foreign invader which confronts the Kenyan masses. The task before the African workers and peasants is to overthrow all the neo-colonialist frontmen, from the bloody-handed "Marxist" sergeants and the "African socialists" to the tribalist demagogues. ■

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Teamster Strike...

(continued from page 5)

315." But with the help of Joe Lindsay, a well-known supporter of the Communist Party, this necessary motion was defeated in favor of the bureaucracy's deliberately vague position for "full support." To date, the official ILWU position has been to refuse to handle scab goods only where there is an IBT picket physically present—knowing full well that Grami & Co. are trying to restrict Teamster pickets to only a few locations. Thus so far ILWU solidarity actions have been limited to honoring actual IBT picket lines, such as at the Safeway facilities in San Francisco, Sacramento and San Leandro, while ILWU members are ordered by their leaders to load and unload scab trucks elsewhere.

So far, there has not emerged in the striking Teamster locals a leadership capable of clearly counterposing itself to and defeating Grami & Co. Local 315, with an elected strike committee and an active membership, has displayed resourceful militancy. But to get strike sanction from Joint Council No. 7, the Local gave over its power of attorney in bargaining over wages and grievance procedures to the bureaucratically dominated Council. It now faces the distinct possibility of either a horrible sellout or isolation should the other Teamster locals return to work under terms dictated by the Council.

The small Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) group—whose main activity is filing court suits against the corrupt IBT leadership—now finds their black-robed allies in the forefront of the assault on their union. Though a TDU leaflet dated 27 August calls for mass picketing, there is no mention of the need for elected strike committees to translate this call into action and counter the IBT tops' sabotage of the strikers. The flip side of the TDU's continual reliance on the bosses' government to oust the Teamster misleaders is their inability to mobilize *within* the union against that same leadership in order to win a sharp class battle.

Ultimately, the bosses' mounting offensive can be repulsed only by a new class-struggle leadership in the Teamsters as well as the rest of the labor movement, committed to intransigent struggle against the employers, a break with the capitalist politicians and the fight for a workers party and workers government. The Trotskyists who led the 1934 Minneapolis general strike and who spearheaded the over-the-road organizing campaigns which established the Teamsters as a powerful industrial union were such leaders. Their rank-and-file support was so strong that it took government-ordered jailings in witchhunting frame up trials to remove them. Constructing such a leadership in the union is long overdue and must go hand-in-hand with the urgent and immediate tasks necessary to win the present fight of the northern California Teamsters: Elect strike committees—Mobilize mass picketing! Stop the scabs! Smash the injunctions! Call on labor to hot cargo struck goods! Jail the murderer of Randy Hill! Victory to the Teamster strike! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

The Career of a Pan-Africanist Hero

Kenyatta: From Mau Mau Detainee to Imperialist Darling

In the early morning hours of August 22, Kenya's president Jomo Kenyatta died peacefully in his sleep while still in office, an uncommon end to the career of an African nationalist leader. In death as in life the legend of Kenyatta showed its power as thousands of mourners fought to view his body as it lay in state. The body of Mzee (the Old Man) was clad in a pin-striped suit, but the hands clutched the fly whisk of a tribal chief and an ivory-handled walking stick. The latter, Kenyatta's trademarks when alive, symbolized the fact that his rule was based on the Kikuyu tribe; the Saville Row suit was a mark of his accommodation to the British Empire after the achievement of *uhuru* ("freedom") for Kenya.

The throngs of foreign reporters arriving at Nairobi airport plunged into forecasts of the succession struggle which is expected to take place. For years the Western press has hailed Kenya as a model of political stability and economic growth. But upon Kenyatta's death it suddenly remembered the misery of the landless and unemployed, the corruption and political murders and the monopoly of wealth and power held by a clique of Kikuyu politicians. The Kenyan bourgeoisie and its imperialist backers wondered if the lid could be kept on without Kenyatta's incantations of *harambee* ("let us all work together").

Kenya had been held up as the model for a solution to the guerrilla war raging in Rhodesia. Kenyatta provided an excellent example of a former "terrorist" turned "responsible statesman." Furthermore, if Kenya (with the aid of British funds) could gradually buy out the white settlers' holdings, then perhaps a similar arrangement could be made with the Rhodesian *colons*. But if the Kenyan masses, no longer mesmerized by the figure of Kenyatta, revolt against the accumulation of land, wealth and power in the hands of the Kikuyu elite, or if factional/tribal strife erupts, it could increase the panic sentiment among Rhodesian white settlers.

The Road to Uhuru

Kenyatta's legend began with his record of opposition to British colonialism, dating back to the 1920's, when he became the spokesman of the East African Association and then the Kikuyu Central Association, fighting for the restoration of the tribe's land. It was led by nine years of British imprisonment and the hope that he was the man who could unify Kenya's feuding tribes.

But Kenyatta was also a "grand old man" of Pan Africanism. Like so many future Pan-Africanist leaders he briefly collaborated with such Soviet-backed groups as the League Against Imperialism. Together with George Padmore, C.L.R. James, W.E.B. DuBois and Kwame Nkrumah, he was a leading participant in the Sixth Pan-Africanist Congress in 1945. Thus, when he was imprisoned a few years later, there was a protest on his behalf across the continent.

Eisenstaedt/Time

Jomo Kenyatta

Kenyatta's rise to fame must also be seen in the context of the post-World War II anti-British revolt, unique in Africa in its intensity. Groups of Kikuyu tribesmen, bound together by oaths (not necessarily the fanatical religious cults painted by British propaganda), became the vehicle for nationalist sentiment and for mass resistance to the eviction of squatters from the white farms. Together with militant, underground trade unions, the oathing groups bypassed the moderate Kenyan African Union (KAU). In an attempt to control the movement, Kenyatta, then a KAU leader, was forced to step up his militant rhetoric.

Incidents of civil disobedience and sabotage against the white settlers mounted. The storm broke after attacks on pro-British black leaders. Kenyatta and others were arrested as the secret leaders of a "Mau Mau" conspiracy. While Kenyatta was imprisoned at hard labor as the result of this frame-up, the Land Freedom Army began its unevenly matched guerrilla war against the British.

Tens of thousands of Kikuyus were herded into concentration camps, and suspected "Mau Mau" members were brutally tortured. Although the rebels were ultimately defeated, they had demonstrated to declining British imperialism that it had to withdraw, however slowly, from direct rule over Kenya. When Kenyatta was released from detention in 1961, he had become the symbol of the independence struggle.

Behind the Democratic Facade

Once in power, Kenyatta sought to

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As Iran Despot Slaughters Hundreds

Chairman Hua Embraces Butcher Shah

As the blood of hundreds of anti-Shah demonstrators continued to flow in the streets of Iran, Chinese Communist Party chairman Hua Kuo-feng last week stood at the Shahyad monument to Persian kings and was presented with a golden key to Teheran by the murderous butcher Shah Reza Pahlavi.

Coming at the beginning of a three-day first-ever visit to Iran by Hua, this sickening gesture of friendship was symbolic of the profound and cynical contempt that the Stalinist bureaucracy ruling China has for the struggle against the police-state terror and autocratic rule of the Shah. Little does it matter to Hua & Co. that thousands upon thousands of the Shah's opponents are languishing in dungeons and subjected to the most hideous tortures. What counts is that the Iranian despot is an enemy of so-called "Soviet social-imperialism" and therefore a friend of the Peking cabal.

Thus, like the Ceylonese JVP, stabbed in the back by Mao in 1971, Iranian leftists who turned to Peking as a result of their betrayal by Moscow are witnessing their mentors embrace sadistic assassins. The reality behind the "Three Worlds"-"Two Lines"-"Social Imperialism" doubletalk spouted by Mao's heirs is starkly revealed to be naked support for anti-communist reaction.

Since January the Peacock Throne has been beset by a tidal wave of anti-Shah protests by forces ranging from leftist students to fanatical religious obscurantists. The result has been the most significant buffeting of the Shah's rule in well over a decade. Not only the Pahlavis but also American imperialism is deeply concerned about the growing unrest in Iran. Despite its massive weapons buildup, the Pahlavi autocracy remains brittle. Consequently, the United States reportedly has decided that should the Iranian army and SAVAK prove incapable of effectively dealing with the Shah's opponents, it will act. At the special direction of defense secretary Harold Brown a 100,000-man American mobile unit is being trained for that eventuality.

But U.S. capitalists are not the only people who feel a stake in the maintenance of one of the most despotic dictatorships on the face of the earth. After the protests in Teheran resumed on August 10, Hua announced that his stay in Iran would be extended to three days (although he decided to remain within the safe confines of the imperial palace and sent vice premier Chi Teng-kuen out to gawk at the royal jewels in his stead). That this was intended as a gesture of support to the Shah should be obvious. At a banquet given on the first day of his visit Hua clearly implied that the Shah's problems were at least

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 215 22 September 1978

Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs!

Iran in Turmoil

For Proletarian Revolution Not Islamic Reaction

On September 8, this summer's uninterrupted wave of massive protests against the brutal Iranian monarchy reached a grisly climax when the shah's Royal Guard poured machine gun fire into the ranks of an anti-government demonstration in Teheran. At least a thousand protesters were slaughtered in the greatest single massacre in decades. The London *Guardian*'s Teheran correspondent, Liz Thurgood, gave this eyewitness account:

> In a brutal display of military force, troops and small tanks opened fire at 9.20 a.m. yesterday in Madan Jaleh [Jaleh Square] at a spot where between 5,000 and 10,000 young people had gathered for a peaceful demonstration against the Shah. Men, women, and young children, many splattered with blood, ran screaming, 'They're killing us, they're killing us'."
>
> *Guardian*, 9 September

Anti-shah demonstration in Teheran before troops fired into crowd, killing over 1,000. Seibound/Sipa-Black Star

According to other reports, tanks moved in from the corners of the square, crushing corpses and wounded alike. Hundreds of wounded swamped the hospitals, where many died because the supply of doctors and medical supplies was inadequate for the number of victims. Many more, fearing the likelihood of arrest at the hospitals, were treated by makeshift medical teams in the homes of sympathizers.

Marchers elsewhere in the city were similarly gunned down. The enraged survivors retreated through the city, attacking banks, luxury stores and government offices. The crowds overturned and burned autos in an attempt to block the patrolling tanks and army trucks. Shooting continued into the night, when exchanges of gunfire between troops and unknown opponents were reported.

At Jaleh Square soldiers loaded the dead and dying into trucks while fire engines washed the blood off the streets. Although the government initially claimed that a mere 50 had been killed, it later doubled the figure. In a Majlis ("parliament") debate shown on national television, opposition deputies denounced this obvious lie. And now even the U.S. embassy is admitting to 500 dead.

In response Teheran and other major Iranian cities were placed under martial

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Camp David Hoax

SEPTEMBER 19 After 13 days of closed-door wrangling with Egyptian president Anwar Sadat and Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin, Jimmy Carter suddenly announced last Sunday that the trilateral summit meeting on the Near East held at Camp David had resulted in a far-reaching "framework for peace." Ending the White House imposed news blackout, Carter staged a theatrical televised ceremony where he outlined two pacts said to represent a dramatic breakthrough. Amid much hugging, hand clasping and laughing between Sadat and Begin, Carter announced to the nation that peace was at hand for the Near East, possibly within a matter of months.

True to the Carter style, much of the "miracle" of Camp David was simply media hokum. In his televised address from the White House Carter glossed over most of the details of the two pacts, emphasizing instead how brotherhood and reconciliation had triumphed. On the spot to say something on such a

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David Hume Kennerly

Nicaragua In Flames/3

What's Behind Carter-Labor War of Words/6

Court Dismisses "Outside Agitator" Charge

SYL Victory at Chicago Circle Campus

CHICAGO On August 15 the University of Illinois Chicago Circle (UICC) administration was thwarted in its attempt to drive the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) off campus when Judge John J. McDonald dismissed criminal trespass charges against SYL activist Sandor John. After months of delay costing hundreds of dollars in legal expenses for the defense, the circuit court finally ruled in favor of the motion by John's lawyer David Thomas to dismiss the case on broad constitutional grounds, holding that political activity by "non-students" at the UICC Campus Center could not be prohibited by administrative fiat.

The court's dismissal confirmed what the SYL had said from the outset: the November 22 arrest and permanent campus ban of Sandor John was a McCarthy-style witchhunt of leftist "outside agitators." It was part of a wider net of intimidation, aimed particularly at left-wing faculty, students, campus workers and Arab and Iranian student groups. During the past year the UICC administration has banned the sale of newspapers by campus organizations, threatened to evict five student groups from their offices (including the student government!) and kicked union organizers off campus as "outsiders."

The Spartacus Youth League was singled out for a purge intended to cow all the administration's opponents. But in response the SYL initiated a united-front campaign to defend the democratic rights of all faculty, students and campus workers under attack. The committee held rallies and meetings, and received an impressive array of endorsements, including the Circle student government, Circle Women's Liberation Union and the Young Socialist Alliance as well as prominent professors, labor leaders and newspaper columnists from across the country. The SYL also initiated a broad-ranging civil suit with the American Civil Liberties Union against UICC's gag-rule harassment.

Publicity over the witchhunt greatly embarrassed the Circle Campus administration. Articles on the defense appeared in the *Chicago Sun-Times*, the *Reader* and *Chicago Weekend*. Their inquisitorial ban exposed before a wide public audience, the UICC authorities took a red-faced dive. After the court finally dismissed the charges, one campus official remarked: "The whole incident was unfortunate and really shouldn't have happened. Some people thought that John shouldn't have forced the issue. But that didn't make the arrest right" (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 16 August). Of course, for the administration the arrest was an "unfortunate" error only because it was forced to publicly back down.

The modest yet real victory of the Sandor John defense weakens the UICC authorities' hand, but it has not ended their vicious assaults against free speech and the left. The administration continues to prosecute a group of Palestinian and Latin American students arrested at a May 11 anti-Zionist demonstration (on the same trespass charges) and has announced its intention to aid the prosecution of anti-shah Iranians (see "UICC Admin. Does SAVAK Dirty Work," *Young Spartacus* No. 65, Summer 1978). The SYL victory can and should provide a springboard for a campaign to defend all victims of these academic McCarthys. ■

Despite the court victory, outstanding legal expenses remain. *WV* urges its readers to aid the campaign with a contribution to the Sandor John Defense Fund, which is being administered by the Partisan Defense Committee. Please send contributions/make checks payable to: Partisan Defense Committee (earmarked Sandor John Defense Fund), P.O. Box 6729, Main P.O., Chicago, IL 60680

Free Nahuel Moreno and Rita Strasberg!

The lives of two Argentine socialists, Nahuel Moreno (Hugo Bressano) and Rita Strasberg, are in grave danger following their arrest August 22 by Brazilian police. Now being held prisoner in São Paulo, the two are threatened with deportation to Argentina where they face probable torture and possible death. It is the duty of the workers movement and all those concerned with democratic rights to take up the fight to save Moreno and Strasberg from the infamous Brazilian *esquadras da morte* (death squads) and the bloody hangmen of the Videla junta!

Nahuel Moreno (the pen name under which Bressano is known on the left) is a longtime self-proclaimed Trotskyist, head of the Bolshevik Tendency of the United Secretariat as well as exiled leader of the Argentine Socialist Workers Party (PST). He and his companion Strasberg were among 22 activists rounded up in São Paulo late last month in a police raid after a public meeting of the Socialist Convergence group. According to a PST communiqué (*Rouge*, 5 September) the group seeks to establish a Brazilian socialist party. Accused of being members of a "Trotskyist-line" group, the Liga Operária [Workers League], which had allegedly "infiltrated" Socialist Convergence, the 22 were charged with violating the National Security Law banning "subversive" political parties.

Among those arrested at the Socialist Convergence conference was António Sá Leal, a representative from the Portuguese PRT who has since been released following protests from the Portuguese parliament. At press time, eight of the Brazilian militants seized in the roundup remain in jail.

The arrests may be the opening shot in a new wave of repression by the Geisel government. For more than a decade the Brazilian military dictatorship has imposed its rule of savage terror, stilling liberal criticism by pointing to its fabled "economic miracle," which brought increased prosperity for the rich by imposing starvation wages on the workers. However, with the collapse of the "economic miracle" in the 1974-76 worldwide capitalist depression, and faced with increasing clamor from large sections of the bourgeoisie for a degree of political liberalization, even Geisel began mouthing vague calls for the advent of "relative democracy." But in the most recent period, the mounting unrest within Brazilian society has made the military increasingly nervous.

Thus in March-June 1977 hundreds of thousands of students took to the streets for the first time since 1968 and fought pitched battles with the cops (see "Student Struggles Engulf Brazil," *Young Spartacus* No. 56, July/August 1977). Then this past May metal workers at the São Bernardo SAAB-Scania truck plant walked off the job in defiance of the junta to begin a strike wave which quickly spread to the Ford, Mercedes-Benz, Volkswagen and Chrysler factories. This courageous action so electrified the Brazilian proletariat that within a few months the strikes encompassed bank workers, oil refinery workers, longshoremen, teachers and hospital workers.

In response to the workers' and students' struggles a "hardline" faction has crystallized in the military. General António Ferreira Marques, one of the leading "hawks," recently declared ominously, "The chaos will not return."

It is in this context that the August 22 arrests took place. The arrests have sparked growing protests in Brazil, among them hunger strikes and street demonstrations by students in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Pôrto Alegre and elsewhere. Protests have also been raised by deputies in the Brazilian congress, as well as the state legislative assemblies of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Internationally, telegrams and protest letters denouncing the arrests have been sent by leaders of the Spanish Socialist Party, the Bolivian Miners Union Federation and others.

On September 6, in response to the PST appeal, the Ligue Trotskyste de France and the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria de Chile, sympathizing sections of the international Spartacist tendency, sent a joint telegram of protest to the Brazilian embassy in Paris. In the U.S. the Partisan Defense Committee sent a protest telegram to the Brazilian mission to the UN, and at the recent September 11 demonstration in New York marking the fifth anniversary of the Chilean coup d'état, the Spartacist League contingent highlighted the plight of the socialist militants and leaders arrested in São Paulo with signs demanding: "Save Nahuel Moreno, Rita Strasberg from Brazil Torturers and Videla's Hangmen!"

It is urgent that the international protests to save the lives of these militants continue to mount. The fact that Moreno and Strasberg have not been released while Sá Leal and 11 of the arrested Brazilians were freed confirms the danger these militants face. Release Moreno, Strasberg and the imprisoned Brazilian militants! Drop all charges against the Socialist Convergence activists! No extradition of the Argentine socialists to Videla's junta! ■

6 September 1978
Brazilian Embassy
34 Cours Albert
75008 Paris, France

The Ligue Trotskyste de France and the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria de Chile, sympathizing sections of the international Spartacist tendency, demand the immediate freeing of Hugo Bressano, António Sá Leal, and Rita Strasberg and the twenty militants of the Socialist Convergence. In particular we demand that the two PST militants not be extradited to Argentina.

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Nicaragua in Flames

For People's Tribunals to Punish National Guard Criminals!

No Deals with Somoza Regime— For a Constituent Assembly!

As the rubble smoulders in the seven cities and towns which rose up against the tyrant Somoza, the Nicaraguan people are burying their dead. The mercenary National Guard once again swaggers through the streets of León, Masaya and Matagalpa, but the obese dictator is still sweating in his air-conditioned concrete bunker in the capital. For if the pistol shots from the street barricades have subsided for the moment, a nation-wide work stoppage continues unabated, its effectiveness due to near unanimous support from the local bourgeoisie as well as the workers.

As the insurrectionists return to the shadows, the Sandinista Liberation Front (FSLN) launched a second operation, an attempt to establish a "liberated zone" along the southern border with Costa Rica. And in the population hatred grows into cold fury against a rotting dynasty which in its death agony feeds on the blood of the youth in order to gain a few more weeks to line Miami bank accounts. The hours are numbered for "Tacho" Somoza, "president" and owner of Nicaragua, *caudillo* (boss) by the grace of the U.S. Marines.

"The dictatorship of the flies," Pablo Neruda called it in his *Canto General*, "Trujillo flies, Tacho flies...flies dripping with the thickened blood of the downtrodden, intoxicated flies buzzing over the people's graves...learned flies skilled in tyranny." For 34 years Somoza, Inc. has ruled this belt of the Central American isthmus as its private domain. Now the time is up for these parasitic insects.

In spite of all the sacrifices and days of heroic struggle, the Nicaraguan working people will not become their own masters without a bitter political fight against the last-minute "allies" of the "democratic" businessmen and ranchers. Until yesterday they were the underpinning of the corrupt regime, and today their courage extends only far enough to send their teenage sons and daughters into battle. Tomorrow they hope to "restabilize" the country under the auspices of the Organization of American States (OAS), Truman's colonial ministry now turned into Jimmy Carter's overseer of "human rights" south of the Rio Grande.

The populist Sandinista Front is doing its best to ensure a "smooth transition." It sponsored the so-called "Group of Twelve," a blue-ribbon committee of anti-Somoza businessmen, Maryknoll Fathers, lawyers and technicians, formed last October, which calls for a provisional government dominated by bourgeois liberals, with only a minor role for the FSLN. And at the height of the uprising last week the Front gave its approval to a negotiating commission composed of a lawyer from the Group of Twelve, a businessman from the bourgeois opposition coalition UDEL (Democratic Union for Liberation) and a conservative industrialist supported by the State Department.

Nevertheless, for the past three weeks the Nicaraguan masses have been fighting it out, guns in hand, with Somoza's praetorian guard. And in Washington the Carter administration seems paralyzed with indecision over which horse to back, fearing that whatever it does the U.S. will be denounced for "outside interference." State Department liberals are worried that the longer Somoza holds on the greater the chances will be for a "second Cuba." The spectre of Cuba is in fact so omnipresent that the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie would not have made an alliance with the FSLN without the firmest guarantees.

But with armed workers in the streets the conditions are there for another Santo Domingo, where a mass "constitutionalist" movement against military rule threatened to escape the control of its bourgeois leaders. Trujillo, another CIA-backed dictator who had become an albatross, was removed by his masters in Washington with an assassin's bullet. The significance of the current uprising in Nicaragua is that it could be the first time in almost two decades that a Latin American despot is toppled by popular revolt. That prospect is unsettling both to U.S. imperialism and its client strongmen throughout the region (particularly the military regimes next door in Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras).

The beginning of the end for the Somoza family can be traced to the aftermath of a December 1972 earthquake which destroyed the capital, Managua, leaving 14,000 dead and 300,000 homeless. An international relief effort raised millions of dollars; the popular Dominican baseball star Roberto Clemente died in an airplane crash while flying a relief mission to Nicaragua; but meanwhile the Somoza family was using the calamity to eliminate business competitors and grab the lion's share of the aid. This overweening greed and traffic in death gave rise to the first serious bourgeois opposition to the regime since the Marines left in 1934.

The second key event was the assassination of UDEL leader Pedro Joaquin Chamorro last January. With all of Jimmy Carter's "human rights" propaganda the local bourgeoisie figured they had a green light from Washington and called a work stoppage that brought business to a standstill for two weeks. However, the State Department was not yet ready to flick its little finger and adopted a "hands-off" posture (an absurdity in a country where absolutely everything has always been done following instructions or signals from the U.S.). And at the end of July the liberal opposition was dismayed by publication of a letter by Carter to Somoza praising alleged "human rights advances" in Nicaragua.

The dominant sector of the FSLN as well as the Broad Opposition Front (FAO), a body including everyone from conservative landowners to the Moscow-Stalinist Nicaraguan Socialist Party, had been banking on a move by Washington to ease out Somoza. So following Carter's letter the Nicaraguan opposition decided it would have to go it alone, or at least step up the heat. The Sandinistas' answer was a daring attack on the National Congress, a puppet body composed overwhelmingly of Somoza toadies. Led by "Comandante Zero," FSLN veteran Eden Pastora, the operation could have been a tragic adventure if it had not been greeted with the overwhelming support of the population. But instead of storming the palace where his few remaining cohorts were being held, Somoza was forced to allow the commandos to fly to Panama along with 59 released prisoners. A bus taking the guerrillas and remaining hostages to the airport was greeted by thousands of Nicaraguans lining the road shouting anti-government slogans while the National Guard looked on helplessly.

Somoza's capitulation was universally taken as a sign that the dictator's grip was weakening. Thus the kidnapping of the Congress was quickly followed by another national work stoppage, called by the FAO, which began the very next day (August 25). In Managua workers occupied one of the major banks, and everywhere compliance with the strike call was 80 percent or more. The few businesses open were those belonging directly to the ruling family or to Cuban exiles. And in Matagalpa, the third largest city in the country, open revolt broke out as teenagers led by Sandinista guerrillas (and armed by the local populace) set up barricades. The sniping battle lasted until September 7, when the FSLN broke into a leading radio station and broadcast an appeal for a general armed uprising.

Immediately the cities of Masaya and León and four other towns (Estelí, Diriamba, Chinandega and Peñas Blancas) fell into rebel hands. Somoza referred to a "Tét offensive" by the Sandinistas, slapped censorship on the opposition press (later extended to foreign reporters) and called up reserve troops.

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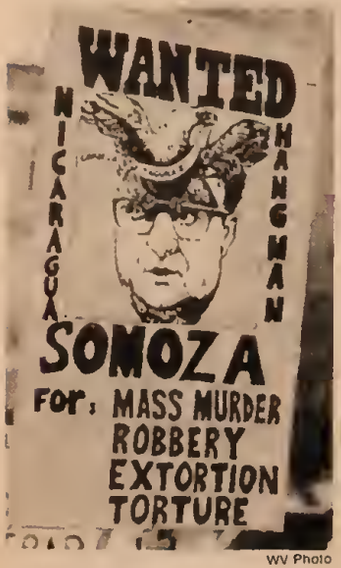
Meiselas/Magnum

National guardsmen dodge Sandinista bullets in the streets of Masaya.



WV Photo

Poster at demonstration in the U.S. hit Somoza regime.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Iran...

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law and put under the administration of the commander of the army, General Oveissi, for a period of six months. This essentially takes all power out of the hands of the newly appointed prime minister Jaafar Sharif-Emami. Last week mass round-ups of hundreds of opposition figures began across Iran.

Scandalously, in the middle of this popular turmoil directed against the shah, Chinese Communist Party leader and prime minister Hua Kuo-feng winged into Teheran to demonstrate his solidarity with the hated Iranian dictator (see "Chairman Hua Embraces Butcher Shah," *WV* No. 214, 8 September 1978). While riot police shot down demonstrators in the streets of Qom, Hua was given a 21-gun salute and conveyed to the Shahyad monument in the royal carriage to receive the keys to Teheran.

The shah has decided to drown the protests in blood. Not only have the demonstrations shown no sign of diminishing, but those of September 4 drew millions of participants throughout the country, and half a million or more in Teheran itself. The march was led by mullahs (preachers) reading from the Koran and banners called for the return of Ayatollah Khomeini, a Muslim religious leader exiled by the shah. Other banners signed by leftist guerrilla groups called for "U.S. out of Iran." But the dominant theme was set by the religious opposition.

The marches not only indicated the extent of popular hatred for the Pahlavi dictatorship, but protesters in the capital openly fraternized with the largely conscript troops. The Iranian regime is facing a threat similar to that of the 1963 uprising, when the shah's military advisors believed that the troops in Teheran would mutiny if called upon to fire upon protesting crowds for a second day.

Fifteen years ago the shah brought in fresh troops and killed thousands in order to crush the rebellion; today, relying on elite units, he is again embarked on a desperate attempt to exterminate all resistance.

Three years ago, the shahanshah ("king of kings") had decreed a one-party regime, confident that his opponents had been reduced to an impotent handful; today it is his Rastakhiz Party that has been reduced to a shambles.

The opposition shows no signs of being intimidated by the September 8 massacre. New clashes have been reported from Teheran, Mashad and other cities, while shops in the capital were once again shut down by a protest strike. Only a short time ago, the self-proclaimed "light of the Aryans" boasted, "Nobody can overthrow me. I have the support of 700,000 troops, all the workers and most of the people.... I have the power" (*Los Angeles Times*, 17 August). Now the fragility of this mass murderer's rule is demonstrated for all to see. For the first time in 25 years (in 1953 a CIA-engineered coup overthrew the bourgeois nationalist Mossadegh and restored the shah to his throne), the Imperial Palace is guarded by tanks.

The Aftermath of Abadan

Tension in Iran dramatically escalated after a fire killed nearly 400 people trapped inside a movie theater in the southern city of Abadan on August 19. The government immediately declared that the fire was the work of anti-shah arsonists, and claimed to have uncovered a plot by communist school teachers who turned their classes into sabotage rings. Nothing more has been heard of this obvious frame-up.

It is not impossible that the arson was the work of Muslim fundamentalists. In the recent period, banks, restaurants, night clubs and liquor stores or breweries have been attacked or bombed by anti-shah protesters. In most cases the attacks were clearly based on the Koran's prohibition on interest-taking and against alcohol, or a more general opposition to "decadent" Western culture.

But there is much circumstantial evidence suggesting that the Abadan fire was in fact a government provocation. Despite Abadan's ultra-modern fire-fighting system, fire engines arrived at the scene (100 yards from the police station) only after three hours, one of them with an empty water tank. Abadan's police chief initially claimed that the arsonists had used incendiary bombs, but retracted the statement when it was pointed out that these bombs were in the hands of the police and army.

Three days later, police and city officials were excluded from the mourning ceremonies, which became an indictment of police negligence, or complicity, in the fire. The crowd, predominantly relatives of the victims, then clashed with the police and attacked banks and restaurants. Troops and tanks had to be brought in to quell the protests. The belief that the regime was responsible for the Abadan fire spread across Iran.

The "Liberalization" Fraud

On August 27, the shah announced a number of concessions designed to appease the Muslim fundamentalists and bourgeois liberals. Prime Minister Amuzegar resigned and was replaced by Sharif-Emami. The shah's "Imperial" calendar which began with the ancient Persian empire was replaced by the traditional Muslim calendar, and the new prime minister closed the casinos and other gambling spots. The post of women's affairs was abolished, and General Ayadi, a member of the Bahai sect, long hated by Iran's Shi'ite Muslims, resigned.

Seiboun/Sipa-Black Star

Disgusting: While Iranian troops shoot down demonstrators, Chairman Hua fêtes Butcher Shah. The dilemma for Iranian Maoists: You cannot hate the shah and love China in the face of this "friendship association."

Abbas/Gamma-Liaison

Imperial troops march in review.

More important than these alleged proofs of the shah's devotion to allah was the announcement that freedom of press, speech and assembly would be guaranteed to "legitimate" political parties (the pro-Moscow Stalinist Tudeh Party and other leftist groups continued to be banned). Free elections were promised for the summer of 1979. Within a day after this announcement 14 political parties had surfaced, testifying to the diversity of political currents which has so far been suppressed by the shah's autocratic rule.

While some of the "moderate" opposition politicians and the religious opposition led by Ayatollah Shariatmadari, were willing to test Sharif-Emami's sincerity, both the bourgeois liberals and religious opposition continued to demand the dissolution of the Majlis and the holding of new elections. Ayatollah Khomeini who, unlike Shariatmadari, calls for the overthrow of the shah, denounced the "liberalization" from exile in Iraq as a "plot to deceive the Muslim people and derail their movement." Certain of the liberals demanded the abolition of the shah's secret police, SAVAK.

But whether the concessions were the result of fright or a calculated maneuver, it soon became clear that they were meaningless. Two hundred and thirty imprisoned Muslim leaders remained in jail. The reactionary hard-liner General Abbas Garabaghi, head of the National Gendarmerie, became Minister of the Interior.

The "Iranian Spring" was soon seen as the act of a regime that had been weakened, yet was clearly unreformable. The stage was set for the demonstrations of September 4. The capital had been the scene of a week of almost continuous streetfighting, but the crowds demonstrating on the 4th were able to fraternize with the soldiers. Shouting, "Soldiers, you are from us," and "Why do you kill your brothers?" they showered the troops with flowers. From before dawn until late at night, the demonstrations remained unmolested, and Teheran took on a carnival atmosphere.

Four days later more than 1,000 protesters lay dead in the street. The "Iranian Spring" lasted no more than 11 days.

The Spectre of American Intervention

When the "progressive," "modernizing" rhetoric of the "White Revolution" is stripped away what remains is but a brutal military dictatorship. And the shahanshah now faces the possibility that his only bulwark against the white-hot fury of the Iranian masses is eroding around him. At the top of the military machine both a major general and a leading official of the SAVAK were executed in the last year for allegedly organizing plots against the Shah. In the ranks, U.S. reporters interviewed soldiers and non-commissioned officers who swore to commit suicide rather than fire upon civilians.

It appears that on the 8th, some of these men were faithful to their word, and in at least one incident turned their guns on their commanding officer. Certainly, only a skeleton force patrolled the streets of Teheran; a force inadequate to stop many of the attacks on stores and offices, but one which had the advantage of being less susceptible to "contamination."

There remains one last resort for defending the shahanshah – the same one that restored him to power in 1953, has stocked his arsenal with billions of dollars of weapons and which has been his international press agent: the United States, the shah's godfather. No sooner were the bodies cold than Carter telephoned the shah to reaffirm the "close and friendly relationship" between Iran and U.S. imperialism and to congratulate his client about the "progress" made in "liberalizing."

The American bourgeois press immediately sent up a chorus in praise of the shah and his "modernization" and "liberalization." Unanimously, in near-identical editorials, the *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Los Angeles Times* and other leading "molders of (bourgeois) public opinion" called for unambiguous U.S. support for the Peacock Throne. Once again they explained that the Iranian workers and peasants "needed" the strong hand of a murdering despot. The more cynical did not even bother with this, simply calling for the defense of the oil companies' profits and for the maintenance of Iran as a strategic bastion in U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet drive. With all of the viciousness that a capitalist with an endangered bank account can muster, the *Wall Street Journal* (13 September) complained that "the Shah until now has been attempting to conciliate rather than crush what is obviously deep-seated unrest in Iran."

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There are already more than 35,000 U.S. military personnel in Iran. Secretary of Defense Brown is now discussing "the possible 'dispatch of appropriate U.S. forces to the scene'" and "100,000 U.S. troops are being trained for possible intervention in the Gulf," (*Los Angeles Times*, 17 August). U.S. intervention—no doubt to "save American lives" as in Santo Domingo in 1965—is a real possibility.

Carter's "human rights" demagogy stands exposed as a cynical cover for propping up the Pahlavis' blood-stained rule. Instead of hat-in-hand pleas to Carter to honor his "promises" and timid protest telegrams to the shah, the situation cries out for the American left and labor movement to fight to free all victims of the shah's white terror, boycott arms shipments to Iran through trade-union action and demand a halt to all U.S. aid to the shah!

No to Islamic Reaction

But what is the political basis of the current opposition to the shah? It is not proletarian socialism. It is not even the bourgeois liberalism of Mossadegh, although liberals and leftists can be found in the movement and even apologizing for the Muslim preachers. No, fundamentally the current mass mobilizations against the Pahlavi family are under the ideological sway of Muslim fundamentalists whose idea of a golden age is the expansion of Islam by fire and sword in the sixth century A.D.

The hold of the mullahs over the Iranian masses is on the basis of a petty-bourgeois populist ideology, represented in its most radical form by Khomeini, who calls for the confiscation of the "immorally" gained wealth of the rich. The lavish ostentation of the decadent, corrupt, jet-setting Imperial Court renders this Islamic puritanism all the more appealing to the Iranian masses. This reactionary "anti-imperialism" virulently hates all aspects of Western culture which erode traditional Islamic society. The core of the mullahs' social support is thus the traditional middle classes—merchants and artisans, the small stratum of wealthy peasants and certain backward sections of the proletariat such as casual construction laborers.

The victory of a reactionary movement of Muslim traditionalism will represent a far-reaching historical *defeat* for communists, who seek a revolutionary emancipation from semi-feudal backwardness. The religious opposition stands on the heritage of the Middle Ages, opposed even to the paltry social advances for women in past decades.

Thus in the Muslim holy city of Qom, Shariatmadari's stronghold, every female over the age of four must wear the *chador*, the black cloak/veil which is the symbol of centuries of brutal oppression of women by Islamic society. As for Khomeini, he states, "We wish to liberate women from the corruption that is menacing them" (*Le Monde*, 6 May). His followers exposed the real meaning of this delicate phrase when they chanted "Death or the Veil" in the streets of Tabriz in February.

Placing themselves in the tradition of the Islamic religious leaders in the 1906 revolution against the monarchy, when they fought for a constitution and a parliament, Khomeini and Shariatmadari can pose as the champions of democratic rights against the shah's tyranny. Do not be fooled! Numerous cases of dictatorial Muslim states masked by forms of parliamentary democracy can be found, including Pakistan, Malaysia and Indonesia.

More importantly, the Muslim religious leaders' "democracy" does not extend to communists. Khomeini has ordered his followers not to engage in any collaboration with leftists against the shah. Shariatmadari opposes the legalization of the Tudeh party, as it would be contrary to the laws of Islam. Furthermore, at every key point in recent Iranian history (1906, 1946, 1953) there are many examples of anti-monarchical and "anti-imperialist" religious figures who returned to the side of the Peacock Throne because of their fear of the left and the plebeian masses.

Now that medievalist Muslims are calling for the overthrow of the shah in the streets of Iran, the cowardly reformists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) have finally raised the slogan "Down With the Shah." The SWP believes that the mullahs' "anti-imperialism" and the call for parliamentary "democracy" have an inherently revolutionary thrust. But the SWP is confronted with the dilemma of reconciling its uncritical support to the Muslim preachers with its pose as the "best fighters" against the oppression of women. Once again these social democrats resorted to the "SWP school of falsification" by running a picture of the Teheran march, proclaiming that "Women played a prominent role in the September 4 protests" (*Militant*, 22 September). The caption fails to mention that every one of the women is swathed in a veil!

Furthermore, the entire Iranian left also trails behind the Muslim leaders. The Tudeh party accuses the shah of "pretending to respect the fundamental principles of Islam and...taking demagogic measures..." (*Le Monde*, 1 September). Their program goes no further than the confiscation of the property of the royal family. And what of the Maoist and guerrillaist groups which vehemently denounce Tudeh's reformism? They too speak only of the "progressive religious leaders," echoed by their supporters in the various wings of the Iranian Students Association. A particularly grotesque example was a leaflet issued by the Federation of Iranian Students and the Southern California ISA, which allied itself with Khomeini by attacking "corrupt pornographic culture."

The Iranian left thus marches on the road to suicide. An Iranian Islamic "republic" would have numerous precedents for a campaign to exterminate the left, from Libya to Pakistan to Indonesia where the army, aided by fanatical Muslim students, slaughtered more than half a million leftist, worker and peasant militants. Whatever their "anti-imperialist" trappings, not one of the states which swear by the Koran has abolished capitalism or imperialist domination.

The hundreds of thousands who are now marching behind the mullahs are by no means all Muslim fundamentalists. Many are primarily motivated by hostility to the real crimes of the shah. Many leftist workers have probably joined what they view as a potentially successful opposition to the hated regime. But the masses, particularly the workers, who are now supporting the Khomeinis and Shariatmadaris can and must be won away from the present Islamic reactionary offensive in favor of a *social revolutionary* opposition to the shah.

For Workers Revolution in Iran

The Iranian proletariat has not always been simple foot soldiers of the ulema. After the reigning shah's father was deposed by the Allies in 1942, the new government's authority was minimal, with Russian forces occupying northwestern Iran and British troops in the south. But class war erupted across the country. The city of Isfahan, in central Iran, saw three general strikes and one lockout between 1942 and 1946. As a result of the lockout the starving workers occupied the granaries and

continued on page 8

Drop the Charges—Stop the FBI Witchhunt!

L.A. Cops Savagely Attack Anti-Shah Protesters

LOS ANGELES—On September 1, 165 Iranian student demonstrators and several Americans were arrested on charges of rioting, inciting to riot, assault with a deadly weapon on a police officer, arson and noise violations as scores of baton-swinging Los Angeles cops savagely attacked an anti-shah demonstration of 400 in downtown L.A. Witnesses to the police riot reported numerous instances of demonstrators being beaten with police batons while lying bound and helpless on the ground. Thirty demonstrators and nine cops were taken to hospitals. All those arrested, including 35 women and ten juveniles, were released on bail ranging from $250 to $10,000.

The demonstration had been called to protest the U.S. media's coverage of the recent theater fire in Abadan, which killed nearly 400 people, as well as to oppose the "impending military intervention of the U.S. in Iran." It quickly became obvious that the cops were out for blood. They initially attacked the demonstration at the Federal building, attempting to prevent the demonstrators from using a bullhorn. The demonstrators responded with the chant, "Down with the Fascist Cops!"

The brutal attack on Iranian students which took place on September 1 is part of a familiar pattern of cop repression against minorities and leftists in Los Angeles. There has been considerable protest recently in response to the escalation of shootings by cops in L.A. ghettos, the strangulation deaths of two blacks this year while in police custody and the grisly murder of Andres Montes, a Puerto Rican supporter of the National United Workers Organization, the workerist front group of the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party. Montes, who had been repeatedly harassed by cops, was chased and gunned down in his car on the night of July 24 on the official excuse that he had an outstanding traffic ticket! This ugly crime was not even reported to Montes' wife until two days later. Disarm the L.A. cops! Disband SWAT!

UPI

Nightstick-wielding cops charge Iranian demonstrators at September 1 anti-shah demonstration in Los Angeles.

When the demonstration moved to the *Los Angeles Times* building, the scene of numerous anti-shah rallies in the last two weeks protesting press coverage of events in Iran, about 50 cops moved in and began manhandling and arresting demonstration leaders. People coming to the aid of those being dragged away as well as others simply trying to get out of the area were viciously set upon by the marauding cops.

The police attack ended with over 100 demonstrators lying face down on the pavement with their arms tied behind their backs. An LAPD mobile booking station was brought to the spot to facilitate photographing and fingerprinting of those arrested before they were hauled off to jail.

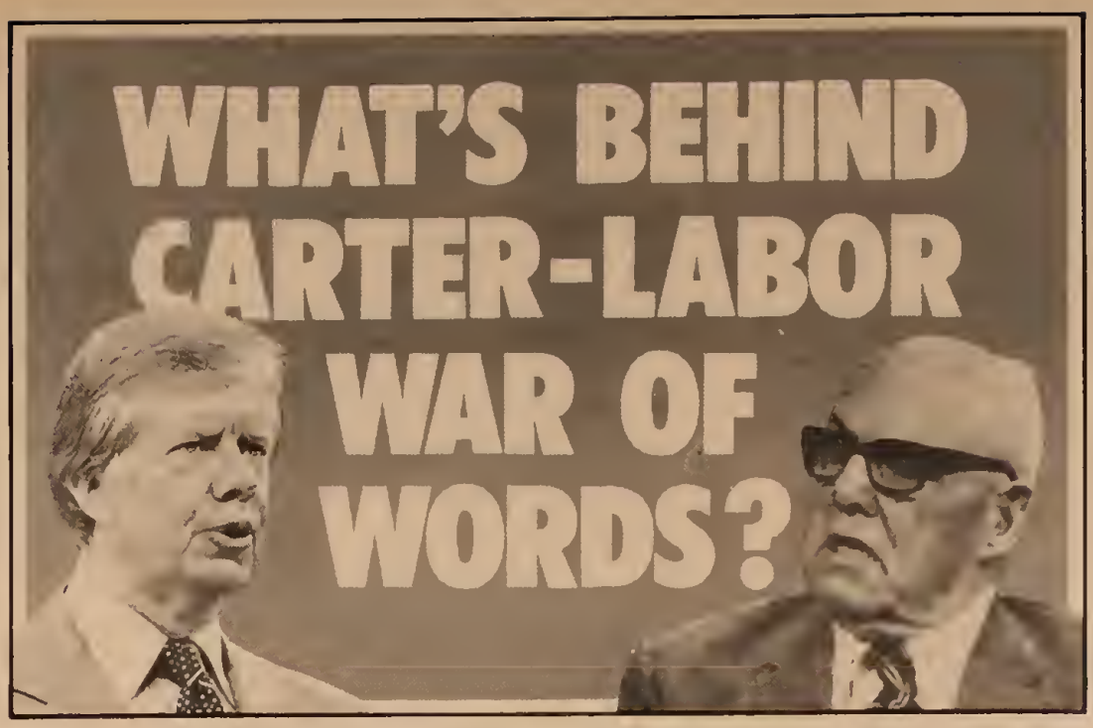
Notwithstanding our serious political differences with all factions of the Iranian Students Association (ISA) and despite the unclarity surrounding responsibility for the theater fire in Abadan, the Spartacist League stands unconditionally for the defense of the anti-shah demonstrators against the bourgeois state.

The government has responded to the incident with a vicious redbaiting witchhunt of the ISA, whipping up public hysteria by attempting to link the Iranian students with at least four different "terrorist" organizations, including the West German Red Army Faction (known in the bourgeois press as the "Baader-Meinhof Gang"). The hired killers of the FBI have already announced an "investigation" of the ISA to determine if there are "international terrorists" within its ranks who may have been responsible for violence at the September 1 demonstration!

This grotesque attempt to use a cop riot as a pretext for the harassment and victimization of leftists cannot be tolerated! The Spartacist League fully solidarizes with the ISA's demands for the immediate release of remaining prisoners, dismissal of all charges against them and the payment of all medical fees for cop-inflicted injuries. If these outrageous charges are upheld in court, it could well be the first step toward deportation proceedings for anti-shah militants, which would result in their likely torture and possible death at the blood-drenched hands of the shah's SAVAK executioners.

Drop All Charges Against the Demonstrators! Down with the International Terrorist Organizations of the Bourgeoisie: the SAVAK and the FBI/CIA! ■

WHAT'S BEHIND CARTER-LABOR WAR OF WORDS?



The idea of class war is generally regarded as something connected with the *Communist Manifesto*, Bolshevism and other things alien to "the American way of life." Thus, it caused a hit of a flap last summer when a respectable trade-union leader, Douglas Fraser of the United Auto Workers (UAW), accused the leaders of big business of waging "a one-sided class war in this country a war against working people, the unemployed, the poor, the minorities, the very young and the very old, and even many in the middle-class of our society" (*UAW Washington Report*, 24 July).

This denunciation was made in his resignation statement from the presidential advisory Labor-Management Group. Of course, no one believes that this cynical trade-union bureaucrat has suddenly become radicalized and hostile to capitalism. No, Fraser is simply piqued with Carter and the Democratic Congress and chose strong and vaguely socialistic language in order to catch headlines

Significantly, that crusty old reactionary boss of all labor bosses, George Meany, backed Fraser up. Commenting on the UAW leader's "class war" statement, Meany's executive assistant, Thomas Donahue, said:

> "Call it a class struggle, call it corporate power versus the people, call it the establishment overall We're the workers who want a bigger share of what they have, and they don't want to give it up."
>
> *New York Times*, 30 July

And then Meany himself turned the heat up under Carter when in an almost unprecedented act he criticized the tentative postal settlement and predicted the ranks would vote it down. At this, Carter reportedly went through the roof. His secretary of labor, Ray Marshall, denounced the AFL-CIO chief for fomenting inflationary wage settlements. These heated exchanges caused *Newsweek* (21 August) to observe: "It was the sharpest breach between a Democratic President and organized labor since World War II."

It is perfectly understandable that the labor tops are fed up and infuriated with Carter, especially since their support probably gave him his narrow victory over Ford. All of labor's "must" legislation a $3 minimum wage, common situs picketing, the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment bill, labor law reform, national health insurance has been decisively defeated by an overwhelmingly Democratic Congress. In some cases, such as the minimum wage and national health insurance, Carter himself shot down the AFL-CIO program

But it is not only in legislative matters that Carter has kicked the labor bureaucracy in the teeth. The Carter administration is trying to eliminate the practice of union scale in work done under federal government contracts. To add insult to injury, the head of Carter's Council on Wage and Price Stability, the young wise-ass economist Barry Bosworth, is going around telling employers to take a hard line in wage settlements. More ominously, there is now much talk of Carter instituting "voluntary" wage-price guidelines.

WV Photo

Strike pickets in front of New York Post Office.

Putting the Liberal Coalition Together Again?

So if the labor tops are finally reacting to Carter's right-wing economic policies, what do they intend to do about it? Fraser is calling for a meeting of labor, civil rights, environmentalist, women's and other "progressive" groups to counter the "new right." This is clearly a call to re-establish the old Rooseveltian coalition, which the labor bureaucracy did much to destroy in the 1960's. But however much Fraser and Meany are angry at Carter and even at the majority of Democratic politicians, the present labor bureaucracy cannot and will not put back together the labor/minorities/middle class liberal coalition.

Against the background of the Great Depression, the organization of mass industrial unions and a broad political radicalization, FDR put together an alliance which made the Democrats the dominant party for the next three decades. However, in the 1960's the component parts of the liberal coalition ripped apart and turned savagely against one another The old Rooseveltian alliance was destroyed centrally over two issues: Vietnam and black equality

Faced with a long, bloody and *losing* colonial war, first the liberals and then a majority of the U.S. ruling class became defeatist, that is, opted for withdrawal. Yet the fanatically anti-communist central trade-union leadership, under George Meany, remained one of the last bastions of bitter-end Vietnam hawks. In some ways the black question was even more destructive to the liberal/labor alliance than Vietnam. When the civil rights movement "moved north" in the mid-1960's, it encountered a race-caste system in unionized industry, not only in the labor-aristocratic job-trustified construction trades but also in "progressive" unions like the UAW.

These deep rifts in the Democratic Party hawks versus doves, labor officials versus black spokesmen—were largely responsible for Nixon's electoral victories in 1968 and again in 1972. Then along came Jimmy Carter to provide the momentary illusion of a reunited Democratic Party. Although well right of center in the Democratic Party (he nominated Henry Jackson at the 1972 convention), the Georgia governor had the advantage of not being centrally involved in the bitter faction fights of the late 1960's-early 1970's. Trade-union and black leaders could dupe themselves into believing that this "New South" millionaire-politician (Lester Maddox's protégé) would pursue liberal policies in the White House, and Carter encouraged such comforting illusions.

Once Carter was elected, the American people wanted to think the best of him. So he did well in the opinion polls in his first months in office. But in near record time all major sections of American society have turned against the man in the White House. Not one important constituency stands solidly behind Carter. And all his opponents smell the blood of a one-term president.

If Carter is now on the outs with the basic constituencies of Democratic Party liberalism, he is also increasingly unpopular with the forces of bourgeois conservatism. The homeowners' "tax revolt," with its spectacular victory in California's Prop 13, is essentially a right-wing Republican campaign which can only damage Carter and the Democrats. And to top it off, Wall Street is appalled that Carter has let the dollar fall right through the floor 30 percent against the Japanese yen and 15 percent against the West German mark in the past year (see "Behind the Dollar Crisis," *WV* No. 204, 5 May).

The root cause of Carter's near-universal unpopularity is the continuing troubled state of the U.S economy. Although a stop-go recovery from the 1974-75 depression has continued under Carter, the unemployment rate is still significantly higher than in the early 1970's. And this recovery in particular has brought to the fore the racist nature of American society. The unemployment rate for blacks has been consistently twice as high as the national average, and at present the jobless rate for black teenagers is 37 percent (U.S. Department of Labor *News*, 4 August)!

A more immediate cause of mass dissatisfaction with the Carter administration is inflation. In Ford's last year in office the inflation rate was slightly under 6 percent; in the first half of this year consumer prices have gone up more than 10 percent at an annual rate! Real wages have fallen sharply since last winter. Although total national income is now higher, the average real take-home pay for a worker with three dependents is today 3.5 percent lower than in 1974 (U.S. Department of Labor *News*, 28 July).

The "Tax Revolt" and Public Employee Strikes

The present attacks on Carter's economic policies from both organized labor and the suburbanite "tax revolters," though from opposite directions, center on government expenditure. For the moment one of the key economic contradictions of American capitalism lies in the relationship of the state sector to the rest of the economy. Perhaps the most important change in the structure of the American economy since World War II has been the enormous expansion of the state sector relative to private capital. Between 1950 and 1976 the labor force in private industry (manufacturing, construction, mining) increased from 18.4 to 23.4 million or 27 percent; in the same period the number of government employees increased *more than two and a half times* going from 6.0 to 15.9 million (*Economic Report of the President, 1978*).

For several years now the American ruling class has been increasingly upset about what it views as a grossly bloated, parasitic state sector. Demands for a radical redistribution of economic resources from government expenditure to private capital are far from limited to neanderthal right wingers of the Barry Goldwater/Milton Friedman stripe. In the early 1970's the prestigious liberal economic thinktank, Brookings Institute, published an influential study, *Capital Needs of the Seventies* This study concluded that profits were inadequate to generate an acceptable rate of economic growth and recommended that the federal government run a budget *surplus*, channeling the unused tax revenue into private investment. Significantly, one of the authors of the Brookings study was Barry Bosworth, now one of Carter's top economic advisors.

Particularly since the 1974-75 depres-

sion, fiscal austerity has been a major theme of bourgeois politics. And Carter, with his anti-big-government, phony populist campaign, also played this tune. A major Carter campaign pledge was a balanced budget by 1980 *without* new taxes, but by "economizing" on expenditure.

Of course, Carter's "balanced budget by 1980" has gone the way of all his other economic promises. Ford's last budget, for fiscal 1977, was $45 billion in the red; Carter's budget for fiscal 1978 is projected to be $62 billion in deficit (U.S. Office of Management and Budget, *The United States Budget in Brief*, Fiscal Year 1979). A particularly expansionary item in Carter's budget is the one labeled "national defense," which is slated to increase 20 percent in two years.

The brunt of the fiscal austerity drive is hitting state and particularly municipal employees. In the past several years almost every major city has cut the real wages of its workers. Since 1971 the real income of municipal employees in New York City, San Francisco and Atlanta has declined over 20 percent (*New York Times*, 7 June 1978)! In addition, according to Charles Brown, spokesman for the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), in the past decade half a million public employee jobs have been contracted out to private firms, largely non-union.

Now facing even stronger attacks due to the "tax revolt," public employees are fighting back. The past few months have seen transit workers wildcat in Washington, D.C., garbagemen walk out in Detroit, firemen strike in Memphis, Louisville, Wichita and Manchester, New Hampshire. At the beginning of the school year teachers' strikes broke out in a dozen states and are continuing in Ohio (Cleveland) and Connecticut (Bridgeport). This country is in the midst of a strike wave concentrated among city workers but by no means limited to them. Between January and June the number of strikes beginning in the month jumped from 185 to 545 (U.S. Department of Labor, *News*, 31 July).

The present strike wave is in part inspired by the long, militant coal miners' strike last winter. In terms of what the miners won, the strike settlement must be judged a qualified defeat. But to workers throughout the country, the miners' strike set an inspiring example of militancy. They saw the UMWA ranks stay out 110 days, beat back massive scabbing, defy a presidential Taft-Hartley injunction and finally settle for a 37 percent wage and benefit increase over the three-year contract. (The coal strike was not actually over wages, but over defense of the right of locals to strike during the contract. In order to attract workers to this booming industry, the coal operators offered a money package of over 30 percent even before the strike began.)

The 37 percent the miners won is not only far greater than what most employers are offering, it is also far greater than most union bureaucrats are even asking for. When a postal worker looks at the coal settlement, he asks himself, "Why the hell should I accept *half* of that?" The answer is: don't accept it — strike!

The Bureaucracy Against Unionization

While Fraser/Meany's sharp criticisms of Carter coincide with a growing strike wave, the union tops are not primarily responding to pressure from below. They are upset about their lack of political influence given a Democratic president and congress. Fraser made an interesting comparison between the status of the West European labor leaders and their American counterparts. Although the West European unions are socialist-oriented, he said, "they [the West European labor leaders] get treated in a more civil manner over there than we do over here" (*Business Week*, 14 August).

Compared to the 1973-74 British miners' strike (which broke the Tories' wage control policy and brought down the government) and Italy's "hot autumn" of 1969 (which won a 100 percent cost-of-living escalator for all unionized workers), organized labor in the U.S. has caused little trouble for the capitalist class in the past few decades. The American ruling class, including the top Democratic politicians, are not so much hostile toward the union movement as contemptuous of it. The Carters and Rockefellers believe that Meany/Fraser are not only unwilling to engage in serious class struggle but are incapable of doing so. Some Democratic politicians still find the union machines useful in electioneering. But the bureaucrats can no longer turn out their members' votes as they used to.

The extreme conservatism of the Meanyite/Reutherite bureaucracy has damaged the unions at the most basic economic level — the organization of the labor force. The unionized section of the labor force peaked in 1954 at 35 percent and has been steadily declining ever since, reaching a new low of 26 percent in 1976 (U.S. Department of Labor, *Handbook of Labor Statistics, 1975*; U.S. Department of Commerce, *Statistical Yearbook of the United States, 1977*). AFL-CIO membership is now actually 200,000 less than it was in 1975, a depression year!

Since 1950 there has been a massive transfer of unionized industry from the Northeast and Midwest to the "open shop" South and Southwest. Important union towns like Cleveland and Akron are becoming industrial burnt-over areas, with a growing population of closed-down factories. Almost all the industrial giants that have arisen since World War II (e.g., IBM, Texas Instruments) are non-union.

Yet the unions' present strategic positions should give the labor movement a powerful weapon in any organizing drive. Almost all important non-union products are transported by Teamsters or unionized railwaymen, and most are also processed and distributed by unionized workers. What is needed to organize the "right to work" South/Southwest is the systematic use of secondary labor boycotts *in defiance of Taft-Hartley*. But the cowardly, legalistic bureaucracy is afraid to confront the capitalist state in this life-and-death question. Thus, the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers spends millions trying to organize J.P. Stevens, Burlington and the other Southern textile magnates, while every day its own members cut and sew non-union cloth!

What the Meanys and Frasers fear above all else is that a massive unionization drive against hardened capitalist resistance would radicalize the workers. The Carolinas or Texas cannot be unionized through routine, peaceful actions against individual employers. Organizing Southern textiles, for example, would certainly involve union defense squads going up against the cops, National Guardsmen and Klansmen. This would be real class war, not just talk. And this kind of class war would shake up trade unionists throughout the country, not only those workers directly involved. Imagine the impact in Detroit if the South Carolina National Guard attacked a group of black and white textile or rubber workers in an organizing strike.

The present (old) union bureaucrats remember the 1930's. They know that the violent class battles which built the industrial unions — the 1934 San Francisco and Minneapolis general strikes, the 1936 Flint sitdown, the bloody defeats in Little Steel in 1937, the final assault on Ford Dearborn in 1941 — had an enormously radicalizing effect on the working class. A generation of young militants, usually affiliated with left-wing organizations, came to the fore and led the new unions. Through its role in the early CIO, the Stalinist Communist Party became a major force in the labor movement. Many of today's top bureaucrats, particularly in the more left-wing CIO unions like the UAW, won their spurs by purging the reds in the early Cold War years.

The top union leaders are pathologically afraid of radicals mobilizing the ranks against them. Members of left-wing organizations are not numerous in the unions today and, in good part because of their own opportunism, pose no immediate threat to the entrenched bureaucratic machines. Yet the bureaucrats react to any and every opposition by fulminating against the "communist conspiracy."

The bureaucrats sense that the membership, especially younger workers and blacks, are deeply alienated from and potentially hostile to them. They fear that any serious level of class struggle would quickly radicalize the ranks and they would be thrown out by an angry explosion from below.

WV Photo

AP

Striking miners protested government strike-breaking efforts as state troopers escorted scab coal haulers.

The Bureaucracy Against the Blacks

If the bureaucracy has seriously weakened the objective economic leverage of the unions, its undermining of internal working-class solidarity is an even greater crime. The Meanyite/Reutherite machines have created a situation where the black people, including a large section of its proletarian component, view organized labor as a pillar of an oppressive white society.

As long as racism was mainly identified with legal, institutionalized segregation in the South, it was cheap and easy for union leaders to pose as champions of black equality. But when the civil rights agitation shifted to the North in the mid-1960's, the labor officialdom found itself under attack for defending a de facto segregated system. Unionized industry is run along race-caste lines with blacks concentrated in the worst-paying, hardest, dirtiest jobs, while the skilled trades are overwhelmingly white. This condition is maintained by racially biased hiring, training, upgrading and seniority practices.

A genuine class-struggle leadership of the trade unions would have fought for all it was worth to eliminate racism in the shops. It would have instituted plant-wide seniority in place of departmental progression, thus removing the worst racist inequities of the present seniority system. It would have engaged in preferential recruitment of blacks and special training programs within the framework of a union hiring hall. In short, a class-struggle labor leadership would and must be the best defenders of specially-oppressed black workers and of the democratic rights of the black people in general.

Instead Meany, Reuther, Abel & Co. defended the racist status quo, often acting in concert with the employers. So in the late 1960's black leaders and their white liberal and leftist supporters turned sharply against the labor officialdom. They demanded the government eliminate racial discrimination in industry, if necessary taking legal, forcible action against the unions. Given their liberal and/or ethnic communalist political outlook, black activists natu-

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AFL-CIO

Meany welcomes peanut boss Carter to AFL-CIO meeting in May.

Carter-Labor...

(continued from page 7)

rally did not regard the American state as an instrument of *capitalist class domination*. Rather they saw in it a potential agency for social justice. Black activists and liberal reformers came to view trade-union independence as something akin to "states' rights," a doctrine designed to keep blacks down.

For bourgeois politicians "affirmative action" is a perfect divide-and-rule policy. These tokenistic gestures placate discontented blacks, while at the same time weakening and discrediting the workers movement. The ruling class advocates of "affirmative action" in unionized industry are far from limited to liberals, who normally try to stay on the good side of the black constituency. Richard Nixon, whom nobody would call a supporter of black equality, advocated "affirmative action," notably the 1969 Philadelphia Plan for the building trades.

"Affirmative action" is a dagger in the heart of the workers movement, and not only because it empowers the government to throw out and rewrite union-negotiated contracts. "Affirmative action" is designed to divide the working class from within. Black workers now look to the capitalist state—even under a Nixon or Ford—to eliminate racial oppression at the point of production.

Because the present labor bureaucracy is organically tied to the racist status quo in industry, it cannot gain the political confidence of black workers. Any talk about reviving the labor/black/liberal coalition of yesteryear is just that—talk. Carter can easily sabotage any attempt by Fraser, not to speak of Meany, to bloc with the NAACP/Urban League in order to pressure the Democrats to the left. All Carter has to do is make noises about pushing "affirmative action" in the UAW skilled trades, and the black leaders will once again turn sharply against the labor tops and line up four-square behind the Justice Department.

A trade-union leadership which defends the racist status quo will remain politically impotent. If the labor movement is not itself the best defender of black equality, bourgeois politicians, even notorious right-wingers like Nixon, can always exploit racial divisions within the working class.

Oust the Bureaucrats! Not Ted Kennedy, But a Workers Party!

The labor bureaucracy would not have to grin and bear Carter *if* some liberal Democratic politician were willing to stand against the president. But this is a big "if." The Democratic Party would rather not dump Carter in 1980. This would mean a messy fight, tearing open old wounds and inflicting new ones. Still, Carter might just be inept enough to pressure Ted Kennedy into coming forward as the liberal great white hope four years earlier than he would have liked to.

While the bureaucrats are waiting and hoping for Kennedy to commit himself or Carter to become more conciliatory, some of them may indulge in a certain amount of left talk. In a July 19 press conference following his resignation from the Labor-Management Group, Fraser raised the vague threat of a labor party if the Democratic leadership didn't mend its ways:

> "And for the first time in years our people are raising the question 'Is this coalition that we have with the Democratic Party, is it futile? And if it is, should we start rethinking the old question of a Labor Party?'
> "Well, I don't think we're there yet, really."

This kind of vague labor party talk has become a standard ploy for union bureaucrats who are opposed to the head of the Democratic Party, but don't yet openly want to support his opponent. In this regard, it is instructive to look at the last time union leaders talked about a labor party. This was at the 1972 Democratic convention. The Meanyite machine went all out in support of "the senator from Boeing," Henry Jackson. Meany and his cohorts were infuriated and disgusted with McGovern's victory, believing the Democratic Party had somehow been captured by radicals, punkos and hippies. In the presidential election the central labor bureaucracy adopted a pro-Nixon neutrality.

However, in order to show their displeasure with the Democrats without openly embracing the Republicans, these hard-line pro-war bureaucrats also made a few labor party noises. An unnamed AFL-CIO official leaked to the press:

> "I have heard union presidents here who have never in years talked of anything but support of the Democratic Party saying now is the time to have a labor party."
>
> *New York Times*, 12 July 1972

In response to a leading question by the "labor party" cretins of the pseudo-Trotskyist Workers League (WL), Steelworkers head I.W. Abel (who made the seconding speech for Henry Jackson) said, "I think we have just about reached the point to have a labor party" (*Bulletin*, 24 July 1972). In 1972 the Meanyites thus identified the idea of a labor party with extreme imperialist militarism.

Although the present labor bureaucracy always presents the idea of a labor party in a hypocritical or even outright reactionary manner, that they mention it at all indicates the American working class, despite its political backwardness, does not regard the Democratic Party as its own. Most workers view the Republicans as the party of big business, while believing the Democrats *can* serve the interests of organized labor. They regard the trade unions as "their" organizations in a sense in which they do not so regard the Democratic Party. This distinction expresses an embryonic sense of class consciousness in the political field.

Since the rise of mass industrial unions in the late 1930's, revolutionary Marxists (i.e., Trotskyists) have considered the labor party demand a legitimate and important tactic. The need for such a tactic arises from the vast disproportion in forces between the revolutionary vanguard and the trade unions. A revolutionary propaganda league numbering in the hundreds cannot present itself to the American working class as a credible alternative to the Democratic Party; the AFL-CIO can. But revolutionaries do *not* call upon the present committed pro-capitalist bureaucracy, whom militant, class-conscious workers hate, to build a labor party which would fight for working-class interests and ultimately power.

Of course, no one believes that Meany, Fraser & Co. are actually going to break with the Democrats and set up a labor party—well, almost no one. The bizarre WL sect, led from Britain by Gerry Healy, claims the present union officialdom will build a labor party or can be pressured into doing so. The WL's *Bulletin* (21 July) blew up Fraser's vague, guarded labor party remarks as an expression of mass pressure from below:

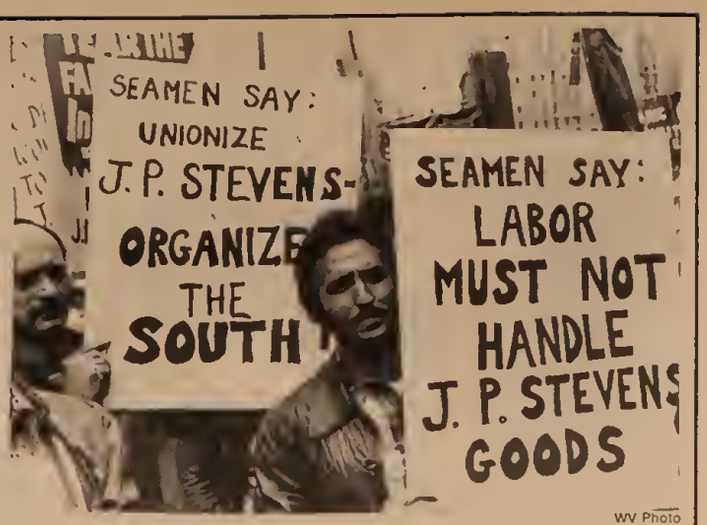
> "United Auto Workers president Douglas Fraser admitted that pressure was mounting in the ranks of his union and throughout the labor movement for a break with the Carter administration and the Democratic Party and for the formation of an independent Labor Party."

In 1972 the WL was also ecstatic about I.W. Abel's mention of a labor party, whose basic aim would have been to bomb Vietnam back into the stone age. The American Healyites' attitude toward the labor bureaucracy on this question resembles the famous dog trained by the Russian psychologist Ivan Pavlov. Whenever some big labor faker mentions the four syllables "labor party," the WL starts salivating and wagging its tail in expectation.

The Workers League's perpetual campaign for George Meany to build a labor party (no doubt with Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn as his would-be secretary of state) has become a joke in the American left. However, the Healyites' caricature of the labor party demand highlights the difference between a revolutionary and an opportunist use of this tactic. Revolutionaries demand that an independent party based on the trade unions fight for proletarian class power, i.e., a workers government. We do not call for a workers party based on the unions with a reformist program like the British Labour Party; much less do we call for one based on the fanatical anti-communism and national chauvinism of the Meanyite bureaucracy.

During the 1972 presidential elections, we wrote an article which dealt extensively with the labor party question ("The Only Choice: Build a Workers Party!" *WV* No. 13, November 1972). Today, when the working class is engaged in greater economic struggles than in the past few years, when the Democratic Party leadership is openly contemptuous of organized labor, the conclusion of that article retains its full force:

> "The rising line of working-class discontent can sweep the entrenched bureaucracy from office, but in the absence of a powerful and fully class-conscious leadership it may do so only to replace the discredited Cold Warriors with a slicker version of the same, armed with social-democratic rhetoric for duping the class instead of with the old lead pipes. Those who would pose a labor party demand stripped in advance of its revolutionary transitional program, in alliance with the labor bureaucracy instead of over the political corpses of the Meanys and Woodcocks [Fraser's predecessor as UAW president], would doom the working class to an illusory victory in the consolidation of a new 'progressive' facade for the more effective continuation of the same class treason."



WV Photo

IMPOTENT LEGALISM OR CLASS STRUGGLE: WHAT PROGRAM TO ORGANIZE SOUTHERN TEXTILE WORKERS?
On September 14 a rally sponsored by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union was held in New York's garment district to boost the consumer boycott of J.P. Stevens products. The union bureaucrats, black preachers and right-wing social democrats who spoke at the rally offered only the moral pressure tactics which for more than a decade have proved ineffective in organizing the mills of the southern textile giant. Seamen of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union, however, had an answer. Their signs called for putting the weight of the entire labor movement behind the struggle of southern textile workers for union wages and benefits—by "hot-cargoing" (refusing to handle) J.P. Stevens products.

Iran...

(continued from page 5)

factories and had to be suppressed by armed tribesmen.

In parts of the north, the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Iran, organized by the Tudeh party, and its workers militia held sole administrative and judicial authority, collecting taxes, issuing travel permits, etc. Factories were taken over in Mazanderan, and armed strikers clashed with troops in the streets of Teheran. A bloody struggle was waged against the British oil companies in the southwestern province of Khuzistan. The working class, although armed and independently organized, lacked the revolutionary vanguard party which could lead them to victory. The Tudeh broke the 1946 oil strike in return for three cabinet positions. Again and again the Stalinists betrayed the struggles of the Iranian masses on behalf of the diplomatic maneuvers of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

Today Iran's working class has just begun to re-enter the battle. Throughout the 1960's a number of militant but scattered strikes were waged, but the veterans of the struggles of the 1940's and 1950's had been largely decimated and a new generation of proletarians had flowed into the factories from the villages. Under the leadership of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party this proletariat, which confronts the vicious repression of the shah's dictatorship in its struggle for the most elementary demands, can bring into play its social power at the head of the other oppressed strata of Iranian society.

The Moscow and Peking Stalinists' support to the Muslim religious leaders serves only to tie the Iranian masses to treacherous class enemies. In contrast, revolutionary Trotskyism advances a program which can rip sections of the petty bourgeoisie away from its Islamic leadership: Smash the butcher shah with workers revolution! For a revolutionary democratic constituent assembly based on universal suffrage! Smash SAVAK! Land to the tiller! Only the victorious proletariat can guarantee these demands by sweeping away the social bases of the Pahlavi autocracy *and* of the ulema's religious obscurantism, thus breaking Iran from imperialist domination. For a workers and peasants government! ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE FORUM
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Speaker: JOSEPH SEYMOUR
Spartacist League Central Committee
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For more information (212) 925-5665
NEW YORK CITY

Spartacist Candidate...

(continued from page 12)

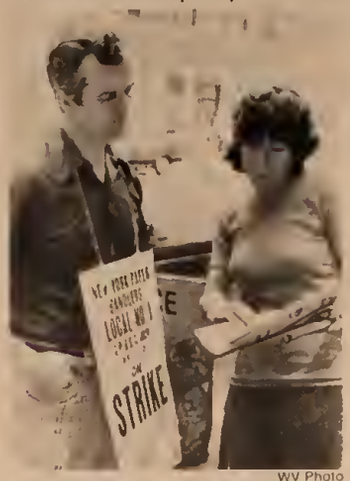
are closed while entire blocks rot and then burn up, subway service is cut back while its cost is raised again and again. The human cost of capitalist decay is appalling. Jobless youth hang out in the doorways of broken-down buildings on streets where survival often means crime. Killer cops terrorize the ghettos, shooting first and asking questions later. Old people live in poverty and constant fear of lumpen violence.

Meanwhile, the city's communities, long governed according to traditional ethnic Democratic Party politics, sporadically explode in bouts of organized race hate. The recent Crown Heights confrontation between blacks and Hasidic Jews is a bizarre eruption of the racial hostility which underlies New York's social life. Such grotesque outbursts increase as the potential for a class-based fight is derailed into race battles by "community control" reformists and pork-barrel Democratic hacks.

As New York perceptibly slides into barbarism, it still remains the center of U.S. finance capital. The guardians of imperialist interest cannot afford to let the city go down the drain just to please reactionary nativists to whom New York represents the dominion of Jews, Italians, foreigners, sex "deviants" and "welfare chiselers." But while local politicians cloyingly proclaim "I Love New York" and promise to keep the city functional for the businesses and banks, they offer the city's desperate masses nothing but belt-tightening admonitions and racist "war on crime" rhetoric.

It is not that the politicians do not want to make false promises to the people (such is the liberals' stock-in-trade), but rather that the emptiness of the usual false promises is obvious to all. Who could really believe Jimmy Carter when he stands atop the rubble that is the South Bronx and mouths born-again baloney about a New York renaissance? The city's problems are so immense and interconnected that liberal lies and reformist illusions ring hollow.

How can anyone talk about decent health care, mass transit, housing, sanitation, etc. without posing a fight to expropriate the banks which are bleeding the city white with their billion-dollar debt service? What prospect can there be for quality education for ghetto youth when there are no jobs to offer them after graduation? Isn't it obvious that elementary rights—like the right to walk around at night without fear—would require a cataclysmic social transformation? A principled socialist



WV Photo

Marjorie Stamberg campaigns.

campaign can make more sense to thoughtful working people in besieged New York than the politicians' cynical promises of too little too late.

Mobilize NYC Labor—Break with the Democrats!

New York has long been a Democratic town. The Democratic primaries are the elections that count; "fusion" candidates like former Republican mayor John Lindsay can win only through the support of the Reform Democratic clubs. The Democrats administer the city on behalf of the banks, whose program is to drive the unions into the ground. And their loyal flunkies, the labor "statesmen," cheer them on and deflect the union ranks from struggle.

But if New York is a Democratic fiefdom poisoned by explosive ethnic politics, it is still a union town. And that crucial fact is at the heart of the Spartacist program. In this city which has been led past the brink of disaster by Democratic reformers and their union bureaucrat accomplices, the Spartacist candidate is running against the Democrats on a platform of class struggle: dump the labor bureaucrats who tie workers to the party of capital, build a political party of labor based on the unions to fight for a workers government!

Only a combative New York labor movement can hold ground against the banks' assault. The Spartacist campaign stands for the mobilization of city labor for a working-class fight on behalf of all the oppressed and exploited, a fight that can cut through the ethnic divisions which pit working people against one another and cripple the potential for united militant action against the banks.

New York's powerful labor movement has been paralyzed by the reactionary, job-trusting trade-union bureaucracy. The bureaucrats' indifference to the plight of the masses has led directly to counterposition along racial lines between unionized workers and other strata of the working people. The bureaucrats' criminal passivity in the face of the "fiscal crisis" abetted Big MAC as it slashed jobs, froze wages and extorted the unions' pension funds.

If the unions' Gothaums, Shankers and Guinans really represented the interests of city workers, they could unite the city's working population behind the leadership of the working class. The 1975 "fiscal crisis" cried out for a citywide strike to beat back the banks' assault on the living standards of New Yorkers. Such a strike could have been broadly popular among sections of the middle class and black and Spanish-speaking poor who generally view themselves as competing with unionized workers for a share of "the pie." For as the banks waged war on the unions, they also attacked the masses—cutting welfare, abolishing rent control, destroying the free-tuition city college system, etc. If the labor movement were to mount an effective challenge to the banks' stranglehold over New York City, it could rally the bulk of the population to its side.

Our Campaign and Theirs

New York, the financial heart of the imperialist world system, provides a good opportunity for a revolutionary internationalist electoral campaign. But it's a tough city for reformists with their honey-coated panaceas and inch-at-a-time schemes. Nevertheless the Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) are pushing their usual reformist pablum.

The CP and SWP have nearly identical election slogans. The CP says its candidates stand for "People Before Profits." And the SWP? "Human Needs Before Profits," of course. Both serve up the usual smorgasbord of tax-the-rich fare: one exempts incomes below $25,000, the other below $30,000. But there's not a dime's worth of difference between their programs. Both aim at appealing to the "progressive" liberals to reform the capitalist state. Both redefine socialism as if it were a matter of the capitalist rulers merely adjusting their "priorities" between merciless profit-gouging and "human rights" tokenism. The SWP has even gone so far as to portray its version of the Transitional Program—Trotsky's program to mobilize the working class for the seizure of state power—as if it could be an amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

Only the Spartacist candidate stands forthrightly for the smashing of the capitalist state apparatus and the destruction of the profit system. Her program cannot be won at the polls, but on the battle lines of the class struggle through the fight for revolutionary leadership in the unions.

Down with Big MAC and the EFCB. Wipe Out the Debt—Expropriate the Banks!

Restore Open Admissions. Free Tuition with Living Stipend! Down with the Bakke Decision!

For "30 for 40"—Jobs for All!

Abolish Gun Control Legislation—Disarm the Cops!

Full Democratic Rights for Homosexuals!

Down with Carter's Warmongering Anti-Soviet "Human Rights" Crusade. For Strike Action Against Imperialist Military Adventures!

Oust the Pro-Democratic Party Union Hacks. For a Labor Party to Fight for a Workers Government!

Strike Against Postal Arbitration Ruling!

SEPTEMBER 16—Some 500,000 U.S. postal workers, who have been battling for six weeks to dump the miserable contract that the Carter administration imposed on them, were greeted yesterday by the announcement of the terms of a settlement arrived at under compulsory arbitration. This contract, although it contains some improvements in the wages package, is if anything *worse* than the last management offer, including a major inroad into the vital no-layoffs clause.

The arbitration "award" provides a grand total of $300 in additional wages to be paid out over the life of the agreement, raising the estimated increase in pay from 19 percent to a piddling 21 percent over three years. The contract decreed by special federal mediator James J. Healy also removed the cap on the cost-of-living clause. At the same time, however, Healy grievously assaulted the postal workers' traditional no-layoff clause, requiring newly hired workers to put in *six years* of continuous service before they are protected against layoffs. The no-layoff clause had, in fact, been *maintained intact* in the government's previous offer. Thus while Healy was handing the unions a few more pennies with one hand, with his other hand he was giving a green light to management to accelerate its automation and speedup campaign to slash labor costs by massive cutbacks in the workforce.

The estimated wage hike of 21 percent over three years is vastly lower than the 37 percent increase won by coal miners and the 35 percent recently won by major rail unions. Not coincidentally, Healy's "award" to postal workers lies within the 7.5 percent yearly increase limits that the Carter administration has been trying to impose on unions by "jawboning" and which even conservative labor skate George Meany has balked at.

Postal union leaders responded to this outrageous deal by feigning disappointment, a complete show of hypocrisy. These backs have acted as the lackeys of the government throughout the contract negotiations. The head of every union endorsed the original deal offered by Postmaster General William Bolger and President Carter. Then, after being soundly repudiated by their memberships, they backed the new negotiating procedure proposed by the government, which permitted bargaining only over wages and the no-layoff clause. Not only did they agree to compulsory arbitration of these two issues if they were not resolved within 15 days, but they handed away the just demands of postal workers for a shorter workweek, better safety conditions, an end to speedup and forced overtime, upgrading of part-timers and casuals, and defense of dozens of bulk mail workers fired and facing criminal and civil charges for wildcatting against the contract.

Postal workers are only the latest group of trade unionists to get the shaft under compulsory arbitration, presided over by such blatantly pro-capitalist tools as Healy, a professor of labor relations at the Harvard Business School! While the two-bit reformists on the left are busy proclaiming that the "right to ratify contracts" is the solution to the problems of all trade unionists, the government contemptuously spits on the postal workers' fully justified rejection of the contract, precisely because it knows the postal union leaders are too gutless to undertake any militant action. Labor must rely on its own strength—only the prompt and solid exercise of the *strike weapon* can defeat the Democratic Party government's vicious anti-labor policies!

Predictably, Moe Biller, head of the strategic New York Metro chapter of the American Postal Workers Union (APWU), denounced the arbitration award. The opportunist Biller has all along been sniping at the national APWU leadership from the sidelines, while carefully avoiding any confrontation with the government. Biller and his counterpart in the New York branch of the Letter Carriers, Vince Sombrotto, have consistently refused to call the key New York locals out on strike, repudiating the militant traditions responsible for the success of the 1970 national postal wildcat.

Today Biller is wrangling with national APWU leaders over a new mail ratification vote. Postal workers must place no confidence in any of these labor traitors. They must demand an immediate strike. Joint mass meetings of the unions should be held in every city; strike committees should be elected and picket duty assigned. Shut down the Post Office nationwide! ■

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New Fascist "Bookstore" Opened

UAW Must Drive Out Detroit Nazis!

DETROIT A tiny band of local fascists opened their third "bookstore" here September 3 after being evicted from two previous headquarters. The new black-painted office, its outside walls provocatively emblazoned with slogans like "We bury our competition" and "C'mon inside, it's a gas," immediately provoked community dismay and anger. The racially mixed West Side neighborhood of Poles, Mexicans and blacks has held almost daily demonstrations against the Nazis, the largest drawing over 250 in a neighborhood march led by the Michigan Avenue Community Organization (MACO).

The small clot of Hitler lovers led by one Bill Russell has already proven its terrorist arms. During demonstrations against the fascists' previous headquarters in Brightmoor last spring, the Nazis singled out one black protester for a four-month campaign of terror, including firebombing threats. Finally these scum jumped his 14- and 11-year-old sons in front of their home, knocking out one boy's teeth. The cops' reaction, as usual, was to laugh off the threats and tell the black resident to "get along" with his "neighbors." Finally he pressed charges, but was arrested himself for "misuse of firearms." (After three court appearances and $400 in legal fees the charges were finally dropped last week.)

Community figures like Reverend Stokes of MACO and the local trade-union bureaucracy keep preaching reliance on the cops and courts to take care of the Nazis. But this is the *third* time in less than eight months that the fascists have resurfaced, their morale intact, after cat-and-mouse legalistic maneuvering under police protection. It was only last winter that a young woman was slashed in the thigh by a razor-wielding fascist right in front of a United Auto Workers (UAW) anti-Nazi meeting. How much longer will the fascists be allowed to get away with these bloody provocations?

It is high time that the labor movement takes things into its own hands and drives these would-be mass murderers out of Detroit once and for all! Two militants from UAW Local 600 (River Rouge) have been fighting for this perspective. On September 10 one of them, Matt Prince, raised a motion at the Dearborn Assembly Plant unit meeting:

> "That this unit of Local 600 UAW initiate a mass, labor-centered demonstration in front of the Nazi headquarters within two weeks around the slogan, 'Smash the Detroit Nazi Threat.' We call on the General Council, International and other Detroit-area trade unions, black and other minority organizations and all other anti-Nazi organizations and individuals to mobilize and join us in this demonstration."

As their leaflet pointed out, "We cannot rely on the Mayor [Coleman Young] whose anti-labor record includes his strongarming of the sanitationmen's strike. It's Young's cops who routinely terrorize the black communities and stand guard at the Nazi headquarters." There are over 40,000 auto workers employed at the Cadillac and River Rouge complexes only five minutes from the fascist headquarters. It is these workers, who have both the interest and the power to drive the fascists out, that must be mobilized!

Although this little gang of racist terrorists on the West Side may today look like just a few crazed fanatics, the potential threat of fascism is real. It's no accident that the cops protect *them* and arrest those who fight back against the Nazis—they know that the fascists are ultimately their best allies against the working class and oppressed.

For a working-class mobilization to drive the Nazis out of Detroit! ■

Press Strike...

(continued from page 12)

ing only the drivers—was asked after Murdoch's statement if the other unions would abandon the pressmen. "At this time, absolutely not" was his ominous response. McDonald then scandalously echoed Murdoch's charges against the pressmen: "We want to make sure the issues are trade-union issues and not featherbedding."

Though a special meeting of the Council on September 18 reaffirmed solidarity with the pressmen, what is clearly going on is mounting pressure on the pressmen to be more "reasonable" in the negotiations—or face going it alone. The Council has retained mediator/arbitrator Theodore Kheel, veteran of many newspaper strikes, as an "advisor" to determine, as McDonald put it in another dig at the pressmen, if "both sides" are engaged in "good faith bargaining" and to try to arrange a compromise.

Both McDonald and driver's union head Doug LaChance, who ordered his members to cross the picket lines in June at the *Post*, made clear that their continued support is conditional on the pressmen being more "flexible," i.e., giving up jobs to the rapacious publishers. Kheel is these bureaucrats' front man to help the publishers force a sell-out on the pressmen. The meeting succeeded in getting William Kennedy, president of the pressmen's local, to accept Kheel's presence in future negotiations, something Kennedy had reportedly been resisting.

The publishers, out for blood, have little use for a mediator and have resisted Kheel's role in the talks. But there should be no illusions as to what kind of "compromise" he will try to engineer. His last major settlement, between Local 6 of the International Typographical Union (ITU) and the New York papers in 1974, gave the publishers just what they wanted. In a dispute strikingly similar to the present one, over manning scales, Kheel got the ITU to agree to an 11-year contract which guaranteed current members' jobs in exchange for letting management gut the union through attrition. "Big 6," once the proud powerhouse of ITU militancy and strength, will be a shadow of its former self at the end of the agreement and is already weak and cowering, the only union in the current strike to refuse to back the pressmen out of fear that the publishers might cancel its contract.

But the pressmen need more than the lessons of history and appeals to union solidarity to keep the strike solid. They need a strategy to defeat Murdoch's wooing of the other unions, the impact of which will increase with every payless payday, and to win the support of the news-hungry New York populace. A winning perspective, rather than the prospect of isolation, would be opened up by the launching of a *daily labor newspaper*.

A labor daily, staffed by the strikers at full union scale and financially backed by the New York unions, would be enormously popular with everyone but the publishers and their first cousins putting out the parasitic "interim" papers. It would provide work and income for the reporters (only about 25 percent of whom have found work with the "interim" papers), mailers, drivers, etc., eliminating the threat of defections. A campaign to financially support the paper would draw the rest of the labor movement behind the strike. And a high-quality paper, without the capitalist advertising which is the bulk of the "interim" papers, would be a hit with millions of New Yorkers.

In addition to solidifying and popularizing the strike, a labor daily would really put the screws to the publishers. A union-scale daily would further expose the inherently strike-breaking nature of the parasitic papers, whose "independent" facade was already exploded by revelations of Murdoch's secret bankrolling of an option to buy the *Daily Metro*. Though Murdoch and *Metro* publisher Fred Iseman reversed a staff walkout by canceling the option contract, Murdoch still has a lien on the paper for his "loans," and it is widely rumored that he may attempt to continue the morning paper on a non-union basis, perhaps folding the money-losing *Post*, after the strike.

The publishers have the unified support of New York business and financial interests, backed up by the Democratic mayor Ed Koch and Democratic governor Hugh Carey, both of whom have bemoaned the "chaos" in the city and blamed it on the striking unions instead of the banks who have been bleeding the city dry. The unholy alliance of big business, the capitalist politicians and the publishers is headed by Rupert Murdoch, the sinister multi-millionaire with an empire of nearly 100 newspapers, magazine and T.V. stations in Australia, Britain and the U.S. Murdoch built his fortune in Australia and played a key and pernicious role in backing the toppling of the Labor Party government there in 1975. He went to Britain and bought up papers, fighting the unions and making a specialty of baiting left-wing Labour M.P.'s. He came to the U.S. to expand his holdings and bust a few unions in the process.

Murdoch, his cronies and backers can only be combatted by a solid front of the labor movement. Though five of the nine unions in the Allied Printing Trades Council have now declared strikes against the major dailies, each continues its own separate negotiations. Strike committees in each union must be elected and joint bargaining established—no separate deals, no more *Washington Posts*! Through such a policy the printing workers can win this strike, lay the groundwork for the amalgamation of the separate craft unions into a single industrial union and turn the tide on the arrogant press lords and their union-busting. ■

Strikers picketing offices of Murdoch's Post. WV Photo

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Nicaragua...

(continued from page 3)

Although the army is still holding together, some of the top leaders have seen the handwriting on the wall. Last month an incipient rebellion by unnamed officers was quashed, and at the height of the FSLN-led uprising the commander of the National Guard's counterguerrilla forces, apparently trying to flee the country, died in a plane crash near the Costa Rican border. He was accompanied by an American ex-Green Beret mercenary and a former South Vietnamese officer!

After more than a week of bloody fighting, the National Guard was able to reoccupy the center of León, the second largest city. Journalists described a horrifying scene. Indiscriminate aerial bombardment, typical of an occupying army, had reduced many buildings to rubble and at every street corner there were shallow graves of victims of mass executions by the Guard. According to a UPI dispatch, which passed government censors:

> "A woman crying hysterically yelled, 'Tell your readers what a bunch of sons of whores the National Guard are. They are nothing but killers.... They are killing the youth of our town'....
> "About every 50 feet were swarms of flies buzzing over small scorched areas where the Red Cross had burned bodies to prevent outbreaks of disease....
> "... relatives picked up most of the identified bodies and quickly buried them in backyards to prevent them from rotting under Nicaragua's torrid sun.
> "The bodies of unidentified guerrillas were buried right in the dirt they had left at street intersections where they ripped up paving blocks to build barricades, residents said....
> "Residents said at least 13 people were buried in one block alone."
>
> UPI dispatch, 17 September

Government foot patrols entering the city were preceded by a group of about 30 women and children who were forced to walk in front to prevent the guerrillas from firing. (In Estelí, Guard troops brutally beat priests, then used them as a human shield; during earlier fighting in Matagalpa they had advanced behind the car of a nun who was announcing a "truce" through a megaphone.) The towers of the León cathedral, which contain the remains of leftist Nicaraguan poet Rubén Darío, were also bombed. In the streets more than 100 men were press-ganged at gunpoint into tearing down the rebels' barricades.

Given the primitive armament of the workers and youth who led the fighting, the Guard "victory" is primarily due to superior force. However, in the midst of the battle, on September 13, the FAO opposition front announced a commission to negotiate a ceasefire and "open the way for a democratic provisional government to replace President Anastasio Somoza" (*Washington Post*, 15 September). In particular it was empowered to seek mediation by OAS governments, i.e., by Washington. One of the commission members, Alfonso Robelo, is beaintrusted by the State Department and has been calling, in essence, for a "Somozaist regime without Somoza"—no nationalizations, no reprisals and an agreement with the murderous National Guard.

But the Nicaraguan masses have entered the fight and that changes matters drastically. After years of submitting to endless abuse by this personal army, after atrocities such as the massacre of several hundred peasants by the Guard during 1975-76, and particularly after the wanton savagery of the "mopping-up" operations following the September uprising, the population will not easily put up with a "solution" which leaves these killers in place. In Nicaragua everyone can understand the urgent necessity of dismembering the existing state apparatus, which can only be an instrument of brutal repression of the masses.

After the events of the last two weeks, even if the bourgeois opposition manages to remove Somoza through the "good offices" of Jimmy Carter, a smooth transition to a stable capitalist democracy is highly unlikely. But it is necessary that revolutionaries put forward demands which exacerbate the fundamental class divisions and thus frustrate efforts to "reform" the dictatorship or impose a bourgeois provisional government. Naturally Marxists would unite in action on the barricades with the populist petty-bourgeois FSLN and even with the bourgeois anti-Somoza opposition against the present bloody dictatorship. But we would at all costs fight for the *political independence* of the working class from all capitalist and pro-capitalist forces.

As Trotskyists we fight for the *class* program of the international proletariat. This includes numerous revolutionary democratic demands directed against autocratic and bonapartist rule. Thus we demand not a negotiated pact with liberal capitalist forces but a democratic *constituent assembly*, which could give free expression to the will of the population after decades of silence enforced by the rifle butts of Somoza's hired guns. We also call for *smashing the National Guard* and the formation of a *people's militia based on the workers and peasants organizations*. That is the only way to guarantee against new massacres by these guard dogs of capital.

The proletariat does not follow the maxim of "forgive and forget," of which the priests and other treacherous advocates of "social peace" are so fond. So we call for *people's tribunals* to punish the criminals of the Somoza regime, tribunals staffed not by learned jurists but by the poor who were the victims of the tyranny. We call for *expropriation of the properties of the Somoza family and its accomplices*, but Marxists do not stop there. We must destroy the social bases and the imperialist domination which will give rise to new Somozas. Thus communists demand an *agrarian revolution* distribution of the latifundia to the peasants who work the land and *expropriation of the industry and commerce* of those who profited while the workers and peasants suffered under the yoke of the despot.

The accomplishment of such revolutionary aims requires breaking the political coalition with the "democratic" exploiters and the establishment of a *workers and peasants government* based on the democratic rule of soviets, not on nationalistic bureaucracies as in Cuba, Russia or China. And this requires above all the leadership not of the petty-bourgeois nationalist FSLN but of a *Trotskyist party* fighting for a *Central American Workers Republic* in a *Socialist United States of Latin America*.

Only with such a transitional program can the long-suffering working people of Nicaragua ensure that the "Tacho flies" are not replaced with another tyranny, cloaked in phrases of "human rights" but armed by the same Pentagon. The overthrow of the Somoza dynasty by a popular revolt would be a cause for rejoicing and a spur to revolutionary action throughout the Americas. The Sandinistas' efforts to achieve a negotiated solution are today the main obstacle, possibly leading to civil war as today's "democratic opposition" seeks to repress the armed masses. Don't stop now! ■

Camp David...

(continued from page 1)

supposedly historic occasion, both Begin and Sadat mainly paid tribute to the statesmanship of Carter. With down-home schmaltz Begin effusively thanked Carter: "The president of the United States won the day and peace now celebrates a great victory for the nations of Egypt and Israel and for all mankind." With no less pomposity Sadat lionized Carter for his "spirit and dedication," praying that the Camp David pacts would "usher in a new chapter of history for the Near East."

But in reality Camp David will have less effect on resolving the Near East crisis than on boosting Carter's rating in the Gallup polls. None of the crucial issues was resolved by the two pacts, so that the concessions made by both sides are not binding. In the "framework" for an Egyptian/Israeli peace treaty Begin agreed to negotiate a phased troop withdrawal from the Sinai that would ultimately restore the Sinai to full Egyptian sovereignty. But Begin refused to concede to the Egyptian demand that the thirteen Zionist settlements in the Sinai be vacated.

According to Begin, the question of the fate of the Zionist settlements will be decided by the Israeli Knesset within the next two weeks. So war weary are the masses of Israel that the Knesset just might sacrifice the settlements for the sake of a separate treaty with Egypt. Recent demonstrations numbering in the thousands have been staged in Israel demanding concessions on the settlements. Yet the die-hards in the right-wing Likud coalition are preparing for a showdown in the Knesset. Moshe Arens, a member of Begin's own Herut Party and chairman of the powerful Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, has denounced any concession on the settlements as treason. Thus, Sadat made major concessions agreeing to a separate peace settlement and to the presence of Israeli military forces in the Sinai up to three years after the treaty is signed in return for no hard commitments from the Zionists.

Even if the Sinai pact survives the debate in the Knesset over the settlements, it may well be torpedoed by Arab opposition to Sadat's concessions. Out in the cold as the "sole representative of the Palestinian people," the PLO has begun a campaign to sabotage the Camp David pacts, backed by Syria and the so-called hard-line Arab regimes (Iraq, Libya, Algeria, Yemen) whose intransigence is inversely proportional to their distance from Israel. More significantly, without anything to show for his concessions Sadat is certain to come under mounting criticism at home. Already Egyptian foreign minister Mohammed Ibrahim Kamel has resigned in opposition.

While an Israeli/Egyptian settlement is not entirely inconceivable, the Camp David pact dealing with the West Bank and Gaza Strip is simply a truncated version of Begin's absurd 26-point plan. It does not even address the central issue of Palestinian self-determination (even in the deformed form of a mini-state). It projects a five-year "transition period" during which Israeli occupation forces will make the transition from the streets to their garrisons, while the Jordanian army, the butchers of the Palestinians during the "Black September" uprising, will be encouraged to join in maintaining "security."

Only after an Israeli/Jordanian treaty has been signed would certain unspecified "representatives" of the West Bank Arabs be permitted to express their opinion on the settlement. Not only the PLO but all Palestinians living outside the West Bank and Gaza, including the more than one million Palestinians who comprise the majority of the Jordanian population, would simply be excluded from this settlement.

If the "framework" for the West Bank accepted by Begin has met with approval by diverse elements of the Likud bloc, it is not because it represents a concrete victory for the Zionists. Rather, the "framework" simply buys time. And time is what all Begin's critics want; Begin is an Israeli Humphrey who can well afford to make five-year diplomatic promissory notes, since he won't be around to have to deliver. Instead, the Israeli hawks-turned-doves (like the majority of the recently split Movement for Democratic Change) are now banking on Defense Minister Weitzman that secularized version of Begin who wears Air Force wings instead of a yarmulka.

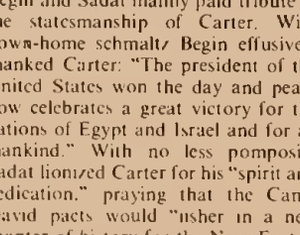
Regardless of whether the "framework" pacts lead to further summit meetings, Camp David clearly signified that U.S. imperialism is moving ever closer to direct military presence in the Near East as every one of its exercises in "shuttle diplomacy" or protracted talk-athons ends in failure.

Even before the Camp David summit was convened Carter, faced with the intransigence of Begin, hinted that the U.S. would consider introducing U.S. military forces into the occupied territories if Israel, which has long been falsely regarded as simply a puppet of Washington by virtually the entire fake left, didn't make concessions. While the Camp David pacts do not mention possible U.S. intervention, the Sinai accord explicitly stipulates that in return for Israeli withdrawal from two air bases in the Sinai the U.S. would build two air bases in the Negev desert of Israel. No doubt these bases would be a cover for U.S. military personnel.

In addition the Camp David pacts allow for the introduction of more United Nations "peace-keeping" forces to implement any treaties negotiated. But experiences since the Korean War have shown that such UN "peace-keeping" forces intervene to safeguard and advance the interests of imperialism. What kind of "peace" would result in the Near East can be judged by the role of the UN forces in Cyprus, in the Sinai before the 1967 war and on the Golan Heights and in southern Lebanon today.

Imperialist military presence, either directly by the U.S. or through border guards for Israel, dressed in UN fatigues, not only represents a continuation of the brutal national oppression of the Palestinian masses and serves to stabilize the rickety regimes in Jordan and Israel; more significantly, it would qualitatively escalate the dangers of a direct U.S./USSR military confrontation in the Near East. If the USSR were to respond to such an American provocation in kind, "human rights" Carter might very likely place the Pentagon on nuclear alert, as Nixon did during the 1973 war in response to the threatened Soviet intervention in the Sinai. Thus, not far behind any U.S./UN military intervention into the Near East is the threat of a third world war.

The duty of the international workers movement is clear. It must oppose any imperialist military intervention in the Near East, whether in the form of Marines who landed in Lebanon in 1958, CIA operatives working hand-in-hand with the Israeli army in the Sinai or the UN "peacekeeping" forces who have proved their mettle from the Congo to southern Lebanon. Peace will come to the Near East only when the Sadats, the Begins and the Assads are overthrown by the revolutionary struggles of the Arab and Hebrew workers and poor peasants. Only in the framework of a soviet federation of the Near East can a just solution to the legitimate national demands of the Palestinian Arabs be ensured while guaranteeing the national rights of the Hebrews. ■



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WORKERS VANGUARD

Socialist Trade-Union Militant Marjorie Stamberg

Spartacist Candidate in New York Elections

NEW YORK CITY, September 16—Spartacist supporters here are campaigning for Marjorie Stamberg, "Spartacist Party" candidate for New York State Assembly in the 64th Assembly District in lower Manhattan. A successful petitioning effort gathered over 3,300 signatures, more than twice the number required by undemocratic election laws to put an independent candidate on the ballot. This campaign is the first electoral intervention by the Spartacist League (SL) since its active support to socialist anti-Vietnam war candidates in the late 1960's.

Stamberg is a 33-year-old former SDS activist, "socialist-feminist" and *Guardian* staff writer who was won to Trotskyism as part of a layer of militants who sought to transcend the bankruptcy of New Leftism. She draws on her nine years as a telephone worker and many years as an activist in an oppositional trade-union caucus. "We will get nothing," she says, "not even the restoration of past gains, unless the labor movement throws off its bureaucratic shackles and really fights for the needs of New York's working people." Stamberg explains the Spartacist campaign as an opportunity to present the program of proletarian revolution with immediacy and concreteness to the working people of New York.

The SL will use its campaign to combat electoralist illusions and explain our Trotskyist program. We will use the campaign as Stamberg would use the office if elected—as a platform from which to rally the workers to the battle lines of the class struggle, to mobilize them in the direction of the revolutionary conquest of state power. A valuable adjunct to the more constant forms of socialist propaganda and agitation, the campaign is a vehicle to gain a hearing from working people at a time of heightened political interest and to expose the parties and candidates who falsely claim to represent the interests of the working masses.

Marjorie Stamberg talking with striking pressmen. WV Photo

Since the "fiscal crisis" of 1975, New York residents have been living with a siege mentality. From Big MAC to the Emergency Financial Control Board (EFCB), the direct assault of the bankers has battered the city. While the Rockefellers hoodoggled billions and cashed in on the municipal bond crisis, jobs were slashed and services cut back to the bone and then some—all in the name of the "public interest" in solving the "fiscal crisis."

So New Yorkers know the hard, bitter taste of real capitalist decay and venality. They can see the city coming apart at the seams: overhead highways collapse in the dirt, firehouses

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Flash

As we go to press, the Board of Elections has informed us that a challenge has been entered against the petitions nominating Spartacist candidate Marjorie Stamberg. The challenger, one Carl Daszkal, a registered Democrat, is not now required to provide us with any information about the specific allegations of the challenge or whether he is acting, for example, on behalf of Democratic candidate William Passannante.

Under the undemocratic election procedures, a Democrat or Republican seeking ballot status for state assembly must furnish the signatures of 500 registered voters, while an independent candidate must obtain *three times* that number. Signatures can then be disqualified on numerous grounds, for example if the person subsequently voted in a primary election.

Having fulfilled these time-consuming requirements by presenting petitions signed by more than 3,300 people, the Spartacist Party now faces this cowardly harassment. And should legal pretexts be found to disqualify the petitions, the Trotskyist campaign faces the prospect of costly appeal litigation.

An independent candidate put forward by a small socialist organization, possessing neither a patronage "machine" nor guaranteed access to the mass media, financed by the contributions of working people, can hardly be expected to outpoll the Democrats. No doubt the fear of losing votes is what impels the venal capitalist politicians to seek to deny the Spartacist Party the chance to make its political case before the voters of the 64th Assembly District. But the real threat to Passannante & Co. is that the Stamberg campaign exposes the bourgeois electoral shell game by giving these people something real to vote for—a candidate who puts forward the program of working-class revolution.

Murdoch Plots to Break NYC Press Strike Front

The New York City newspaper strike, the most important labor battle this city has witnessed for years, is in danger. The city is awash with threats, reports and backroom rumors that the publishers of the struck *Daily News*, the *New York Post* and the *New York Times* will soon attempt to put out a scab paper, perhaps in a matter of days. The unity of the newspaper unions which has so far kept the strike solid is threatened by overtures from the bosses to cooperate with the scab venture and by indications that at least some union chiefs may be willing to sabotage the pressmen, whose fight against a 50 percent cut in their manning scales has spearheaded the strike and is at the core of the dispute.

On Friday, September 15, Rupert Murdoch, the sinister Australian press lord who owns the *Post* and heads the Publishers Association, broke off talks with the pressmen. Murdoch brazenly announced that "We [the publishers] do have plans to publish" a scab paper without the striking pressmen but added that "we are not at the stage yet that we can go ahead with them." Since the publishers could almost certainly produce a non-union paper and get it printed, their real fear is getting it distributed and sustaining the operation in the face of the united opposition of the unions. Spokesmen for both the *Times* and the *News* told the *Wall Street Journal* (18 September) that they had plans to re-open but were "tearful" of the violence which would ensue. The massive picket lines which surrounded the *News* in last June's Guild strike, the burned-out trucks, the eventual refusal of the drivers union to cross the lines—these memories are still fresh in the publishers' minds.

What the publishers want before attempting a scab paper is to split up the solid strike front which has kept the papers closed. When Murdoch broke off the talks with the pressmen, he made an open bid to the other unions for separate meetings to discuss returning to work. Denouncing the pressmen as "completely intractable" and simply out to defend "featherbedding," Murdoch said he hoped that the other unions "will agree with us that they should suffer no further." Thus, the wolf offers to lead the flock home.

This pernicious appeal is having its effect. George McDonald, head of the Allied Printing Trades Council—which includes nine of the ten unions, except-

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 216 6 October 1978

Strike Wave!

Rail Unions: Defy the Government!

In the most dramatic show of union power since last winter's coal strike, and with far more immediate economic impact, railroad workers brought the nation's trains to a screeching halt on September 24. The shock wave sent out by the picket squads which shut down rail yards from Washington, D.C. to Washington State was so great that within hours federal courts were issuing restraining orders. By Friday President Carter had obtained a sweeping injunction under the Railway Labor Act. But it was only the capitulation by their own union leaders which took down the pickets. And even that was not enough to extinguish the unexpected wave of strike action which has swept the country in the last two months. The "miners' fever" so feared by the bosses is still alive.

The two-month-old strike of 4,700 clerks against the Virginia-based Norfolk & Western railroad exploded when the Brotherhood of Railway and Airlines Clerks (BRAC) threw up picket lines at intersection points with 43 other railroads that have been moving scab N&W freight throughout the strike. Thumbing their noses at a flurry of federal court back-to-work injunctions, the pickets spread the next day to 73 rail lines, as BRAC targeted the companies which have been contributing $6 million a week to N&W in a strikebreaking mutual aid pact.

The power of the picket line was immediately felt. Despite desperate attempts by the railways to maintain service with supervisory personnel, an estimated 350,000 railroad workers respected the BRAC picket lines in 42 affected states. Nearly two thirds of the nation's 200,000 miles of railroads, freight shipments and passenger service was tied up. Chicago, the nation's key rail hub, was hardest hit and the Midwest industrial heartland began grinding to a stop. Seventy percent of coal, grain and industrial supplies and parts were stalled and the auto and steel industries immediately felt the squeeze.

With their hands clenched firmly around the bosses' arteries, the strikers were nevertheless ordered back to work by BRAC president Fred Kroll after four days of escalating government threats. On Tuesday, federal courts had responded in knee-jerk fashion to the rail companies' requests for restraining orders prohibiting picketing. But the

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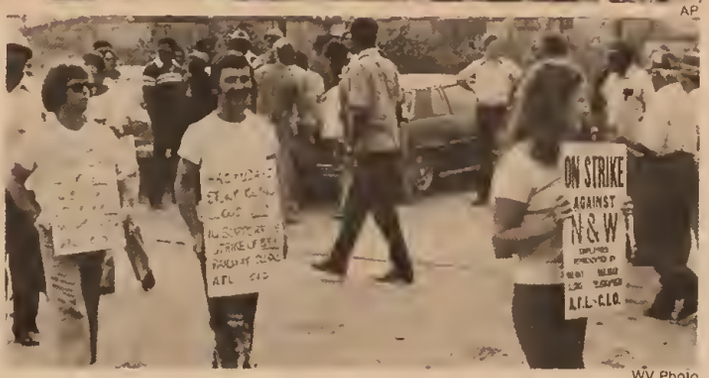

WV Photo

Above: Firemen confront National Guard in Memphis. Below: Striking rail clerks demonstrate in Chicago.

court orders were simply ignored. On Wednesday, Labor Secretary Ray Marshall high handedly decreed a 24-hour deadline to end the dispute. The deadline passed with pickets still spreading. On Thursday, President Carter invoked the Railway Labor Act and ordered the strikers back to work. He, too, was ignored.

On Friday, Justice Department attorneys and lawyers for over 100 railroads finally got U.S. District Judge Aubrey Robinson who the day before had declined their entreaties to issue a temporary restraining order halting the walkout. Still the pickets waited for word from their union leaders. When the word finally came from Kroll to pull down the pickets, it was clear that it was the union's instructions, not the government's, which ended the walkout.

The enthusiasm with which the BRAC strikers dispatched their picket squads and the eager response and solidarity of the other railroad unionists were at least partly inspired by the combative coal miners, whose roving pickets shut down hundreds of scab mines for 110 days last winter, defying state police, National Guardsmen, presidential decrees and court orders. The impact of the miners' militancy is evident not just in the BRAC action, but in the strike wave that has swept across the U.S.

So far it has only slightly involved the key industrial unions, none of which have contract expiration dates this fall. But it is hardly the quiet autumn of labor peace which Carter's economic braintrusters were predicting. It is some of the traditionally most quiescent sectors of the working class, often led by conservative craft union officials, who have been walking out. This undoubtedly expresses a mood of anger and frustration among the ranks, as every one of the recent strikes has been greeted with enthusiasm. And it reflects as well the growing estrangement of the labor bureaucracy from the peanut millionaire they helped put in the White House.

Centered in the public sector, where teachers' and other municipal workers' strikes have hit dozens of cities this fall, the growing number of strikes is by no means limited to government employees. In the Pacific Northwest, pulp and paper workers have been on strike for three months against 12 manufacturers. In California, Teamsters are engaged in a bitter and prolonged strike against the major grocery chains. In the Midwest and South, teachers, firemen and sanitation workers have held center stage, while in New York City, the newspaper unions hit the major city dailies with a solid two-month strike.

In addition, major strikes were only narrowly averted in the key New York Transit Workers Union and the U.S. Postal Service, where contract rejection votes have been frustrated by the incredible cowardice of union leaders afraid to lead their members against the bosses' no-strike laws.

Everywhere the strike movement finds itself confronting stepped-up government strikebreaking. Coal miners and now rail workers are slapped with presidentially ordered back-to-work injunctions. Teachers are locked up in one city after another. California Teamsters see their pickets run down and murdered by scab drivers while the courts ban mass picketing and cops police the picket lines.

This crackdown reflects the Carter administration's escalating offensive against labor. Every one of the labor leadership's pet legislative projects (Humphrey-Hawkins "full employment" bill, Labor Reform Act, common situs picketing) has been slaughtered in Congress. Meanwhile, with Carter's anti-inflation jawboning tactics getting nowhere, the administration is gearing up a drive to impose across-the-board wage guidelines of 7 percent per year. This is less than the current rate of inflation and far less than the double-digit inflation rate most economists are predicting for the next two or three years.

Even the traditionally reliable waterboys in the trade union leadership are now hostile to the White House. Arch-reactionary George Meany has come out against the wage guidelines and liberal Doug Fraser walked off the presidential Labor-Management Advisory Group bemoaning big business' "one-sided class war." Last week William Winpisinger, head of the International Association of Machinists, declared that his union had "written Carter off" and would not support his re-election. The trade-union tops are now looking to promote Ted Kennedy

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Stamberg on Ballot in NYC

NOW: Jimmy Carter's "Ladies' Auxiliary"

SWP Scabs on Railroad Strike

Courts Gag "Free" Press

Ever since the U.S. defeat in Vietnam and Nixon's Watergate debacle there has been a steady stream of disclosures of CIA/FBI skulduggery and murder. The initial response of the American bourgeoisie was to proclaim a new era of "open government," while limiting the damage with a technique which could be termed "cover-up by investigation." Recently the imperialist state has gone over to the offensive in seeking to clamp a lid on embarrassing exposés. The result is a full-scale campaign to bind and gag freedom of the press through court-ordered police raids, jailings and censorship.

Open hunting season on the press was declared May 31 when the U.S. Supreme Court legalized police raids on newspaper offices for purposes of gathering "evidence" of "crimes." The decision, *Zurcher v. Stanford Daily*, produced angry editorials from almost every major bourgeois daily. Significantly, the case grew out of a bloody attack on the left. In 1971 a large Stanford student antiwar demonstration was brutally assaulted by Palo Alto police. In textbook fashion the rampaging cops beat and gassed scores of demonstrators, then arrested their victims. But several days later, in a new twist, the cops picked up a search warrant and burst into the offices of the Stanford student newspaper, ransacking it for evidence with which to bring more prosecutions. When the Supreme Court upheld this procedure, the result was an ominous new weapon in the legal arsenal of state repression.

What terrified the editors of the *New York Times* et al. was not the obvious threat of wholesale repression of the left, but haunting memories of Richard Nixon's vindictive campaign to demolish the loyal capitalist political opposition. The *Times* obliquely recalled the deposed president's "enemies list" of troublesome journalists and liberal personalities: "In this decade, it is hardly fanciful to worry that public officials bent on obstructing justice might invoke such authority malevolently" (*New York Times*, 6 June). Howard K. Smith, ABC-TV's news commentator, was more direct, calling the decision "a police-state action" and "Nazi-like ruling."

Hardly had the editorial outcry died down when a *New York Times* reporter was thrown in jail for refusing to reveal confidential news sources to a New Jersey court involved in a murder trial. On August 5, Myron Farber, whose only "crime" was investigating and reporting a series of killings in a New Jersey hospital, began serving an indefinite sentence for refusing to name names before the court. The *Times* was fined $100,000 outright and $5,000 for each day Farber remained silent, while the judge slapped a $2,000 fine on the reporter personally (*New York Times*, 25 July). Under the arbitrary contempt powers of the court, Farber was never even permitted the opportunity to explain why the information should be withheld.

If the capitalist media felt obligated to

Myron Farber AP

protest the Supreme Court decision against the *Stanford Daily*, they proceeded to make a hero out of Myron Farber. Virtually every major daily coast-to-coast stated its defense of Farber, recognizing that attacking a reporter's right to protect confidential sources threatens to smother any and all investigative reporting. Some, including the *Detroit News*, even offered to assist in the payment of the fines. Twenty-seven days after walking into Bergen County Jail, Farber was freed, but only after he and the *Times* turned over some of their files to the court. Farber still faces a hearing that could return him to jail.

Judicial Persecution of the Press

Myron Farber and the *Stanford Daily* are not isolated victims of overzealous prosecutors. The government campaign of intimidation has advanced across a wide front, causing even the *Wall Street Journal* (23 August) to protest in a major article entitled, "A Judicial War on the Press?" More than 20 reporters nationwide have recently faced the threat of jail for refusing to disclose sources. In addition, in early June the Justice Department won a civil suit to seize royalties received by Frank Snepp, an ex-CIA agent, from publication of one of the many "insider" accounts of secret police skulduggery. The information Snepp has is so safe that even the CIA didn't label it "classified."

Earlier, on May 19, Ronald Humphrey and David Truong were sentenced to 15 years in jail for "spying" for Vietnam. Their "crime" had been to release documents that had been openly reported in Congress! With the espionage convictions of Humphrey and Truong the government won the "right" to use "warrantless wiretaps" whenever it claims the "national security" is endangered.

As in the case of the *Stanford Daily*, the left is frequently the target of these attacks. Since 1972 more than 500 reporters have been ordered before grand juries and courts. Over a dozen actual jailings have occurred. And of these, with perhaps two exceptions, it was either the activities of the left or a muckraking investigation of bourgeois corruption which caused the state to seek reprisal (*New York Times*, 26 July 1978). The practice of subpoenaing reporters began in the mid-1960's with the rise of the New Left, black nationalism and the ghetto explosions. Prosecutors attempting to fabricate criminal charges against left and black militants discovered that reporters' notes could provide them with "evidence." The major 1972 Supreme Court case which blessed this activity grew out of the FBI's murderous Cointelpro campaign to "get" the Black Panthers. Earl Caldwell, a *New York Times* reporter, was subpoenaed to appear before a federal grand jury attempting to frame the Panther leadership on "conspiracy to assassinate the president" charges.

The first major test of a reporter's right to protect sources involved Mark Knops, a journalist for a Wisconsin "underground" newspaper. Knops, in 1970, served by far the longest jail sentence of any reporter—nearly six months—for refusing to disclose the source of a Weatherman "communiqué." And one of the latest subpoenas was served July 6 on Mark Allen, a reporter for the *People's World* (the

"The Supreme Court media style book prefers a semi-colon to a comma after the use of the past pluperfect subjunctive."

West Coast newspaper of the Communist Party). Allen flatly refused to release his notes on a strike against Automatic Plastic Molding, a union-busting employer which is suing the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). Allen had written an article covering a vicious police assault and arrest of striking ILWU members in 1976, as did *Workers Vanguard* (see "Drop Charges Against ILWU Strikers!" *WV* No. 115, 25 June 1976).

Mark Allen has so far avoided jail. Contempt charges have not yet been brought against him. But the obvious threat to the left and labor movements posed by these attacks has not disappeared. By raiding newspapers of organizations they assault, cops can ransack the files for membership lists, internal documents, anything they can find. By forcing disclosure of reporters' confidential sources, the state seeks to turn the press into an investigative arm of the district attorney's office.

It is not as if Jimmy Carter is staging a personal vendetta against the press in the style of Nixon and Agnew. He is simply carrying out his election mandate from the American ruling class. After the disaster of Vietnam and the stench of Watergate, the credibility of the U.S. imperialist state was greatly damaged. Carter cast himself in the role of Mr. Clean, the outsider capable of reestablishing the bourgeoisie's authority for future imperialist adventures. He got the job, and one of his first tasks was to halt the erosion of the secret police apparatus... by stopping the leaks! The government's campaign amounts to an attempt to enact an official secrets act by state repression rather than legislative action. If the legal power doesn't exist to jail Daniel Ellsberg and "Deep Throat," then the press must be intimidated into not publishing what they say.

For the loyal bourgeois media, however, the agreed-upon ends should be reached by other means. If only the excesses of the U.S. spy agencies could be curbed, then America could reassert its claim to be the great defender of democracy. But even "responsible" exposés run head on into the need of the secret police to murder efficiently—that is, in darkness and not in the light.

Unlike some banana republic, in the U.S. the media are not simply a mouthpiece for the government. The press has a certain degree of independence from direct state control, a status it seeks to preserve. Every high school civics book relates the victorious defense of John Peter Zenger, tried for "seditious libel" of a British colonial governor in 1735. The emerging American bourgeoisie even wrote freedom of the press into the Constitution.

However, the relative independence of the U.S. media has its limits—largely self-enforced. If the press sees its role as a "watchdog" it is in terms of the broader "national interests"... of the bourgeoisie. They do not wish the abolition of the secret police; they merely disagree with the choice of victims. Says Myron Farber:

> "I am not a fanatic or absolutist. . . I believe that the First Amendment means what it says about the freedom of the press and that it was annexed to the constitution with full knowledge that an unfettered *but responsible* press was crucial to our nation." [our emphasis]
> —*New York Times*, 25 July 1978

And as "free but responsible" journalists the media have for years willingly indulged in self-censorship. Thus the *Times* refused to publish advance news of the Bay of Pigs invasion, even though it had learned of preparations weeks beforehand, and it selectively printed articles throughout the early years of the Vietnam war to

McElhinney/Newsweek
Frank Snepp

UPI
Daniel Ellsberg

AP
Philip Agee

McElhinney/Newsweek
Daniel Schorr

Mass Graves in Nicaragua

After 14 days of bombings, mortar attacks and street fighting the town of Esteli—the last held by Nicaragua's courageous rebels—was retaken by the National Guard September 22. Dictator Anastasio ("Tacho") Somoza still holds the country in his bloody grip, but managed to smash the popular uprising that has been raging for over a month only through virtual genocide—massacring a whole section of the population. "What remains is hatred," wrote *Le Monde* (27 September). "The prevailing sentiment today, more than sadness in defeat, is a desire for vengeance."

The rising against the hated Somoza regime was sparked by the populist Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), but it was the teenage youth who responded and manned the barricades. To Somoza's National Guard every young man and boy became an enemy of the state, and with a policy of taking no prisoners the Guard methodically went about the mass murder of "los muchachos." "To be young in Nicaragua today is a crime punishable by death," lamented one grief-stricken parent.

What took place in Nicaragua in the last two weeks of September was the biggest bloodbath in Latin America since the Chilean coup of 1973. In a miserable little country of 2.3 million people, more than 4,000 were killed by the patriarch's praetorian guard. Proportionately that would be the equivalent of more than *four hundred thousand* deaths in the U.S. So now the Organization of American States (OAS) is investigating to see if any "violations of human rights" were committed by Somoza's private army!

In Esteli, a town of about 30,000, the Red Cross dug a mass grave for 400-500 persons. Many more deaths are suspected since families were forced to bury their dead in backyards as it was impossible to transport bodies—decomposing in the streets with flocks of vultures descending on them—through the aerial bombardments.

The entire city of León has become a vast cemetery with at least 1,000 known dead (The total population was only 80,000.) The National Guard used the same tactics in León as elsewhere: the majority of deaths resulted not from fighting on the barricades but from house-to-house searches. The army dragged unarmed men and boys as young as 13 into the streets and summarily executed them. In a barricaded slum on the northern edge of the city all residents of a particular block were ordered into the street. Women and girls were marched north while 21 men and boys were herded south for one mile, ordered to dig a shallow grave at the side of the road and then shot.

The mass killing was not even hidden by the Somoza regime. Where other dictatorships would deny such atrocities, Nicaraguan newspapers published grisly photos of decapitated bodies "in order to teach the youth a lesson." The killing has been so wanton and cold-blooded, in fact, that the populace is willing to talk to reporters within earshot of the National Guard. They are so sickened by what they have experienced that they readily risk death rather than continue to silently endure Somoza's terror.

Nicaragua's major cities lie in ruins. Downtown areas have been reduced to rubble by the aerial bombardments and mortar attacks. In the last stages of the siege of Esteli, mass starvation and a malaria outbreak threatened to decimate those who survived the Guard's machine guns. Thousands are fleeing on the highways and into the hills while the entire country is in the throes of economic disaster.

With a temporary "peace of the graveyards" descended on the country, Somoza is now willing to accept the "friendly cooperation" of outside forces. He had previously made it clear that any negotiations must take place "within the constitutional framework"—i.e., he remains determined to complete his term, which doesn't expire until 1981. "Friendly cooperation" refers to the OAS mediating team set up at U.S. initiative to negotiate "an enduring and democratic solution" with the bloody dictator. Publicly Washington is asking only that Somoza clean up his act, but many worried liberals reason that a "second Cuba" can be averted by removing the Nicaraguan strongman.

Naythons/Gamma-Liaison

Red Cross workers burn bodies of victims of street battles.

The bourgeois opposition in Nicaragua is also counting on "friendly cooperation" from Jimmy Carter. The work stoppage begun last August 24 by the Broad Opposition Front (FAO), a coalition of businessmen and labor groups, was called off last week in favor of "mediation with the regime for institution of a stable democracy." The FAO also dropped its earlier insistence that Somoza agree to step down as a precondition to negotiations. But any "deal" with this butcher means trampling on the bodies of Nicaragua's dead. It means protecting the hated National Guard at a time when the survivors are demanding vengeance.

By allying with the opposition businessmen who are appealing to Washington the FSLN hopes it can topple this universally despised despot. But a "stable democracy" which maintains the power of those who only yesterday were Somoza's partners in plunder will not raise the Nicaraguan masses out of their impoverished misery. Only by imposing a workers and peasants government—which would seize the vast properties of the tyrant and his cohorts, expropriate industry and the latifundia, smash the National Guard and punish the Somoza criminals by people's tribunals—can the Nicaraguan working people root out the dictatorship and take charge of their destiny.

No deals with the murderous Somoza clan and their private army—For a revolutionary constituent assembly! No reliance on the treacherous bourgeois opposition and Carter's "human rights" demagogy—Not the petty-bourgeois nationalism of the Sandinista Front, but a Trotskyist party to fight for a Central American workers republic! The blood of the Nicaraguan masses must not have been spilled in vain! ■

Naythons/Gamma-Liaison

Somoza's troops search for rebels in Masaya.

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shore up Johnson's propaganda. When Daniel Schorr in 1976 handed the suppressed and sanitized House Select Committee on Intelligence report to the *Village Voice*—for which act he was very nearly held in contempt of Congress—he did so because his own CBS News would not use the material.

The "free but responsible" journalists have been unwilling to mount a serious defense of the First Amendment. During the 27 days Farber spent in jail the nearly unanimous support he first received was seriously eroded. The *Washington Post* didn't like the case as a constitutional test. Syndicated columnists such as Haynes Johnson, Joseph Kraft and even McGovern-liberal Anthony Lewis felt the case wasn't sufficiently compelling. Meanwhile the *Times* offered to do a deal, proposing to turn over some of Farber's notes to the court. As to the threat of police raids growing out of the Supreme Court's *Stanford Daily* decision, the press responded by supporting a host of bills in Congress that replace cop raids by warrant with cop raids by subpoena (*New York Times*, 14 July)!

Sanctimonious invocations of the First Amendment to the contrary, the press will not be truly free until the bourgeoisie's monopoly of the means of widely disseminating news and opinion is smashed. Throughout the capitalist world the mass media—radio, television and the major daily newspapers—are either under direct state control or overwhelmingly in the hands of powerful press monopolies. The working-class press, lacking the enormous financial resources of the media barons, has to be "content" with a far more restricted audience. Moreover, even where a degree of press freedom is permitted the capitalist state apparatus seeks to control what news is "freely" printed (intimidation of publishers, CIA "disinformation," etc.). To this day state licensing of newspapers exists in France, Italy, Spain and a host of other European countries. In the rare case of a backward capitalist country which has the forms of parliamentary "democracy," the state frequently controls news output by monopolizing the distribution of scarce newsprint. Where legal censorship is not sufficient, the working-class press has periodically been suppressed, either by the state directly or by fascist gangs in the service of capital. During the McCarthyite period in the U.S. the government effectively managed the media by inducing them to carry out anti-red purges through blacklisting and firings.

Marxists resolutely oppose any effort by the capitalist state to interfere with freedom of the press. This bourgeois-democratic right is vital in enabling the workers movement to defend itself against the attacks of capital, and for the revolutionary vanguard to prepare the proletariat for the seizure of power. And where the government attempts to stop leaks of secret police atrocities, the labor movement demands public disclosure of their crimes. Today, reporter Myron Farber is jailed for refusing to reveal confidential sources while Attorney General Griffin Bell remains free after refusing to disclose the names of FBI provocateurs and informers in the Socialist Workers Party. The widest exposure of the counterrevolutionary secret police requires a press as free as the strength of the workers movement can insure. Publish all CIA/FBI files! Stop government attacks on the press! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 216 **6 October 1978**

Exchange on NYC Newspaper Strike

September 12, 1978
To the editor:

While I agree with the general line of the article on the New York newspaper strike (WV No. 214, 8 September), I think some further light can be shed on the question of the "interim" newspapers being printed in N.J. These papers, while they are printed in union shops and are written by people who are working there *because* they wouldn't scab on the N.Y. strike, nevertheless objectively serve the interests of the N.Y. publishers by serving to lessen some of the heat they would ordinarily have been under from their advertising customers.

However, in dealing with this question, I think the article could have gone a little further than it did. For instance, since most ITU [International Typographical Union] (and I assume, other printing trades unions) contracts contain "struck-work" clauses, we could have put forward the idea of N.Y. newspaper workers picketing the N.J. plants and demanding that the N.J. workers observe elementary working class solidarity and refuse to work on the *Metro* et al. for which they have a perfect *legal cover*—i.e., making it difficult to justify an injunction.

Mainly, however, I think that the thing we missed was the narrow basis on which the printing trades bureaucracy operates. For example, there are no chain-wide contracts in the newspaper industry even though most of the daily papers in the country are owned by multi-media and even multi-national conglomerates. It makes no sense to anyone but the bureaucrats to strike just one newspaper of a chain at a time. (About as much sense as the UAW striking one Chevrolet or Ford plant.) This is a conscious policy at least on the part of the ITU bureaucrats. Their excuse is that if common expiration dates were negotiated and then a chain-wide or even nation-wide strike were pulled to get a contract, that the federal government would step in with Taft-Hartley injunctions and the leadership would be sent to jail and the union ruined with fines.

Another aspect of this is the question of merger among the individual craft unions with the aim to form an industry-wide industrial union. The thought of an industrial union didn't even *occur* to these hacks until the attacks of the publishers had shrunk the dues base to the point where *their* jobs were threatened. And now, when they've finally begun to move on the question, typically, they have done it in the most undemocratic and bureaucratic fashion possible.

When the ITU-Guild-Mailers merger is voted on next week or the week after, included in the proposal is a clause that will extend the term of office of all officers from one year to three years—a constitutional amendment the ITU hacks have put up for a vote three times in five years and lost overwhelmingly every time.

A few small points:

Using the example of the 1926 British general strike newspaper as an example for N.Y. workers is good in that it is one in which the workers were in political motion, but it might also have been pointed out that the Trotskyist movement used the same tactic when they published the *Organizer* and later the *Northwest Organizer* in the mid-1930's.

Also, regarding Jimmy Breslin, this scabby S.O.B. has a long history of this sort of thing and the workers should be made aware of it. Back in the '62 strike Breslin published a piece in the *Newark Evening News* which came out against the ITU (the initiator of that strike), because he claimed that by striking a newspaper and preventing him from publishing his column that the union was violating *his individual* first amendment rights. He ridiculed the ITU as a religious cult and implied that if any of the N.Y. publishers had the guts to publish, that he would certainly scab. He seems to have proved his point.

Comradely,
Riker

September 16, 1978
To the editor:

Just an addendum to my letter of Sept. 12, to give you a picture of the situation in the newspaper industry here on the Coast.

Besides the long ago lost-cause strikes at the L.A. *Herald-Examiner*, *Portland Oregonian* and San Rafael *Independent-Journal* there are the current strikes at the *Sacramento Bee* and Vallejo *Times-Herald*. These are far more typical of the strike strategy used by the printing craft union bureaucracies than that in New York and you should have some knowledge of them in order to get a better grasp of the New York situation.

The typical strategy usually involves a particularly determined owner who defeats all subterfuge and tricks by the bureaucracy and finally forces them out on strike or just plain locks them out.

If the paper continues to publish (90 percent sure), the unions then mount an "aggressive" campaign of educating the public by (1) buying advertising space on city buses (L.A.), and (2) canvassing the city to get subscription cancellations (Vallejo and just about everywhere else).

The next thing that usually happens is that the union bureaucrats try to get "pro-union" advertisers to pull their business out of the struck paper. That leads to complaints by the advertisers

WV Photo
Newspaper Guild pickets outside the Daily News building in June.

that the struck paper, usually a monopoly, is the only place where they can advertise. The unions then combine to produce an "interim" paper to relieve the problem (Vallejo). The paper usually goes broke, along with the strike. This pattern has been repeated in city after city with millions and millions in union money being poured down the rat hole that these papers represent. In several cases the unions actually floated stock deals to finance the papers (Portland), and then peddled the worthless investment to their own ranks.

The strikes in San Rafael and Sacramento represent variations on the theme. Sacramento, which is still going on, was lost from the very beginning when nearly half the union members in the plant crossed their own picket lines and became scabs after only a few days on strike. This of course prevented the usual ploy of putting out an "interim" paper for lack of resources and enough union printers loyal to the strike to put it out. In this instance the workers had to be content with a strike bulletin—that sold advertising and kept the record of the defeat of their strike.

The strike in San Rafael was interesting in that it was led by the Social Democrats and supported by the Stalinists in the Bay Area Typo Union. Because of the peculiarities of the Bay Area labor movement, the leadership of the typographical union and to a lesser extent the Guild are to the left of the national leadership. They have carried out a number of moves, such as merging all the local unions in a fifty-mile radius with the Oakland and San Francisco locals, thereby creating a common bargaining unit and, potentially, the resources to prosecute a militant strike.

Putting on a left face when the San Rafael strike was forced on them, the local bureaucrats called for mass picket lines and both the longshore and Teamsters responded with pickets and boycotts of all goods in or out of the paper. The owners appealed to the municipal and county government, at which point sheriff's deputies attacked the picket line with clubs and gas and jailed a number of pickets. The plant's mechanical superintendent was shot under peculiar circumstances and the bureaucrats backed off. The scabs got in, the embargo was broken along with the strike. Subsequent suits by the owners resulted in judgments that cost the unions involved over a million dollars.

The interesting thing is that now *this* strike is used by the bureaucrats to "prove" that it can't be done. Whenever they're attacked on their leadership of the Vallejo strike, they point to San Rafael as an example of what happens when "bad heads" get their way in a strike.

So you can see that the New York strike represents a departure for these unions—in that they have managed to stop production with a strike. And while it is true that strikes in the New York newspapers usually result in stopping production, it is not true of virtually the rest of the entire industry.

And you can see that the "interim" papers take on a different character when viewed from a national perspective. The union bureaucrats aren't going to go after these papers. In fact, if they didn't spring up the way they had, given their past performance they would probably have gone to New Jersey and set up the papers themselves!

The day when the highly skilled printer walked off the job and everything came to a halt is over. With some of the newer technology it is now possible to put out a paper without *any* printers, union *or* scab. Printers are now merely semi-skilled production workers like any other. In fact, the publishers' offensive of the last 10-15 years merely reflects their attempt to rationalize the production of newspapers in view of this new reality.

Our line on this strike is correct. This is a watershed event in this industry. If it is defeated, it is probably a blow that the New York printing unions, and in fact the New York labor movement, will take years to recover from. If the strike is turned around a victory could serve to educate the ranks in these unions that the *only* way to win a strike is to stop production. Just about everything else is secondary to that fact of life.

Comradely,
Riker

* * * * *

WV replies: Your letters provide an interesting account of some of the recent strikes in the newspaper industry, underscoring the crucial importance of shutting down the major dailies at the point of production. It is precisely, as you have noted, the success of the NYC unions in preventing the appearance of a full-fledged scab paper that thus far distinguishes this strike from the many other press strikes that have been smashed by the publishers.

You also correctly point to the need to shut down the interim papers printed in New Jersey. These papers, while hardly journalistic substitutes for the struck

THE
BRITISH WORKER
OFFICIAL STRIKE NEWS BULLETIN
Published by The General Council of the Trades Union Congress

IN LONDON AND THE SOUTH
WONDERFUL RESPONSE TO THE CALL
General Council's Message: Stand Firm and Keep Order
SOUTH WALES IS SOLID!

PLEASE PASS ON THIS COPY OR DISPLAY IT
The British Gazette
Published by His Majesty's Stationery Office
ORDER AND QUIET THROUGH THE LAND

The workers' paper and the capitalists' paper during the British General Strike of 1926.

Support the Stamberg Campaign

Spartacist Party on Ballot in NYC

NEW YORK CITY, October 1 — Marjorie Stamberg, Spartacist Party candidate for New York State Assembly, was officially placed on the ballot for lower Manhattan's 64th Assembly District when the Democratic Party declined to substantiate its challenge.

Stamberg's supporters have already begun actively campaigning, as brochures emblazoned with the slogan, "For a Socialist Fight to Save New York," are being distributed on the streets to community groups and sent to friends. Meetings and street rallies single out the Democrats as the bankers' hatchetmen in capitalism's devastation of this city. As the campaign committee brochure explains:

> "Since the Great Financial Crisis of 1975, the Democratic Party has engineered the loss of 60,000 jobs, frozen wages in the midst of skyrocketing inflation, closed hospitals and firehouses and cut back everything from subway service to college admissions . .
>
> "...The Spartacist Party is running against all the capitalist political parties. As revolutionary socialists, we are running against the divide-and-rule strategy of pork-barreling ethnic politics. In the 64th Assembly District, we are opposing William Passannante, the Democratic incumbent for the past 23 years. Passannante voted for the Emergency Financial Control Board — a bankers' veto on labor contracts — and joined the crusade for stiffer jail sentences for youth."

This week the Spartacist campaign committee sent out an urgent fund appeal which stressed how the capitalist parties have stacked the electoral deck, including financially:

> "Behind Passannante stands the well-oiled New York City Democratic Party machine with all the resources, money and influence which it commands. Behind Marjorie Stamberg stands a program that can change the world. Passannante can count on substantial support from banks, businesses, newspapers — all those whose interests he, in fact, represents. Marjorie Stamberg is counting on you.
>
> "To carry a political campaign to the people of New York takes more than the endless hours of hard work by volunteers. It takes money to cover the costs of printing, phone, rent, transportation and other expenses...."

Readers of *WV* are probably familiar with our revolutionary program to meet the crisis of New York City. Our analysis of New York has told the hard truth about killer cops, ethnic vigilantes, desperate lumpen criminals. We have exposed the phony schemes and electoral cretinism of reformists like the Socialist Workers and Communist Parties. And we have shown the way forward from the defeatist conservatism of the middle-class cynics and ecology faddists with their holy war against the Concorde and Westway.

The Stamberg campaign calls upon the city labor movement to lead the population in struggle against the banks and Democrats— a united fight on behalf of all the oppressed, breaking through the union/black confrontations which cripple working-class struggle. The Spartacist program means a class-struggle opposition in the trade unions to dump the traitors whose parochial job-trusting practices and class-collaborationist strategy have paralyzed the powerful New York City labor movement. It is a program that explains how only a socialist revolution can solve the enormous problems of this rotting city and its working people.

At a Spartacist League forum last Saturday at Columbia University, Stamberg illustrated the impact such a program might have to beleaguered New Yorkers by relating an incident which took place during the petitioning drive. An elderly man was asked by a petitioner if he would help put an independent candidate on the ballot.

"What kind of independent candidate?" the man inquired in a suspicious tone.

"A socialist candidate," replied the petitioner.

"And what kind of socialist candidate?" he persisted. "The red, revolutionary kind?"

"Yes, a revolutionary socialist."

"Well, good," said the old man, with surprised enthusiasm. "I haven't voted since Gene Debs died."

To that man and many others we can say: we have your candidate! But to get our program out to them is an expensive proposition. *WV* hopes its readers will respond generously to the Spartacist Party campaign committee's fund appeal. We can do no more than repeat the closing sentences:

> "With your help the residents of the 64th A.D. and the entire city are in for a campaign like they have never seen in their lives. They will hear the truth for a change—and have a chance to vote for a candidate with a fighting program of working-class revolution!
>
> "Help us bring our program to the residents of this besieged city. Your contribution is the weapon the Stamberg campaign needs now."

WV Photo

Marjorie Stamberg talking with strikers at Daily News.

---

dailies, limit the strike. They keep the heat off the publishers from both the big advertisers and the populace. In short, they isolate the strikers while at least to a small degree satisfying those who are most acutely inconvenienced by the strike. Therefore, we want to break up this configuration. At the same time, however, the union bureaucracy and much of the membership see the parasitic interims as also keeping the pressure off *them*. They don't want to be held responsible for a press blackout; the pressmen fear that unless Guild members are given employment, they will be willing to cross their picket lines. So the existence of "struck work" clauses notwithstanding, an immediate military confrontation over the interim papers, picketing, burning delivery trucks, could well backfire, particularly if it is the axis of the policy not of the union leadership but of class-struggle militants. What is necessary to formulate the correct *tactics* is an alternative strike strategy to the narrow, defeatist approach of the bureaucracy; it is necessary to *expose* the parasitic papers as scab rags, while mobilizing the strength of the labor movement behind the strike.

The demand for a labor daily was formulated precisely as a *bridge* to realize the actions you propose. Such a paper could well be published in the same New Jersey shops that publish the parasitic interims; the provision of NYC union scale for the New Jersey pressmen would act as a major impetus to a campaign to raise wage rates and manning scales in the suburbs to the NYC level, thereby undercutting the runaway movement by the publishers. It

continued on page 11

The "interim" parasite press.

Pressmen Settle with Murdoch's Post

As we go to press, *New York Post* publisher Rupert Murdoch has negotiated a separate deal with the striking Printing Pressmen's union. In an attempt to get the money-losing *Post* ahead of the other dailies and reap potential millions in advertising revenues, the *Post* agreed to defer the hotly disputed manning scales issue with the pressmen and accept whatever terms they subsequently arrive at with the *Daily News* and the *Times*.

The publishers of the *Times* and *News* are reportedly "seething" over this breach in their united front. Pressmen's union chief Bill Kennedy, who now says that Murdoch was the "dove" all along and is painting the *Times* negotiators as the hard guys, is "happy" with the arrangement. The pressmen ratified it today in a mass meeting by a ten-to-one margin.

But while the publishers' initial strategy—of essentially locking the unions out, sitting tight and waiting for disunity and scabbing to begin—has suffered a reverse due to Murdoch's defection, under this lousy "me-too" deal *the pressmen have won nothing!* They should have turned it down. The pressmen continue to be under pressure from the Allied Printing Trades Council, the Council's "watchdog" in the talks, Ted Kheel, and Driver's union leader Doug LaChance, to be more "flexible" in the talks. They still have to fight to save their jobs in the continuing strike against the other two papers. The "settlement" with the *Post* is not a contract at all, but merely throws the ball to the *Times* and *News* to fight it out with the pressmen.

Furthermore, the drive to resume publication of the *Post* puts enormous pressure on the Newspaper Guild unit at the paper, which is also on strike and is now behind the eight ball. Murdoch has been at war with the Guild for months, seeking the right to fire reporters at will, remove many from union jurisdiction, eliminate the grievance procedure, slash salaries for new employees and cut severance pay. According to Guild members at the *Post* interviewed by *WV*, the very existence of the union is at stake.

Instead of joint bargaining with the publishers, each of the striking unions has pursued its own negotiations and now the Pressmen have struck a separate deal. The never distant threat that the other unions might cross their picket lines has put heat on the pressmen to give in at the bargaining table—this same pressure will now be on the Guild.

After a long string of smashed newspaper strikes and mutual scabbing by the unions, the dramatic power of the New York strike has been its solid union front. What can be won by this unity must not be sacrificed in back-room high-pressure tactics to force either the Pressmen or the Guild to make damaging concessions. Don't give up one single job to the publishers! Defend the Guild! Victory to the NYC press strike!

NOT DEBS BUT LENIN!

Activists vs. Stodgy Cold Warriors in SPUSA

"The Socialist Party U.S.A.? Who are they?" This would be the predictable response of the vast majority of the American left upon reading our headline. For official social democracy in this country has been moribund since the 1940's and virtually went out of existence during the Vietnam war, when its "State Department socialism" made it anathema to an entire generation of radicals who came of age in the antiwar movement. But over Labor Day weekend the fifth national convention of the "reconstituted" SPUSA collapsed in disarray amid bitter charges of "Leninist totalitarianism" and "McCarthyite redbaiting."

The scene of this unlikely event was Iowa City, Iowa where some 75 delegates gathered to do battle in a factional dogfight that has paralyzed their organization for months. (The SPUSA's *Socialist Tribune* has not appeared since April.) Squared off against each other were a youthful, politically heterogeneous left wing calling itself the "Debs Caucus" and an underground right-wing faction around long-time Socialist Party stalwart Frank Zeidler (former mayor of Milwaukee) and pacifist old-timer Dave McReynolds (secretary of the War Resisters League).

The convention was dominated by some of the most outrageous bureaucratic shenanigans since the heyday of the New Left. Raising the spectre of a "Leninist takeover," which would turn the SP into something that would "make the Marine Corps look like a parliamentary democracy," the Zeidlerites stampeded the apolitical center into aborting the conclab. After a small majority voted to rescind the party's previously tendered application for membership in the Socialist International, the right wing used every trick of parliamentary maneuvering to cut off debate on "party principles" and cancel planned elections for national officers and the National Committee.

After cancellation of elections, the threat of a walkout by the frustrated Debs Caucus (which provides most of the manpower of the SP apparatus) appeared so great that middle-of-the-road delegates forced through a "mediating committee" to patch things up. A new convention is now planned for May 1979, and a promise of no expulsions of "Leninists" in the interim was extracted. However, at a gathering immediately following the stymied convention the right-wing-dominated National Committee voted to bring charges against National Secretary Tom Spiro, who joined the Debs Caucus on the eve of the meetings. The charges? That Spiro had arranged "an impossible convention agenda" and had "led a militant faction which tried to disrupt the convention."

Viet Cong Overran the SPUSA

The organization which just made a shambles of its convention is well-nigh invisible, without functioning branches in virtually every major U.S. city. Yet the SP is not lacking in historical luminaries, among them Norman Thomas, the holier-than-thou pacifist, and Eugene Debs, the prairie radical who got 6 percent of the vote in the 1912 presidential elections. So why is a party claiming the heritage of Debs and Thomas today nothing but an isolated, internally disintegrating, hopelessly faction-ridden and despised sect?

From the beginning of the cold war, the SP became a handmaiden of the U.S. government, largely escaping the blows of McCarthyite witchhunting due to its ferocious anti-Communism. As its domestic influence dwindled, SP supporters working with the CIA, such as United Auto Workers (UAW) international affairs director Victor Reuther, played a major role in splitting the European labor movement and setting up anti-Communist unions. At home, Socialist Party members could occasionally provide useful services mobilizing support for ADA liberals.

Frank Zeidler, leader of SPUSA anti-Communist old guard and former mayor of Milwaukee. During bitter Kohler strike he broke the labor boycott. Zeidler combines the "sewer socialism" of Victor Berger and the "State Department socialism" of Norman Thomas.

Mary Locke

In the early 1960's the SP youth group, the Young People's Socialist League (YPSL), managed to attract a number of militant pacifists through the vehicle of the Student Peace Union. YPSL could also be counted on to organize demonstrations for a Hubert Humphrey civil rights bill – and to make sure the Stalinists and Trotskyists didn't take it over. Meanwhile, SP leader Michael Harrington, author of *The Other America*, was recognized as the father of JFK's "war on poverty." But as the Kennedy administration's foreign policy took on an aggressive anti-Communist hue following the Bay of Pigs (1961) and the Cuban missile crisis (1962), more radical forces quickly displaced the YPSL/SP.

It was the Vietnam war which finally did in the State Department socialists. While protest was brewing on the campuses, later extending to mainstream Democratic liberals, the SP leadership maintained its rigid cold war line. When YPSL refused to support Lyndon Johnson against Barry Goldwater in 1964—calling instead to "Vote No for President"—the party tops simply dissolved their youth group and changed the locks on the office. With its ties to the fanatically anti-Communist Meanyite labor bureaucracy, the SP steadfastly refused to call for U.S. withdrawal from Indochina. This made it absolutely impossible to recruit in the late 1960's as the tens of thousands of antiwar activists who rallied to Eugene McCarthy in 1968 and McGovern in 1972 were subjectively far to the left of the Socialist Party.

Politics, like atmospheric pressure, abhors a vacuum. Thus the role earlier played by Norman Thomas' SP was taken over in the late 1960's by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), a once-Trotskyist organization turned reformist. The SWP became an extra-parliamentary agitational agency for the liberal Democrats. As the "best builders" of an "independent antiwar movement," it channeled thousands of radicalized youth into the orbit of the McCarthys and McGoverns.

Last Gasp of Municipal Socialism

By the early 1970's the SP's formal organizational independence from the Democrats was completely at variance with its political aims. The far right-wingers like Bayard Rustin and Penn Kemble, in particular, were anxious to devote all their energies to combating the menace of New Leftism within the Democratic Party. Michael Harrington wished to hark back to the heady days of JFK's Camelot, when he could pad along the red-carpeted corridors of power in the White House. His "Realignment Caucus" called for transforming the Democratic Party into the voice of liberalism by throwing out the Dixiecrats.

In the aftermath of McGovern's humiliating defeat at the hands of Nixon the Socialist Party underwent a three-way split in early 1973. The right-wing majority changed the party name to Social Democrats USA (SDUSA)—the term "socialist" was considered too radical—to become the most active supporters of Henry Jackson and George Meany. Harrington pulled out to set up the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) as a pressure group on the McGovern/Kennedy liberal wing of the Democratic Party. And a small rump group, led by Zeidler and centered on his Milwaukee base, retook the name Socialist Party while proudly upholding its tradition of "independent" social-democratic electoralism.

Milwaukee was the one place where the old SP was more than simply a Democratic Party ginger group. This Wisconsin city had been the stronghold of the "municipal socialist" right wing of the party. Victor Berger, the boss of the SP right wing, was repeatedly elected to Congress from Milwaukee from 1910 into the 1920's, and the Bergerite machine continued to be a force in the city long after the party elsewhere was reduced to being the Democrats' shadow. Frank Zeidler was a "non-partisan" mayor of Milwaukee from 1948 to 1960, right through the McCarthyite era.

Thus the remnants of the Berger machine opposed liquidation into the Democratic Party not out of leftism but due to organizational conservatism. Apart from this, Zeidler's Debs Caucus in the old SP was not significantly to the left of the Harrington group. Indeed, it is ironic that Debs' name was taken by the lineal descendants of his arch-rival, Victor L. Berger.

Zeidler himself is a redbaiting cold warrior along with the best of them. Today he is a labor mediator, i.e., an arbitrator who serves the capitalists under the guise of "impartiality" and the myth that a "fair" compromise can be reached between capital and labor. And as mayor of Milwaukee Zeidler ran not as a Socialist but as the candidate of the "Public Enterprise Committee," a coalition including prominent local Democrats.

In office, Zeidler showed to what treachery his "democratic socialist" policies can lead. During the UAW's long, bitter 1950's organizing strike against the violently anti-union Kohler Company, a plumbing equipment manufacturer, a labor boycott succeeded in stopping a ship with raw materials for Kohler from unloading in Sheboygan, Wisconsin. The ship was thereupon rerouted to Milwaukee. After Zeidler unsuccessfully tried to mediate the dispute, the city council voted not to allow the Kohler supplier to unload. The "socialist" mayor, however, *vetoed* the council decision, thus becoming a strikebreaker for one of the most reactionary capitalist concerns in the country.

Because it opposed liquidation into the Democratic Party, the Milwaukee-based group around Zeidler did willy-nilly attract left critics of the SP leadership, particularly on the Vietnam

war question. But at a time when thousands of radicalized youth looked to the NLF and North Vietnam Stalinists as a revolutionary model, this group limited itself to the weepy pacifism of Dave McReynolds. And since going independent the SPUSA has continued to have extremely right-wing politics (support for disarmament, the UN and Israel) under a thin New Left veneer.

A Left Opposition Emerges

The "new" Socialist Party was born in a semi-comatose state. The Bergerite leadership was a smug lot, whose main activity seems to have consisted of reassuring each other that Frank Zeidler was really the Norman Thomas of today. *Socialist Tribune* rarely came out from 1973 to 1976, and most of the nominal members did nothing, not even pay dues. It did, however, manage to attract some young activists in the political backwaters of its Midwest base. And it managed to fuse with two New Left leftovers, the California Peace and Freedom Party and the Michigan Human Rights Party.

In 1976-77 some of the younger, more energetic members began to react against the do-nothingism of the old fogies around Zeidler. They wanted an activist orientation to the radical milieu around such issues as the Equal Rights Amendment, South Africa divestment, Bakke, etc. In addition the Young Turks were frustrated with the bureaucratic highhandedness of the Zeidler regime. They got a big boost when a newcomer took over as SPUSA national secretary

Victor Berger

ossified social-democratism of the Zeidler regime. In this respect there is a certain similarity to elements who have been trying to infuse life into the De Leonist Socialist Labor Party (SLP) and ran into resistance from the remnants of the Arnold Petersen regime (see "In Terminal Crisis...SLP Goes Trendy...," *WI* No. 192, 10 February 1978). This left activist current crystallized as the Debs Caucus just before the September SP convention.

The Debs Caucus program is characterized above all by abstractness, consisting of vague statements about the desirability of socialism and opposition

HELP WANTED

National Secretary - Full time employment at the National Office; charge of the National Office, its records, employees; correspondence; minute taking at all national meetings; representation of the Party at various events. Qualifications: basic understanding of democratic socialism, member of the Party in good standing for one year, touch typist, 30 wpm or better. Salary $6000 yr. plus one-half of all dues collected.

Publications Secretary/Administrative Aide: Same as above; aid the Tribune collective in the production, distribution, and publication of the Tribune; take charge of the publication of other Party literature; work with the National Secretary in organizational and administrative activities. Same qualifications as above, other office skills and journalistic experience helpful. Salary $6000 yr.

How to apply: Send vita, list of qualifications, a short paragraph detailing your ideas for the growth of the SP, and other helpful material (letters of recommendation, etc.) to the National Office, 135 West Wells #325, Milwaukee WI 53203

Mary Locke

Above, "help wanted" ad placed in the SPUSA newspaper Socialist Tribune. Left, speaker at recent SP convention in Iowa City.

in mid-1977. The party had advertised in its newspaper for a national secretary, offering a most unusual piece-rate salary:

> "*National Secretary* Qualifications basic understanding of democratic socialism, member of the Party in good standing for one year, touch typist, 30 wpm or better. Salary $6000 yr *plus one-half of all dues collected*" [our emphasis]

The man who landed the job was Tom Spiro.

Seeking to appeal to the radical milieu, whose attitudes are still largely shaped by 1960's New Leftism and where the organized forces generally claim to be Leninist, the young SPUSA activists came into conflict with the to racism, imperialism and other bad things. It resembles nothing so much as the early (social-democratic) New Left circa 1965, particularly in wanting to ignore the basic historic divisions in the workers movement. Thus on the key issue which has divided social democrats and Leninists since 1917—the "Russian question," i.e., the historic role of the Bolshevik Revolution and the nature of the society which emerged from it—the Debs Caucus seeks to duck the question. It approaches the global conflict between the U.S. and USSR in terms of greater or lesser evilism:

> "We recognize that U.S. imperialism is the dominant world system and the greatest threat to world peace and self-determination. We reject both Comrade Zeidler's contention that the U.S.S.R. is the greatest threat to self-determination and world peace as well as Comrade Kissell's assertion that both U.S. imperialism and the foreign practices of the U.S.S.R. are equally 'evil' and both should be equally opposed. We feel that both positions are anachronistic and are objectively compliant with U.S. imperialism."
>
> Joel Miller, "A Call to Reconstitute the Debs Caucus" (September 1978)

While this rejection of State Department socialism and "third campism" places the Debs Caucus in the left wing of contemporary American social democracy, it provides no guide for principled revolutionary politics. In effect they declare the U.S. the main enemy because it now plays a more aggressive reactionary role in world politics while the Soviets stand "for "progressive" causes and détente. If it is "anachronistic" to describe the Kremlin as the greater enemy, then this was presumably a true statement in the past (perhaps in the early cold war years?) and could be so again in the not-so-distant future.

During the convention debate Zeidler taunted the Debs Caucus, "You cannot associate yourself with Leninism without taking responsibility for early Bolshevik government." While this is certainly true, the Caucus could give no answer due to its political heterogeneity. A majority consider themselves Marxist, a minority view themselves as perhaps heading in the direction of Leninism and at least one member of the Caucus describes himself as a "Leninist-Trotskyist." They are united mainly in opposition to Zeidler and in calling for a "multi-tendency Democratic Socialist

The Russian question was also posed sharply in the debate over affiliation to the Socialist International. As a result of a 1977 convention decision the SPUSA had applied for membership in the organization of Helmut Schmidt and Mário Soares. However, in the meantime the Second International (SI) had cut the ground out from under Zeidler by recognizing Harrington's DSOC as its American affiliate. Debate began when the SPUSA international secretary Kissell opposed formal ties to the SI and recounted some of the crimes of the Portuguese Socialist Party, such as returning expropriated land from collective farms to former landowners.

Another delegate pointed to a "60-year history of betrayals" by social democracy: hostility to the Russian Revolution, the murder of Luxemburg and Liebknecht, refusal to make a united front with the Communists against Hitler, the treachery of the Spanish popular front. (On the other hand it was pointed out that the "Democratic Socialists of Cuba in Exile," a Miami group, had approached the SPUSA. This group favors the counterrevolutionary restoration of capitalism as against Castroite rule.) On a roll-call vote the motion to withdraw the application to the SI was passed by 34 to 24; however, this was immediately sabotaged by the right wing which had sufficient votes to require a referendum of the SPUSA membership.

Overall the convention battle must be judged a draw. The Debs Caucus, with the support of most of the new recruits (who were allowed to attend only over the objections of the right wing), had the best of it in the early rounds, scoring a knockdown in the debate over the SI. However, the mediating committee truce proposal still left power in the hands of the outgoing National Committee.

Against the "Debs Tradition"

All American social-democratic organizations, from the Meanyite SDUSA to the "third camp" International Socialists (I.S.) and the ostensibly

continued on page 10

Debs and Lenin

The founder of American Trotskyism, James P. Cannon, was a younger contemporary of Debs as an IWW organizer and SP left-winger in the 1910's. Writing four decades later, Cannon described Debs' centrist role in the old Socialist Party:

"Debs' refusal to take an active part in the factional struggle, and to play his rightful part as the leader of an organized left wing, played into the hands of the reformist politicians. There his beautiful friendliness and generosity played him false, for the party was also an arena of the struggle for socialism. Debs spoke of 'the love of comrades'—and he really meant it—but the opportunist sharpers didn't believe a word of it. They never do. They waged a vicious, organized fight against the revolutionary workers of the party all the time. And they were the gainers from Debs' abstention.

"Debs' mistaken theory of the party was one of the most costly

Eugene V. Debs

mistakes a revolutionist ever made in the entire history of the American movement.

"The strength of capitalism is not in itself and its own institutions; it survives only because it has bases of support in the organizations of the workers. As we see it now, in the light of what we have learned from the Russian Revolution and its aftermath, nine-tenths of the struggle for socialism is the struggle against bourgeois influence in the workers' organizations, including the party.

"The reformist leaders were the carriers of bourgeois influence in the Socialist Party, and at bottom the conflict of factions was an expression of the class struggle. Debs obviously didn't see it that way. His aloofness from the conflict enabled the opportunists to dominate the party machine and to undo much of his great work as an agitator for the cause.

"Debs' mistaken theory of the party was one of the most important reasons why the Socialist Party, which he did more than anyone else to build up, ended so disgracefully and left so little behind."

—*The First Ten Years of American Communism* (1962)

SWP Scabs on Rail Strike

CHICAGO, September 30—*Picket lines mean don't cross!* This elementary principle of trade unionism was the weapon used to shut down railroads across the U.S. for four days last week. When members of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airlines Clerks (BRAC) threw up pickets at rail yards and terminals of 73 different railroads, some 300,000 unionists refused to cross those lines. From the West Virginia coalfields to the Chicago railway yards, the picket line is the battle line of the class struggle: company links and scabs on one side, union loyalists on the other.

WV Photo

Pat Grogan

WVPhoto

Andrew Pulley

It ought to be a clearly understood principle of collective survival. It was for the 180,000 miners who held out for almost four months against the companies and the government, who go out on massive "wildcats" when even a lone picket shows up at the portal. And it certainly ought to be a reflex action of socialists.

However, at a forum here tonight, entitled "Ferment in Steel," the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) featured two of its "leaders" in the steel industry—Pat Grogan and Andrew Pulley—*who had been daily crossing the picket lines of the striking railroad workers.*

Grogan is employed at U.S. Steel's South Works plant in South Chicago and is a member of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 65. She is also SWP candidate for U.S. Senator from Illinois. Pulley is a member of USWA Local 1066 at U.S. Steel's Gary, Indiana Tube Plant and is SWP candidate for mayor of Chicago. Picket lines were up for four days at both plants, manned by BRAC members employed by the Elgin, Joliette and Eastern Railway (EJ&E), a wholly owned subsidiary of U.S. Steel. EJ&E hauls most of the finished steel from the plants and supplies South Works with coke from Gary's ovens. Its operations within the sprawling steel plants are crucial for production to continue.

There is no excuse for crossing the BRAC picket line. Yet the SWP forum was a platform for excuses and apologies for scabbing. The picket line which means nothing to the SWP is nothing less than the class line, often drawn in blood. What is instinct to tens of thousands of coal miners—that you never cross a picket line—is "ultraleftism" to the "leaders" of the SWP.

Solidarity vs. Scabherding

Grogan and Pulley were confronted at tonight's forum by Jay Frank and Gene Goldenfeld, steel workers who had respected the BRAC lines. Frank, a member of Local 65, had gone on Chicago-area television to answer an anti-union editorial attacking the BRAC picketers. He also co-authored a leaflet with other Local 65 members calling on the Steelworkers union to respect BRAC lines. The leaflet denounced the criminal policy of the USWA local and District 31 leadership, the core of the Sadlowski "reform" group, who were condoning and encouraging the membership to cross the railroad workers' lines. The leaflet emphasized:

> "The scab policy of our union leadership served only to divide the labor movement and help the companies. It must be defeated!
>
> "Those of us who have no intention of crossing the BRAC lines demand that our union adopt the following policy:
>
> "1. FULL SUPPORT TO THE RAILROAD STRIKE;
>
> "2. MILITANT OPPOSITION TO ANTI-STRIKE RESTRAINING ORDERS AND ALL GOVERNMENT STRIKEBREAKING;
>
> "3. THE PICKET LINE IS THE BATTLE LINE OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE—DON'T CROSS;
>
> "4. DEFEND ALL THOSE VICTIMIZED FOR REFUSING TO SCAB ON THE BRAC."

Goldenfeld, a member of USWA Local 1014, had similarly respected BRAC lines and distributed a leaflet to Gary steel workers:

> "Right now, the rail companies are getting anti-strike injunctions from the federal courts. Rail workers must not allow this government strikebreaking attempt to intimidate them! Carry the strike through to victory! The USWA and the rest of the labor movement must come to the aid of the BRAC strike with whatever actions of militant labor solidarity are necessary to win the strike....PICKET LINES MEAN DON'T CROSS!"

The reaction of rail workers at South Works and Gary to this militant solidarity was enthusiastic and appreciative. At Gary, EJ&E pickets handed out 2,000 of Goldenfeld's leaflets to steel workers. At South Works a BRAC picketer told *WV*: "Local 65 is not sympathetic. It would be a whole different ball game if they were. Just imagine if steel and rail went out together!"

But the SWP scabs were not moved by the manifest desire of the BRAC to have steel workers respect their lines. Nor did they care that across those same picket lines came steel foremen who directly replaced the struck labor of the railroad workers. The SWPers followed the lead of Local 65 president John Chico, who ruled a motion mandating respect for the picket lines "out of order" at a September 28 union meeting. At Gary, Andrew Pulley repeatedly crossed the BRAC lines at the Buchanan Street gate where picketers were distributing Goldenfeld's leaflet asking steel workers not to cross!

At tonight's forum, Grogan and Pulley tried to rationalize their scabbing with a stream of lies and contradictions. Grogan claimed they were not picket lines "around steel, the picket lines were around railroads" even though *dozens* of pickets were at three gates of the South Works plant where she works. She claimed to have received permission to cross the line from the pickets. We wonder which pickets she and Pulley asked. Not the ones handing out Goldenfeld's leaflet at Gary. And the pickets who attempted to close off the road leading to Gary were not about to invite the SWP to cross. The cops came and pushed the pickets apart. But to the SWP's Grogan and Pulley it was only a picket "around the railroad."

In these dog days of the bureaucrats' "informational picket line" Grogan may have had the conversation she reports. She may have received permission from one of the bureaucrats who ordered this treacherous erosion of elementary principle. Perhaps she talked to a worker who had simply become worn down by the scabherding policy of the bureaucracy. The union tops capitulated to the anti-secondary boycott provision of the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act by instituting the "informational picket line." Therefore, the younger generation of workers do not in general understand that a picket line means don't cross. However, the SWP claims to be a revolutionary proletarian organization and it *does know* what a picket line means. If Grogan and Pulley appeal to the backwardness of most steel workers on the picket line question, this is just a flimsy excuse for their *political* opportunism.

In the same vein, Pulley tried to ridicule the militant steel workers who had respected the picket lines, saying that Frank and the others were the only ones who "thought the BRAC workers were picketing to shut down the steel mills. Everybody else missed it, even the BRAC leaders." Pulley's claim to stand with the BRAC bureaucrats, while telling so much about where his real sympathies lie, is itself a lie. For even the BRAC leadership under the pressure of the strike recognized the elementary duty of picket line solidarity. Al Goudlader, a spokesman for BRAC headquarters in Washington, D.C., told the press:

> "When pickets show up, it's fairly obvious. If your union comes along and here's another union picketing, you're not going to cross it. It's a commonplace union thing to observe picket lines. Not just with this union, but with any union."

But not with Pulley. Grogan and the SWP! For them, respecting picket lines is only an "optimum idea," as Pulley put it at the forum, which "we want to realize at some point." Yet in the next breath, Pulley had to admit that thousands of coal miners in West Virginia have been honoring the picket lines at Norfolk and Western throughout BRAC's two-month-old strike!

Gene Goldenfeld spoke up at the forum to explain what motivates the SWP to cross picket lines: "For the Maoists, it's being one with the masses. If the masses scab, then we'll scab. For the SWP, it's being one with the bureaucrats. If the bureaucrats tell the workers to scab, then we'll scab." Among ostensible leftists in the Chicago-area steel mills, the SWP was not alone. At South Works, trustee Roberta Wood, a prominent supporter of the Communist Party-backed National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee, crossed the picket lines, as did members of the Revolutionary Communist Party-supported "Breakout" group.

But the SWP falsely claims the banner of Trotskyism and is making a particularly big deal out of its recent "turn" to the working class. Steel workers, rail workers, coal miners: all should know that the SWP "leaders" cross picket lines without a blink of the eye. The SWP has tied itself to the treacherous, scabherding labor bureaucrats and will go down with them in disgrace when the union movement casts out the bureaucratic parasites and their hangers-on. ■

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Strike Wave...

(continued from page 1)

as the step-in replacement for the ever-more discredited Carter.

No reshuffling in the Democratic Party, however, will halt the anti-labor offensive. The multi-millionaire Kennedy is no less a representative of the capitalist class than Carter. The fundamental paradox of the American workers' movement is that it faces the economic and political power of the capitalist class with no political party of its own. Without a break from the capitalists and the forging of a workers party committed to mobilizing and unifying the working class around its own interests, strike struggles will run aground against the political monopoly of the capitalist class.

Railroad Unions vs. the Government

Probably no better case for labor independence from the bosses' government, their parties and legislative-judicial controls can be found than in the experience of the railroad unions. Among the oldest and once most powerful sectors of the labor movement, the rail unions have long been shackled by laws designed to prevent strikes and curb the unions' power, enforced with equal vigor by the Democratic and Republican parties. Indeed, the most notable thing about the BRAC strike was that it happened at all. It was the longest tie-up of the nation's rail system in well over three decades!

The 1926 Railway Labor Act governs collective bargaining in the rail industry. Its provisions empowering the president to invoke 60-day "cooling-off" periods *before* strikes even occur have been repeatedly invoked. Last week, Labor Secretary Marshall rather bluntly dispelled any illusions about the "even-handedness" of the law: "The whole purpose of the Act is to prevent strikes."

When this has proved insufficient, emergency acts of Congress have been quickly passed to halt strikes, as occurred in 1967 and 1970. Other threatened strikes have been averted by special congressional action imposing compulsory arbitration. And "friends of labor" Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman seized the railroads in 1943 and 1946 to head off strikes, threatening to draft railroad strikers into the Army for good measure.

Though Kroll was willing to initiate the mass picketing in the fight against N&W, he has carefully avoided challenging the government/court restrictions on his union. Earlier in September BRAC had thrown up pickets at N&W interchanges with other companies in Buffalo, Chicago and Columbus, Ohio but called them off when a court injunction was issued. The mass picketing last week was launched when an appellate court voided that injunction. And the picketing spread to railroads contributing to the mutual aid pact only after Chief Justice Warren Burger dismissed another lower court order which the companies had obtained prohibiting it. Then when the federal court in Washington enforced Carter's request for an injunction ending the four-day strike, Kroll again toed the line.

The BRAC president is so locked into the current maze of government controls that he has called on Congress to seize the railroads "for the duration of the dispute." Congress is expected to pass special legislation banning another strike if the 60-day cooling-off period does not produce a settlement. But the unions have never and will never win on Capitol Hill what they are unwilling to fight for on the picket lines.

Strike Wave Against Take-Aways

The same kinds of take-away demands the railroads are imposing on the rail unions (see accompanying article "Issues in the Rail Strike") have characterized most recent negotiations and have fueled the current strike wave. In what was supposed to be a "light" bargaining year, the number of strikes has steadily risen since January. The Department of Labor reports that in August the amount of lost time due to strikes was at a five-month high, and this was before the outburst of teachers' strikes which began with the opening of schools in September.

Teachers have struck 32 school systems this fall, affecting at the high point an estimated one million students in 14 states. Though this figure soon fell to 300,000, it has not changed for two weeks as a number of bitter disputes drag on. In nearly every case, the teachers are attempting to break through fiscal austerity budgets and wage freezes that have shrunk their real income over the past few years.

The largest of the school strikes is in Cleveland, where 10,000 employees, including teachers, bus drivers, cafeteria workers and nurses, have been out for the last month in the largest public workers' strike in Ohio history. Cleveland teachers have not had a pay hike since 1976 and the $9,100 starting salary is one of the lowest in the U.S.

In Bridgeport, Connecticut, the biggest mass arrest of striking teachers in U.S. history landed 274 teachers in jail, including the union's entire negotiating team. After 17 days on the picket lines, the longest teachers' strike in state history ended September 24 in negotiations concluded at the National Guard barracks where the teachers had been incarcerated.

Other public employees have been striking over the same wage demands as the teachers. An indication of the deep discontent prevalent in the working class was that even the backwaters were striking. Firemen in Biloxi, Mississippi; Wichita, Kansas; and Butte, Montana struck this month, in addition to the bitter firemen's strike in Memphis which saw pickets facing National Guardsmen in a conflict reminiscent of the 1968 Memphis garbagemen's strike. Sanitation workers in Detroit, Tuscaloosa and San Antonio have recently been out. And last month transit workers snarled Washington, D.C. while thousands of public workers tied up Philadelphia last month in a pay dispute.

The range of public employee strikes extends from small Mississippi towns to the nation's capital, and they could well be but a small portent of things to come. Though numerous, public employee strikes are atomized from city to city and occur when few major national contracts are up. But next year, nationwide contracts covering the Teamsters, rubber workers, electrical workers and auto workers expire. It is precisely because the Carter administration faces this major round of bargaining that it is trying to crack down on wage demands now.

Meany vs. Carter at the Steelworkers Convention

The major protagonists in the public eye had a chance to square off at the 19th Constitutional Convention of the

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"No trade unionist should ever cross a picket line..."

The following is a transcript of the remarks by Steelworkers Local 65 (U.S. Steel South Works) member Jay Frank, broadcast on WMAQ-TV (Channel 5) in Chicago on September 27, at the height of the railway clerks strike.

The management of Channel 5 aired a vicious anti-union editorial which condemned the widespread sympathy-strike action of railroad workers in the Chicago area. As a rank-and-file member of Local 65, I refused to cross the picket lines thrown up around the South Works by railroad workers because I know that the strike is the only weapon that working people have to defend themselves against the profit-hungry companies and the government which represents them.

Like the mine workers who struck last spring and like the pressmen currently on strike in New York City, the railroad workers are on strike to defend themselves against attacks on their jobs and living standards. In the last few years, 1,800 railway clerks' jobs have been abolished by the railroad companies.

The labor movement has fought throughout this century and won, through widespread strike activity, such things as the eight-hour day, the right to unionize, the abolition of child labor, social security and unemployment benefits. For the wealthy few, every strike is an atrocity against the "public." For poor and working people, every victorious strike is a step towards a better life. I believe that no trade unionist should ever cross a picket line and that the entire union movement should stand in solidarity with the railroad workers to defeat the government restraining orders and injunctions and to win this strike.

Issues in the Rail Strike

The long-quiescent rail unions have been victims of the mass of government repressive legislation, failing railroad lines, a workforce divided against itself in a multiplicity of craft unions and a narrow and extremely conservative leadership. This combination of liabilities has aided the industry's long war of attrition to cut back the workforce.

The strike which began July 10 against Norfolk & Western was over just this issue. A major coal hauler and one of the nation's most financially successful railroads, the N&W has for two years of on-going negotiations resisted BRAC's demands for income security for clerks threatened by computerization. The BRAC leadership has not been demanding a shorter workweek to preserve jobs, but merely a five-year income guarantee for workers laid off due to automation, an agreement already in effect with many other rail lines. The union also wants jurisdiction over 1,000 jobs considered by management to be supervisory, hopefully opening the door to organizing similar jobs on other lines to offset the 20 percent membership loss BRAC has suffered on the rails since 1970.

When BRAC finally struck against N&W's intransigence, the company kept half its normal freight load moving with supervisors and the assistance of 43 other railroads who picked up N&W freight at interchange rail yards. Despite the long strike and revenue losses of 90 percent, the N&W was able to post third quarter profits due to the $6 million a week funneled to it by 73 other companies linked together in a mutual aid pact. The fund was established precisely to aid rail lines engaged in battles against the unions which the member companies deemed of interest to them all.

BRAC has also been resisting a national contract signed in mid-July between the National Railway Labor Conference, representing the major railroads, and the other major rail unions: the 180,000-member United Transportation Union (UTU), the Locomotive Engineers, Signalmen and Sheet Metal Workers. Lest anyone think the BRAC president is a fire-breathing militant, it should be noted that Kroll's objection to the pact is merely over the structure of the 35 percent wage package—he wants a large guaranteed wage increase with a lower "cap" on the cost-of-living adjustments, making him one of the only bureaucrats in the U.S. who believes inflation will soon go down!

Negotiations for a new national rail agreement had been underway months before the January 1 contract expiration date. When the contracts expired, right in the middle of the coal strike, there was a tremendous opportunity to link up with the most militant section of the U.S. labor movement. Instead, the rail union bureaucrats toed the line of legal requirements for extended bargaining, compulsory federal mediation, etc., and the opportunity to really shut down the country was lost.

Throughout the talks, rail industry negotiators were pushing for a nationwide uniform agreement on reducing the size of train crews. The railroads won the last major confrontation on this issue in the mid-1960's, when firemen were eliminated and new "work rules" slashed 150,000 jobs. This time around the railroad bosses were demanding the elimination of one of two brakemen who are part of the four-man train crews. Instead of taking on this assault directly, the operating unions, led by the UTU, insisted that the crew size issue had to be settled on a road-by-road basis, not in national bargaining. Such a posture could only weaken the union's collective strength, as a strike at any one line would have limited impact compared to a national strike, as the recent BRAC strike so vividly showed.

The impasse was finally broken in April, when the Milwaukee Road broke ranks with the rest of the industry and signed an agreement with the UTU. The contract provides for the elimination of one brakeman over time, through an attrition rate of about 5 percent a year. In exchange, the reduced crews will receive $4 per man per trip and the company will put $48.25 per crew trip into a "productivity fund" which workers can draw on at the end of every year. By July, the rest of the railroads decided to allow the crew size issue to revert to road-by-road negotiations and the national contract was signed. On September 14, Conrail—which employs 25 percent of the UTU's membership—agreed to the same deal arranged with Milwaukee Road and it is widely anticipated that the rest of the industry will follow this pattern. Though it will take them a while and will be more expensive than they would have liked, the rail employers have taken another big step toward cutting back the railroad work force. ■

Defend Steel Militants!

CHICAGO—Company bosses at U.S. Steel's Gary Works are trying to fire steel worker Gene Goldenfeld for refusing to cross a picket line during last week's nationwide rail strike. They handed him a three-day suspension for "unauthorized absences" and on top of that a five-day suspension for "instigating" in violation of the contractual no-strike clause. At U.S. Steel a five-day suspension is nearly always a prelude to firing. Next door at Chicago's South Works, three more steel workers—Jay Frank, Damon Lewis and Tom Knight—were hit with one-day suspensions for respecting the BRAC picket lines.

The United Steelworkers, in particular Locals 65 and 1014 and Chicago/Gary District 31, must immediately come to the aid of Goldenfeld and the other victimized militants. And in the context of the explosive national railway strike all labor, in particular the rail unions, must defend these brothers who are being victimized for respecting the most basic principle of union solidarity: don't cross picket lines.

These reprisals are intended to intimidate all steel workers. What was Goldenfeld's "crime"? He "instigated," says the company. That is, he called upon his union to honor the picket lines of the striking railway workers (who are, moreover, employed by the same conglomerate). A leaflet becomes a firing offense.

These victimizations trample on the democratic rights of all trade unionists. The U.S. Steel bosses go after these militants as part of a generalized attack on the right to strike. They are worried that the example of the coal miners, who held out for almost four months in the dead of winter because of the strength of their union traditions, will infect the rest of the working class, leading to the kind of militant actions which built the mass industrial unions in the 1930's.

Mobilize the power of the unions against these anti-labor victimizations! No firings! Drop all discipline charges!

Strike Wave...

(continued from page 9)

United Steelworkers of America (USWA), held in Atlantic City the week of September 18. Speaking on the first day of the convention, AFL-CIO chieftain George Meany, as expected, denounced the government's plans for wage restraint (even after secretary of labor Marshall had tried to dissuade him from such a course at a secret conclave in the Poconos). Meany criticized Carter's recommended 5.5 percent annual wage limit for government employees and warned of "trouble ahead for every union that goes to the bargaining table."

When Carter addressed the delegates two days later, he had the good sense not to detail his new plans for a toughened-up anti-inflation posture. "To bring inflation under control, we must have cooperation among business, labor and government," Carter said, adding that he would ask for "restraint" and "sacrifice" from all sectors of the economy. Workers, grab your wallets! We have heard this refrain before, most recently from Richard Nixon, who called for "equality of sacrifice" as his wage-price controls held down paychecks while consumer prices went through the ceiling.

Carter's decision to appear before the USWA convention was not accidental. Of the major labor unions, probably no other bureaucracy so abjectly kowtows to the administration's economic policies. Though USWA president Lloyd McBride told a pre-convention news conference he thought a 7 percent wage "guideline" would cut into steel workers' cost-of-living raises, he never mentioned the issue to the delegates in the week-long convention, reserving his criticism for the kind of formal wage controls imposed by Nixon. Instead, he welcomed Carter with open arms. Carter equally welcomes McBride's no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), which prevents the ranks from shattering the bureaucracy's "responsible" contracts with the steel companies.

The ties of all sections of the labor bureaucracy to the capitalist system are also reflected in the rightward shift of the so-called "opposition" wing of the USWA bureaucracy, centered on Ed Sadlowski and District 31 director Jim Balanoff. With the debacle of the Arnold Miller "reform" leadership of the United Mine Workers of America, Sadlowski & Co. have stood as the beacon of labor "progressivism" for crusading liberals. When Sadlowski was running for USWA president a year and a half ago, he bad-mouthed the ENA and ballyhooed the right to strike. But the ensuing economic difficulties of the steel industry (and his electoral defeat) have considerably toned down Oil Can Eddie's exhortations. At this convention, there was not so much as a peep from the Sadlowski forces for the right to strike or against the ENA. Instead, these "reformers" trimmed their sails and merely asked for the right of the rank and file to ratify contracts. Without the right to strike to back up contract rejections, however, the right to vote "no" means...compulsory arbitration under the ENA. The Sadlowskites have been reduced to seeking the same status for steel workers as the postal workers were stuck with in their contract turmoil. After massive "no" votes and East and West Coast walkouts against the government's despicable contract offer, compulsory arbitration saddled postal workers with almost exactly the same rotten terms.

For Militant, Democratic Unions—For a Workers Party!

The current strike wave, highlighted by the powerful rail workers' walkout, is testimony to the desire and willingness of American workers to fight to preserve their jobs, wages and working conditions against the capitalist offensive. For nearly a decade, the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy has been able to keep a lid on labor struggles. But workers who saw their standard of living eroded by the late 1960's Vietnam war inflation, Nixon's 1971 wage freeze, the 1974-75 depression and now renewed inflation have begun to say, "Enough is enough."

With major contracts in trucking, electrical equipment, rubber and auto coming up beginning next March, the possibility of launching a labor counter-offensive is posed. The trade-union bureaucracy will do everything in its power to straitjacket any upsurge in militancy. Thus, despite their largely verbal nose-thumbing at Carter, the Krolls, Meanys, and Frasers have backed down from every serious confrontation, such as the current rail strike. Their real aim is to try to steer the emerging strike struggles into a "Draft Kennedy" movement.

Instead there should be an all-out battle to break through Carter's anti-labor wage "guidelines," combined with a political struggle to break the working class from the capitalist Democratic Party, by building a workers party, based on the unions, to fight for a workers government. Both these tasks require purging the labor movement of the quisling misleaders. Only then will the growing strike movement be extended into the fight for labor's political power. ■

SPUSA...

(continued from page 7)

Trotskyist SWP, invoke the "tradition of Eugene V. Debs." Such invocations are cynical attempts to deflect charges of "international communist conspiracy" by adopting the coloration of native American radicalism. They are also ploys to mask the fundamental division in the socialist movement as a result of the Bolshevik Revolution, harking back to the "good old days" when Debs could give militant speeches while Bergerite right-wingers controlled the party. However, the left oppositionists in the SP are probably sincere in the belief that their politics are in the true spirit of the founding leader of the Socialist Party.

In a sense it is meaningless to call oneself a "Debsian socialist" in 1978. There is no living Debsian tradition in the American left. When Debs died in 1926 he left no organized following. The left-wingers of the pre-1917 SP, who had seen in Debs a champion of their cause, had either split or were expelled en masse in 1919-21. The best of them formed the American section of the Communist International. In his later years Debs was simply a figurehead for the party's right-wing reformist leadership. The man who had once symbolized a socialist challenge to bourgeois politicians in 1924 supported the Republican Robert LaFollette for president on the Progressive Party ticket.

As Leninists we do not disregard the revolutionary proletarian traditions of our own country. The 1966 "Declaration of Principles of the Spartacist League" states: "We also look for inspiration to the example of such revolutionists in the United States as E.A. Sorge, Vincent St. John, Daniel De Leon, Louis Fraina and James P. Cannon" (*Spartacist* No. 8, November-December 1966). The name of Debs is conspicuously and deliberately absent from this list. Unlike his contemporaries such as left-wing leaders De Leon and St. John, Debs' career cannot serve as an inspiration for revolutionaries today. Even before 1919 Debs, despite his good intentions, was the honest socialist face behind which the aspiring Eberts and Noskes of the American SP, the Victor Bergers and Morris Hillquits actually ran the party.

Faced with the rise of revolutionary syndicalism associated with the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), the right-wing leaders were determined to maintain the parliamentarist respectability of the SP. In particular they wanted to destroy the influence of "Big Bill" Haywood, who was both a leader of the SP left wing and of the IWW. When Haywood (as well as Debs) defended two trade unionists charged with bombing the *Los Angeles Times* building, the Hillquit/Berger forces responded to the ensuing red scare by pushing through an amendment to the SP constitution at the 1912 convention:

> "Any member of the party who opposes political action or advocates crime, sabotage or other methods of violence as a weapon of the working class to aid in its emancipation shall be expelled from membership in the party."

Shortly thereafter this amendment was used to expel Haywood from the National Executive. In response many of the most radical working-class elements left the SP. And despite his genuine desire for party unity, Debs did *nothing* to prevent the right wing from driving out the revolutionary syndicalists. In his usual manner he kept aloof from the Haywood-Hillquit fight and did not even attend the critical 1912 convention. In fact, after 1904 Debs didn't attend *any* SP conventions, on the grounds that he hated to see socialists fighting with one another.

Among those who tout the "Debs tradition" today is the SWP, which explained their brand of socialism to striking coal miners in the Cabin Creek area as "like Mother Jones and Eugene Debs" (*Militant*, 24 March 1978). At the Iowa City SPUSA convention the SWP was waiting on the fringes, hoping to pick up the Debs Caucus as part of its broader orientation toward fusing with social-democratic groups. The fact that the Caucus is far from having clarity on the Russian question or Leninist party norms would be no obstacle, as the SWP leaders wrote about the SLP last year.

On the other hand, some members of the SP left wing look with favor upon the SWP, seeing in it a more effective, dynamic version of what they would like the SPUSA to be: an organization capable of effectively pressuring the left-liberal milieu. In recent months the Milwaukee SP has participated in various of the SWP's class-collaborationist "movement coalitions," and currently the SWP and SPUSA are supporting each other's candidates in Milwaukee elections.

Particularly after the recent aborted SP convention, some Debs Caucus members may be attracted to the SWP out of reaction against the heavy-handed bureaucratism of the Zeidler NC majority. To such SPers, we warn you: the Barnes gang is no better. In the early 1970's a major left opposition developed in the SWP, the Internationalist Tendency (IT), which opposed the cowardly legalism of the party leadership. Barnes & Co. were coming under pressure from bourgeois reactionaries who labeled the IT "terrorist" for advocating petty-bourgeois guerrillaism in Latin America. So on July 4, 1974, in an act of patriotic bureaucratism, Barnes summarily expelled the entire IT—155 SWP/YSA members in all (see "SWP Stages Mass Purge," *WV* No. 49, 19 July 1974)!

The fact that some SP members are open to an ostensibly Leninist organization indicates that they have in part broken from the anti-Communist State Department socialism deeply rooted in their party in recent decades. Some Debs Caucus members may be attracted to the SWP not because it offers a flashier version of reformism, but because it claims the Leninist-Trotskyist tradition. Such militants should carefully study the major works of Lenin and especially Trotsky and then compare the record of the SWP and the Spartacist League during the past ten years on the major questions of the day.

They will discover that where Lenin called for turning imperialist war into civil war and denounced petty-bourgeois pacifism, the SWP refused to take sides in the civil war raging in Indochina and formed a political bloc with the liberal doves of the capitalist Democratic Party. Where De Leon and Lenin denounced the "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class," the SWP acts as errand boys and cheerleaders for the liberal union bureaucrats such as Arnold Miller and Ed Sadlowski, who in turn deliver their ranks to the Democratic Party on election day in November (in addition to stabbing strikes in the back). And in Portugal the SWP politically apologized for Mário Soares' SP at the very moment that it was allying itself with fascist elements against the supposed threat of a "revolutionary takeover" by the CP and the "far left."

They will discover that the Spartacist League together with Cannon tell the truth about Debs while the SWP cynically perpetuates the myth of a Debs tradition in order to appear American as apple pie. The SL continues the revolutionary tradition of Lenin and Trotsky, while the SWP can only give them a more effective version of the "independent" reformism which the stodgy anti-communists of the Norman Thomas/Frank Zeidler SP can no longer deliver. Like their predecessors these social democrats of the second mobilization can offer the working class nothing but new betrayals. ■

Exchange...

(continued from page 5)

would provide employment for some of the locked-out workers, while undercutting the press blackout in New York, and serve as a rallying point to draw in support for the strike from the rest of the labor movement. The provision for no capitalist advertising would further increase pressure on the publishers. Were such a policy pursued by the unions, it would quickly isolate the interim papers and make it easy to generate broad labor support to halt their production and distribution.

Of course, such a labor daily would be qualitatively different from the union-sponsored papers published during the West Coast strikes. Such papers were essentially last-ditch, desperation measures undertaken by the unions after the decisive battle had been lost at the point of production and the bosses had resumed large-scale scab publishing. A policy for a labor daily must be conceived as having a bold and aggressive character, designed to consolidate the unity of the workers and throw the enemy on the defensive; once the solidarity of the unions has been decisively smashed, as on the West Coast, then of course this tactic is robbed of its real impact and power.

You are certainly correct in citing the importance of the *Organizer*, published by the Trotskyist leadership of the Minneapolis Teamsters during the great 1934 strike. This was, in fact, the first strike daily ever published in the United States, and it proved an invaluable antidote for the strikers to the lies circulated in the bosses' press. However, we focused on the British example because it involved a *general press blackout*.

Interestingly, at the time of the 1926 general strike, the British Trades Union Congress (TUC) leadership initially had no plans to publish their own press. The *New Statesman* at the time observed far more sagaciously: "In a newsless world, Governments must inevitably be almost omnipotent." The British bourgeoisie, in any event, had no intention of forsaking a propaganda arm during the general strike. The government took over the premises of the *Morning Post*, expropriated newsprint from the struck papers, recruited printing personnel from among foremen, supervisors, students, the military, etc., and published the *British Gazette* during the course of the strike, the first issue appearing May 5 under the direction of Winston Churchill.

Only when it got word of the government's schemes did the TUC make any plans to publish its own press, the *British Worker*, which was printed on the premises of the *Daily Herald*, the organ of the British Labour Party. However, because of the belatedness of the decision of the bureaucracy and the lack of prepared coordination beforehand, the *British Worker* never appeared in anywhere near the quantities in which it was demanded.

The 1926 general strike was of course defeated, not by the greater circulation of the *British Gazette* or even by the military strength of the bourgeoisie but due to the treachery of the TUC leadership, which was not prepared for the political consequences of a direct confrontation with the state. Likewise, the call for a daily newspaper published by the labor movement is not a *deus ex machina* which can guarantee victory to the NYC newspaper strike. What it does do, however, is point the way to broadening the struggle so that the press unions do not go down to defeat in isolation, as occurred in the *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner* strike, the *Washington Post* strike and others. ■

Fascists...

(continued from page 12)

tunately is but a reflection of the political weakness and lack of organisation of the anti-fascist forces.

Other leftist organisations participating in the Brick Lane counter-march, notably the International-Communist League (I-CL), advocate physically confronting the fascists regardless of the balance of forces. The I-CL, hitherto a left tail of the pacifistic ANL, is now pressuring the SWP to return to the adventurist anti-fascist actions of last year. But substitutionist adventurism is not the answer to the pacifistic popular frontism of the ANL. In a sense it is the opposite pole of the same opportunist methodology. What is necessary is the difficult fight to bring out the mass organisations of the working class, above all the trade unions.

The struggle to build workers defence squads will never be undertaken by the worthies who grace ANL platforms. Rather the fight to mobilise the power of labour to crush the National Front is inseparably linked to the fight to oust the Labour tops, both the Callaghans and Benns, and the union misleaders, the Duffys and Scargills, and replace them with a new revolutionary leadership of the workers movement.

Such a leadership cannot be built on the basis of bourgeois popular frontism in the style of the ANL and its partisans, but only through the fight for the programme of proletarian revolution. As the SL/B said in its leaflet for the Brick Lane counter-march: "Break with the ANL popular front! For working-class action to smash the National Front!" ■

Pass the ERA!

NOW: Jimmy Carter's "Ladies' Auxiliary"

A hundred thousand people marched in Washington in support of the Equal Rights Amendment last July. The leaders of the National Organization for Women (NOW) are still congratulating themselves. NOW's fake-socialist tailists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) are gearing up to redouble their efforts to become the "best builders" of moribund liberalism and bourgeois feminism, their appetites whetted by this unexpected show of strength. Preaching "confidence and unity," the SWP greets the upcoming NOW National Convention with happy cries that a strategy of "visible protest" is what brings results.

And the result that all seek is passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, a formal statement of token equality under the law for women. The ERA should be passed. We of the Spartacist League support its passage. But we are under no illusions that bringing legal hypocrisy in line with liberal sentiment will really alter the lives of women, whose oppression is fundamentally rooted in capitalism and the nuclear family.

Passage of the ERA will change the lives of women - particularly oppressed working-class and minority-group women - about as much as the passage of the Equal Rights Act of 1964 changed the lives of most blacks, whose living standards have plummeted under the impact of the economic crises of decaying capitalism. The outpouring of liberal, radical and minority group energies that went into passing legislation to protect the rights of black people was not exactly wasted. It is a good thing that civil rights laws were passed, for they made life a little harder for landlords and employers addicted to unusually overt racist practices. And they made life a good deal easier for a small layer of petty-bourgeois and aspiring petty-bourgeois blacks.

But oohndy but a wide-eyed liberal would deny that things got worse for the bulk of American black people. And nobody but a cynical reformist can turn a blind eye to the way the capitalist government of "human rights" Jimmy Carter has been attacking every real gain won in struggle. From busing to abortion, the liberals' cherished reforms are being wiped away with a stroke of the pen by the very same Congress and courts which liberals claimed could become the protectors of the oppressed. The capitalists have killed busing, closed down the poverty programs, struck down open admissions in the name of the "rights" of Alan Bakke.

But NOW continues to beseech the capitalist rulers to show themselves more sensitive to women's needs. NOW has its own class-based program, the bankrupt program of bourgeois liberalism, whose first concern is keeping the oppressed tied to "lesser evil" capitalist politicians. NOW's basic strategy includes the manipulation of the just grievances of the oppressed against the one force potentially capable of leading them to victory: the organized labor movement. NOW's recipes for advancing women's rights include government "affirmative action" schemes and anti-discrimination court suits against the unions, union-busting weapons which place the doubly oppressed women workers *on the wrong side* in the crucial battle for trade-union independence from the capitalist state.

And the slickest arguments for this suicidal strategy of relying on the class enemy to fight the labor bureaucrats' discriminatory policies come from NOW's supposed left wing, the SWP. The vicious red-baiting which the SWP has suffered at the hands of the NOW leadership is ironic. For the SWP offers no programmatic alternative to NOW's pro-capitalist leadership, but simply presents itself as the advocate of a more "visible" protest strategy in support of the same classless reformist aims.

The SWP likes "visible protest" because it likes to pretend that being "in the streets" constitutes "independence" from the Democratic Party. And it is delighted with NOW's choice of the ERA as the single issue. Why? As the SWP explained in its recent "Active Workers Conference": "In the unions, the ERA remains the issue most likely to get the broadest response from the ranks and the least opposition from the officials" ("Building the National Organization for Women," SWP *Party Organizer*, Vol. 2, No. 6, September 1978).

Indeed, the ERA is a godsend to left-talking elements of the union bureaucracy—such as the SWP's darling, Ed Sadlowski of the Steelworkers, or its latest discovery, Doug Fraser of the UAW—in cultivating a "progressive" image on the cheap. These promise-them-anything fakers are as staunchly opposed to unleashing the real power of the labor movement against the capitalist government as are the overt reactionaries.

The masses of working women will never be won to actively supporting the middle-class reform aims of organizations like NOW which seek to bind them ever more tightly to their illusions in the "democracy" of the ruling class and its government. Only a program which does not pit strata of the working people against each other (women against men, blacks against whites and unionists against the unemployed) for a share of the shrinking capitalist "pie," but goes outside the framework of the capitalist status quo to pose a real fight on behalf of the working class and all the oppressed, can advance the struggle for equality. Only a class-based struggle for the rights of the oppressed can wrest real gains from the capitalist rulers as it organizes to sweep them away and open the road to real freedom through socialist revolution. ■

Correction

A reader has brought to our attention that Roberto Clemente was a Puerto Rican baseball star, not Dominican as we identified him in the article "Nicaragua in Flames" (*WV* No. 215, 22 September).

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Organized Labor Must Smash Fascists in Britain

LONDON — The long economic decay of British imperialism has reached the point where the living standards of its workers are now lower than those in Spain. Simultaneously, a significant black and Asian population, the after-effect of a once great colonial empire, is crowded into the ghettos of Britain's major cities. These explosive social conditions have spawned a racist anti-immigration "backlash" as well as an aggressive fascist movement, the National Front (NF).

The Front scored a victory Sunday, 24 September, when it organised a 2,000-strong "March Against Communism" through the Asian immigrant area of Brick Lane in London's East End. Perhaps 1,200 leftist and immigrant counter-marchers were prevented by the police from getting near the fascist demonstration. Front leaders John Tyndall and Martin Webster could boast, "We have never been stronger." About 50 of the fascist hooligans later celebrated their successful march by rampaging through the Asian neighborhood, breaking windows and threatening residents.

Did the balance of forces in Brick Lane on the 24th indicate that anti-fascist forces in Britain are so small and impotent? Not at all! *That same day* the Anti Nazi League (ANL) attracted *sixty to one hundred thousand people* to its second Fun and "Magic" Carnival, held in Brixton far from the NF march. In the words of Tony Cliff's reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the guiding force behind the ANL, "The sun was out, the faces of the people were bright, happy. . . All was celebration" (*Socialist Worker*, 30 September). Not so in Brick Lane.

Spartacist Britain

Tyndall addressing a rally of fascist thugs.

How did this unbelievable situation come about? Why were tens of thousands of supposed anti-fascists carnivalling with smiles on their faces while the National Front was terrorising Asian immigrants?

Last year the SWP organised a series of small, adventurist attacks on the Front, for which it was furiously red-baited by the bourgeois press. In typically opportunist fashion, the Cliffites reacted with a 180-degree turn. They sought the comfort and respectability of a pacifistic, social-patriotic and class-collaborationist bloc with left Labour MP's, union bureaucrats, and sundry Liberals, lords and bishops, the Anti Nazi League. The ANL is a perfect replica of the peaceful "anti-fascist" protest movements that the Stalinist Communist Party erected in the 1930's, full of hot air and pious gestures and with all the fighting strength of a soggy biscuit.

So tens of thousands "rocked against racism" in Brixton to the music of Tom Robinson while Tyndall and Webster's vile bullies were smashing windows in Brick Lane. The reformist bureaucrats and liberals in the ANL are of course happy to back dangerous calls on the bourgeois state to ban the National Front. Such calls have repeatedly resulted in bans on *left-wing* and *anti-fascist* events. But they shrink in horror from mobilising the ranks of the unions and the black and Asian communities to crush the Front in the streets — the only strategy which can truly stop the fascists.

Not enjoying the luxury of revelling in the sun with the ANL, the East End immigrant community directly under attack by the Front reacted with a call for a counter-march initiated by the Hackney and Tower Hamlets Defence Committee. The Spartacist League/Britain (SL/B) responded to the call with approximately 50 supporters. This was the largest organised contingent in the counter-march, a fact which unfor-

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Defend the Left!

SWP Chicago Offices Burned

In the early morning hours on October 2, the Chicago office of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) statewide campaign committee headquarters were looted, ransacked and set on fire. SWP files were stolen and campaign literature was destroyed. An anti-communist outfit calling itself "Vietnam Veterans Against Communism" claimed credit for the attack, according to the Chicago police department's bomb and arson squad. More ominously, these thugs have promised more violence and issued death threats vowing to machine gun and kill SWP members and campaign workers.

The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League resolutely condemn this vicious attack against the SWP by these right-wing hoodlums! This attack represents a serious threat to all left-wing, labor and minority organizations who are targets of ultraright paramilitary organizations, fascist groups and the repressive apparatus of the capitalist state. We demand that the scum who carried out this criminal attack be jailed and prosecuted. However, we also point out that assaults on left-wing offices, trade-union headquarters or black community groups are more likely to be met with indifference by the bourgeois state, whose interests these vermin openly serve.

WV Photo

The aftermath of terror attack on SWP's Chicago office, October 2.

Chicago police red squad unit ties to fascist and paramilitary terrorist groups are notorious, well documented and acknowledged by all but police spokesmen, the Daley/Bilandic machine and obnoxious journalistic apologists. During the 1960's the fascistic "Legion of Justice," a group of murderous "patriots" operated as a virtual auxiliary to the police spy unit, staging several violent raids against Chicago SWP offices—while the cops stood lookout!—as well as terrorizing other left-wing and antiwar organizations. The Legion's formidable armory was stocked by the 113th military intelligence unit based in Evanston, and these government-paid criminals even had access to an armored car kept behind their Northwest Side headquarters, a tavern owned by a prominent anti-busing conservative. Legion gangster Thomas Stewart later testified to a September 1975 grand jury that often the raiding parties left directly from police headquarters (*Militant*, 26 September 1975).

The Spartacist League does not place any confidence in the bourgeois legal apparatus to fight right-wing terrorists. Despite countless investigations — including local whitewashes by a grand jury, court suits, high-level congressional committees, etc. — anti-communist terror groups which are aided, abetted, armed and financed by the cops and spy agencies have and will continue to target the left and labor movement.

Unlike civil libertarians who rely on court suits and pressuring the bourgeois state, the SL recognizes that no confidence can be placed in the class enemy to protect the exploited and oppressed. Against an earlier wave of racist night-rider attacks the SL called on the unions to take the lead in organizing labor/black defense. And in a statement condemning the bombing of the SWP headquarters, the Chicago Spartacist League wrote:

> "The assault on the SWP's offices and threats against the lives of SWP members comes in the context of escalating rightist provocation in the Chicago area, notably the rash of Nazi race-hate rallies this summer. This latest act of reactionary violence redoubles the necessity for the left and the working class to defend themselves, in the first instance by standing ready to defend the SWP from rightist attack."

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 217 20 October 1978

Separate Peace Means Wider War

Battered Beirut

Only two weeks after the Camp David summit produced the much vaunted "framework for peace" in the Near East, savage fighting erupted again in war-ravaged Lebanon. Since February the 35,000 Syrian troops stationed in Lebanon as the so-called "Arab Deterrent Force" have battled to disarm their erstwhile allies of the 1975-76 Lebanese civil war, the Mafia-like right-wing Maronite Christian gangs. Maronite districts like Ashrifiyeh in East Beirut have been turned into charred rubble under the continual bombardment of Soviet-made Syrian artillery. Casualties, especially among civilians, have been high. But the Syrians seem more intent on the physical destruction of whole communities—the last attack on East Beirut destroyed over 20,000 homes and apartment buildings.

Ashrifiyeh is reminiscent of Tel Zaatar, a former Palestinian refugee camp which after a 52-day siege was laid waste by the same Maronite gangsters who are now crying about "Christian genocide." At Tel Zaatar it was the Syrian army which prevented Palestinian forces from lifting the siege. Now, under constant shelling by their former protectors, the Maronites are being turned into a refugee population like the Palestinians they have persecuted for 30 years. In the past year 100,000 Maronites have been made homeless, 120,000 are living off Roman Catholic charities and 28,000 are living in tents.

The Syrians have concentrated their firepower on two bridges that link East Beirut with the Maronite northern enclave around the port city of Junieh. These bridges are the conduits for Israeli military equipment unloaded at Junieh and destined for Maronite forces around Beirut and further south. This Zionist-Maronite alliance was forged by a common foe to their respective racialist and clerical-nationalist aspirations: the Palestinians. A Jewish state could be carved out of the Levant only by turning the Palestinians into a nation of refugees. The Palestinian refugees forced to flee to Lebanon and now numbering 400,000 upset a fragile statelet based on feudal communalism and Maronite privilege.

UPI

Smoke from burning oil-storage tanks engulfed Beirut as shelling continued.

In the Lebanese communalist civil war between the Maronite militias and the equally reactionary feudal Muslim clans, the Palestinians, who represented the best armed and organized force in the country, threw their support behind the Muslims. When the Palestinian-backed Muslims threatened to get the upper hand over the Maronites, the Ba'athist regime in Damascus threw its Soviet-supplied military might behind the Maronites. Syrian president Assad feared a Palestinian/Muslim victory would create another "radical" Arab nationalist competitor similar to neighboring Iraq, Syria's fratricidal enemy for two decades. Furthermore, Lebanon was a useful buffer between Syria and Israel.

Why "Separate Peace" Means Syrian War

As *Workers Vanguard* warned after Egyptian president Anwar Sadat's journey to Jerusalem, a separate peace between Egypt and Israel would indeed transform Syria into the "main confrontation state."

> "With Israel armed to the teeth with the latest sophisticated heavy weaponry and Begin girding for war, Syria's rulers must escalate their defensive preparations. This means deepening their reliance on their sole benefactor, the USSR, with all that this implies in terms of a spiraling arms build-up in the Near East and the increased likelihood of a U.S./Russian nuclear confrontation."
>
> —*WV* No. 186, 23 December 1977

With Egypt neutralized and the largest army among the Arab states removed as a threat, Israel can with impunity redeploy its troops, armor and planes along its eastern and especially northern borders. This enhanced flexibility on its northern borders and the increased danger of an Israeli-Syrian confrontation was demonstrated in the

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The President's Pope?

Karol Cardinal Wojtyla, formerly archbishop of Krakow, Poland, is the new "human rights" pope. The first non-Italian pope since the 16th century, he is portrayed in the Western press as a man of "dialogue" with the Soviet bloc. But others struck a more ominous note. Wojtyla has "fought Nazis and communists for 40 years" exulted the *New York Post*. Then U.S. commander-in-chief Carter instantly announced that his sinister security adviser, Polish Catholic Zbigniew Brzezinski, is a personal friend of the new bishop of Rome. And when someone is Brzezinski's buddy, watch out!

It was the abrupt death of John Paul I, after a mere 34 days in office, which opened the way for the new Polish pope. This event brought much wonderment among the faithful at the mysterious workings of god's will. It also brought dark rumors of Vatican intrigue and ancient poisons, rumors that have been fueled by the Curia's refusal to allow an autopsy. Only days after his election Italian newspapers were already printing criticisms of the ill-fated pope which could only have originated high in the Vatican bureaucracy.

By all accounts John Paul I was no stern-minded administrator but an amiable, simple priest whose hobby was writing "imaginary letters" to historic characters (among them Sir Walter Scott and Pinocchio). Hardly the sort to wield proper control over the Vatican's immense, labyrinthian financial, political and administrative machine.

Wojtyla is made of stronger stuff, and as commentators have approvingly noted, is a much younger man who can "take the church into the 21st century." Elected the evening of October 16, the new pope (who calls himself John Paul II) wasted no time in getting down to business. *L'Osservatore Romano*, the Vatican mouthpiece, immediately published articles by him denouncing alleged persecution of the church by those who see religion "as the opiate of the people."

Polish Communist Party chief

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For a Socialist Fight to Save New York/7

Military Victory to the Nationalist Guerrillas!

Rhodesian Premier Strikes Out in U.S.

Ian Smith's Last Ditch

As white settlers continue to stream out of Rhodesia at a rate of 1,000 per month, the leader of this unviable outpost of racist rule, Prime Minister Ian Smith, last week arrived in the U.S. to make a desperate plea for American backing. What he got instead was a cold shoulder from the Carter administration and hostile demonstrations led by liberal Democrats and leftists.

Smith's visit was sponsored by the right-wing fringe of the U.S. bourgeoisie. His chaperone was Senator S.I. Hayakawa, who first gained national notoriety for suppressing student protests at San Francisco State in the late 1960's and whose latest claim to fame has been as an outspoken opponent of Jimmy Carter's Panama Canal Treaty. Also sponsoring the Rhodesian premier's tour were 26 other rightist senators and the American Security Council, a cold war lobby associated with the John Birch Society.

The trip was a challenge to Washington, which claims to support the sanctions against Rhodesia declared by the UN. The State Department initially attempted to deny Smith a visa, relenting shortly before his scheduled arrival; and the British Labour government banned his projected visit to London. This did not, however, represent principled opposition to white supremacist rule, but only a diplomatic maneuver in order to retain credibility with the black guerrilla forces threatening Smith's regime.

In a desperate attempt to save itself, the white settler state has adopted a scheme initially proposed by Kissinger in 1976—the "internal settlement" which brought several black puppets into the "transitional government." While promising free elections, this arrangement maintains intact the state apparatus which for 15 years has administered the racist minority rule. Carter et al. realize that no one is taken in by this hoax, and that the whites cannot hold out indefinitely against the guerrillas.

U.S. and British imperialism are insisting that the petty bourgeois nationalist factions led by Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo be brought into the government, in order to replace the archaic colonial regime with a black-administered neo-colonialist set-up. Smith adamantly refuses to accept this proposal and has come to the U.S. to tout the virtues of the "internal settlement" accompanied by the Rev. Sithole, one of the black stooges in his government.

The Smith visit sparked a series of demonstrations across the country protesting the murderous Rhodesian white supremacist regime. But as with the liberal-led anti-apartheid "divestment" movement, the protests were aimed at exhorting U.S. imperialism, the patron of dozens of reactionary dictatorships throughout the world, to punish the Rhodesian racists. It was therefore not surprising to find Democratic Party politicos at the head of these demonstrations. A march in Atlanta was led by strikebreaking mayor Maynard Jackson, while a demonstration at the White House was addressed by Marion Barry, the Democratic candidate for mayor of Washington, D.C.

At a demonstration in Los Angeles on October 16, the liberal organizers of the protest issued a leaflet demanding that Carter comply with the phony UN sanctions. But a Spartacist League contingent raised the proletarian alternative to reliance on U.S. imperialism. SL picket signs demanded "No Negotiations! Military Victory to ZANU and ZAPU!" While supporting the guerrillas against the colonialist regime, the SL placed no confidence in the "anti-imperialist" rhetoric of the nationalists. Our signs demanded: "Down with Smith and his Lackeys—For Workers Revolution!" "For a Zimbabwean Workers and Peasants Government!" ■

Johnston/Washington Post

Right-wing senator Hayakawa calls on reporter at press conference for Ian Smith (center) and Rev. Sithole on Capitol Hill.

Hsinhua

Rhodesian guerrillas

FLASH!

Canadian Postal Workers Hit the Bricks

TORONTO, October 17—At midnight today Canada's 23,000 mail sorters and postal clerks organized into the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) launched a nationwide walkout under the threat of imminent back-to-work legislation. By late afternoon the federal parliament had rushed through a vicious strikebreaking measure. Postal workers are legislated back to work under the heavy guns of fines and possible jail sentences, with unresolved contract issues ultimately to be settled by compulsory arbitration. Individual workers who defy this back-to-work order will be fined $100 a day. Union officials who counsel defiance will be fined $2,500 plus $250 for each day workers stay out, while the union will be subjected to a $10,000 fine and $1,000 a day.

CUPW has been without a contract for over 15 months as postal management has attempted to roll back gains won in its militant, 42-day 1975 strike. Following in the footsteps of its mentors in the U.S., Canadian postal management wants to eliminate thousands of postal jobs through mechanization and speedup. Since their last contract CUPW has more than 52,000 grievances outstanding.

Most importantly, the Trudeau government needs to defeat the traditionally militant postal union in order to continue wage control in the public sector, as proposed in the reactionary bill C-28. Under the terms of the present back-to-work legislation, the arbitrated contract will be extended to two and a half years, retroactively to July 1977 and up through 31 December 1979. The government is claiming that the one-year period dating from July 1977 comes under the old wage control program, which limited wage increases to 6 percent while inflation soared to double-digit figures. The last government offer would extend the 6 percent limit for at least another six months, and Postmaster General Gilles Lamantage has threatened that CUPW may get even less under arbitration.

For months CUPW president Jean Claude Parrot has ordered his membership to work without a contract, swallowing wage controls and job slashing. Instead, Parrot had pushed legislation that would turn the post office into a crown corporation, where supposedly negotiations would take place under a less repressive labor code. Trudeau obliged only weeks ago—and CUPW members have suddenly discovered that with the "crowning" of the post office, their right to strike has been outlawed! Parrot is now wavering on what to do. CUPW members must demand that the union continue its nationwide strike in defiance of the strikebreaking legislation!

The CUPW strike is merely the most recent example of government back-to-work legislation imposed on public workers. Last month the Ontario provincial parliament ordered Toronto transit employees back to work with a 4 percent pay raise pending the outcome of arbitration, even though the transit commission's last offer before the strike was 5 percent. Also in September the other major Canadian postal union (LCUC) settled for a lousy contract completely within the framework of bill C-28. Under the threat of back-to-work legislation, the LCUC bureaucrats folded up their rotating strikes and penned their names to a sellout that strengthened the hand of the federal government to deal with the historically more militant CUPW.

Trudeau's latest strikebreaking move has generated broad sympathy for the postal workers, particularly among public employees. The Ontario Secondary School Teachers Federation declared its support for CUPW's right to strike, and in the strategic Toronto Local 1 of LCUC the executive has declared that "Local 1 will defend any member who is suspended for refusing to cross a picket line by all means up to and including strike action."

If CUPW defies the federal back to work order, the LCUC, the Toronto transit workers, Air Canada employees, and other government and transportation workers who have seen their struggle for decent wages and working conditions rendered impotent by wage controls and strikebreaking legislation should tear up their contracts, join the CUPW on strike and fight for their own demands. Militants in other unions should demand one-day work stoppages in solidarity with the embattled postal workers. That is the way to smash government strikebreaking and wage controls. ■

Strikes Hit Bloody Shah Regime

Even as a "government spokesman" told Radio Iran that the regime "shared the feelings of the mourners," the butcher shah's troops opened fire October 16 on demonstrators commemorating September's "Bloody Friday" in which more than a thousand anti-shah protesters were slaughtered. Monday's demonstrations and a one-day general strike called by Shi'ite Muslim leader Ayatollah Khomeini from his Parisian exile represent only the latest and largest protests in what has become a continuous state of turmoil in Iran.

The current movement of putting symbols of westernization to the torch remains under the control of the mullahs, the Islamic holy men who utilize the oppression of the shah's tyranny to build a movement which seeks to return Iran to the medieval religious fervor of the 7th century A.D. The mullahs have not only graphically demonstrated their commitment to Islam's brutal subjugation of women by parading contingents of women swathed in the veil, but have made no secret about their intention to suppress the Iranian left. The slaughter of the Indonesian Communists by Muslim fanatics in 1965 provides an object lesson in the reactionary implications of a victory by Khomeini's followers.

However, a crucial new element has now entered the arena—the Iranian proletariat. A working-class strike wave has swept Iran in the past two weeks—posing the possibility of a *proletarian* axis of opposition to both the shah and the reactionary Shi'ite mullahs. While it is difficult to discern the direction and full implications of the rapidly spreading strike wave from a distance (particularly given a virtual news blackout by the American bourgeois press) and while it appears that strike demands by most workers focus solely on economic issues, the proletariat's entry into struggle against the shah is nevertheless of potentially immense significance.

The workers' strikes are clearly seen as distinct from the mullah-led protests. This was made explicit when strikes by taxi drivers, government, airline, hospital and postal employees, among others, broke out and the merchants of Teheran unexpectedly *opened* the city's main bazaar, which had been shut down in support of Khomeini and the mullah-led religious opposition. They wanted, said the merchants, "not to confuse the issue with the other strikes" (UPI dispatch, 7 October).

Strikes during the first week of October by workers at the Iranian National Bank, oil industry engineers and telephone and telegraph workers won quick promises of pay hikes from prime minister Jaafar Sharif-Emami. But the shaky regime could not stem the continually rising number of new strikes. Mailmen, doctors, teachers, water and power company employees went out demanding higher wages, food allowances and cheap housing. On October 7 more state workers went out, forcing school and hospital closings and grounding the national airline. Then, on October 8, the railway workers struck, halting all Teheran-bound trains and forcing passengers off. They were joined the same day by the radio and television workers.

On October 11 Iran's two major newspapers, *Ettelaat* and *Keyhan* ceased publication as 4,000 employees walked out in an unprecedented protest against the military censorship. The next day printers refused to put out the paper of the shah's political machine, the Rastakhiz party. The railway workers, who had returned to work after management promises to consider their demands, went back out on strike again. The strike wave spread to textile workers, agricultural laborers and the state-owned Sar Cheshmesh copper mines. Even more important is the walkout by 30,000 workers at the ultra-modern Isfahan steel works, one of the shah's pet industrial projects.

Furthermore, the extension of the strike wave beyond the ranks of white-collar workers took a qualitative step when 10,000 oil workers went out for more than a week. Many of the workers in the oilfields, located in the southwestern province of Khuzistan, are Arabs, subjected to national oppression at the hands of the brutally chauvinist Persian monarchy. For decades the oilfield workers were in the vanguard of the Iranian class struggle. In 1946, 100,000 of them took on the British oil monopolies, the real rulers of Iran in that period, and arms in hand fought off the tribesmen hired to smash the strike. It was yet another massive strike by the oil workers in 1952 which sparked the movement to nationalize the oil industry.

The tremendous social power of the working class is illustrated by the government's response. On the one hand the shah has undertaken ferocious repression against strikers and particularly the strikes' spontaneously evolved leadership. But at the same time the regime attempts to appease the workers with economic concessions, sometimes even substantial ones. Currently, the instability of the dictatorship is glaringly exposed by the state's almost instant promises to meet the strikers' economic demands. Ground down under the staggering inflation of the "oil boom" of the 1970's, the strikers demanded wage increases of between 50 and 100 percent. The government immediately offered at least 25 percent. Moreover, the shah is willing to sacrifice some of his most precious projects as a result, such as his nuclear power station plan and a number of weapons purchases, including perhaps the $1.2 billion AWACS radar system.

The very fact that the masses of Iranian workers are caught up in an unprecedented national strike wave starkly raises the question of the role of the working class, which has not been a visible, independent factor in recent years. The Iranian proletariat, emboldened by the regime's crisis, has defied martial law in defense of its most elementary economic needs. What it now urgently requires is a revolutionary, Trotskyist leadership which can mobilize it politically against both the murderous shah and the reactionary Muslim fundamentalist mullahs.

Abbas/Gamma-Liaison

The butcher shah

Sygma

Riot troops prepare to move in on anti-shah demonstrators in September.

Despite assertions to the contrary by Iranian leftists tailing Khomeini, Iran's industrial and white-collar workers have remained aloof from the mullah-led movement of the past year. The "general strikes" proclaimed by the mullahs and their bourgeois nationalist allies affected only the shopkeepers and merchants. The Muslims obtained working-class support only from the more unskilled laborers fresh from the countryside.

Large sections of the Iranian proletariat, welded into collective units by the conditions of capitalist oppression, who have become urbanized and even secularized, thus have little in common with Khomeini's reactionary dreams. In one illustrative case, many of those forced off the trains by striking railwaymen were religious pilgrims! It is also interesting that the Fedayeen Guevarists, in an attempt to justify their abstention from working-class struggles, echo the mullahs' anti-Western ravings by attacking the workers' "petty-bourgeois habits" (i.e., exposure to television, movies, newspapers).

The Iranian lake left shows its bankruptcy when it joins the Muslim preachers in blaming the oppression of the working class and the imperialist exploitation of Iran on Coca-Cola and TV. Their craven class collaboration, which has taken the grotesque form of apologies for the mullahs, is the real barrier to the struggle to imbue the Iranian proletariat with revolutionary class consciousness and the struggle for proletarian dictatorship.

While the rest of the left fulsomely praises the "progressive" Muslim religious opposition, the Spartacist League has been unique in calling on the Iranian proletariat, not the mullahs, to overthrow the murderous and corrupt shah. As we wrote last month:

> "The victory of a reactionary movement of Muslim traditionalism will represent a far-reaching historical *defeat* for communists, who seek a revolutionary emancipation from semi-feudal backwardness. The religious opposition stands on the heritage of the Middle Ages, opposed even to the paltry social advances for women in past decades."
>
> —"Iran in Turmoil," WV No. 215, 22 September

Citing the example of Indonesia and Khomeini's injunctions against cooperation with communists, we warned that the Iranian Maoists' present support of the Islamic fundamentalists could be literally suicidal.

Our refusal to join the reformists and centrists in giving "anti-imperialist" alibis to the mullahs has driven the disciples of Khomeini in the West to a frenzy. In recent weeks SL forums on Iran have been the targets of disruption attempts by Muslim student groups in Boston, Chicago and Madison. In Chicago members of one of the Maoist wings of the Iranian Students Association vehemently denied that the religious leaders advocated the suppression of communism and oppression of women. But this was immediately contradicted by their aggressive Muslim "allies," who brought a woman wearing the *hejab*, the medieval veil, and proudly announced they stood for "death or the *hejab*"!

The SL speaker warned that it is highly unlikely that the mullahs would seize power directly, and that their model would be something like Pakistan where the military seized power in order to "purify" the Islamic state. This warning is pooh-poohed by the Stalinists, but only a few days later Khomeini, from exile in France, explicitly declared, "The army must rise up and help overthrow the Shah" (*Washington Post*, 16 October). We wonder how comfortable the ISA leftists would feel in the company of the generals and SAVAK secret police torturers the mullahs are calling on to join them.

The current strikes must transcend simple economic issues and become an all-sided political assault on the shah's bloody dictatorship. There will be no revolutionary democratic gains—land to the tiller, liberation of Iran's oppressed nationalities—until the proletariat takes power. And this in turn requires a Bolshevik vanguard party to win the working class to an independent and intransigent class policy.

Despite their kaleidoscopic divisions, the Iranian Stalinists and guerrillaists are united in subordinating the proletariat's struggle against its exploitation and oppression to the needs of the "anti-imperialist" mullahs or "national bourgeoisie." The heroic struggles of the workers in the 1940's and 1950's were betrayed by the strikebreaking Stalinist Tudeh party. The call of the international Spartacist tendency to build an Iranian Trotskyist party means a struggle to prevent future betrayals and defeats of the working class and provide the revolutionary leadership which can bring the proletariat to power. Down with the shah! Down with the mullahs! For an Iranian Workers and Peasants Government! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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HATE THE TRUTH, HATE THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE

NEW LEFT MORALISTS' BIG LIE CAMPAIGN

WV Photo

Over the years we have witnessed the episodic appearance of a phenomenon we call the "Anti-Spartacist League"—a rotten bloc of parasitic "left" grouplets united only by their hatred of the principled Trotskyist politics of the Spartacist League. During the past couple of years it has resurfaced in the form of a motley crew of cliques, cults and crazies with no apparent purpose in life other than the increasingly faint hope of chipping off a piece of our organization.

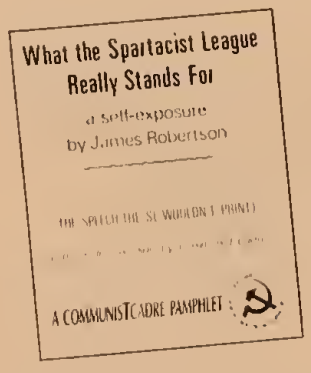
People attending SL forums in New York will encounter salesmen from groups like the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), League for a Revolutionary Party (LRP), Committee for a Revolutionary Party (CRSP), Communist Cadre (CTC), ComunistTCadre-Marxist (CTCM), etc. In their hands they will be waving articles entitled, "Spartacist League: Racists in Revolutionary Clothes," "SL Corruption Deepens" and even a pamphlet, *What the Spartacist League Really Stands For. A Self-Exposure by James Robertson (The Speech the SL Wouldn't Print).*

A newcomer to Spartacist functions might assume these vociferous opponents belong to the same organization. Their articles are indistinguishable and they often support one another's speakers in floor discussion. Of course, they span polar opposites on most political questions. For instance on the Russian question—central defining issue for ostensible Trotskyists—the Shachtmanite RSL and LRP hold that the USSR is capitalist-imperialist, while the Marcyite CTC twins and the Pablolite CRSP view the Kremlin and its sometime "Third World" nationalist allies as agencies of anti-imperialist struggle. The supporters of Khrushchev's crushing of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution and the advocates of Stalin's defeat by Nazi Germany in World War II maintain diplomatic silence on the Russian question while making common cause against the SL.

The core of the attack is the slanderous charge of "racism." Why racism? Well, the charge of racism (like the charge of "cop") is the dirtiest mud that can be slung. In this racist society it is a charge that presumes guilt until proved innocent. To reply presumably confirms that suspicion is widespread and perhaps justified. To remain silent is taken as evidence of guilt.

It is not a new slander technique. The Big Lie has been around for a long time. Tell the most preposterous lie—but tell it often.

Our opponents are so used to mendaciousness that they assume everyone else lies too. So when in the SL press we have addressed some of the problems of the struggle to cohere a black Trotskyist cadre, our opponents get excited. Stupidly imputing to *WV* the euphemistic style characteristic of the left press, where "problem" means big trouble and "struggle" means faction fight, the Anti-Spartacist League scented blood and began to buzz around us like frenzied mosquitos.



The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), reformist big daddy of all the fake-Trotskyist apologists for "consistent nationalism," calls the tune. But what is for the SWP a cynical ploy aimed at protecting its left flank is for the Anti-Spartacist League a life-or-death matter. When the SWP hid behind its "Letters" column (*Militant*, 29 April 1977) to slander the SL as having "similar slogans" to the Nazis, not even the SWP could take it very seriously. When Fred Halstead took the floor at the 1977 SWP national conference to read from a *WV* account of SL internal discussions on the black question and to lecture the SWP delegates on the SL's "anti-lumpen" line, it was an amusing diversion from the SWP's pursuit of the opportunist "main chance." But for the rats who are dancing to the Pied Piper's tune, the "exposure" of SL "racism" is a holy crusade to break out of pitiful irrelevance by winning over a chunk of the SL.

Fat chance. In general it is axiomatic that smaller socialist groups recruit from their larger opponents. We have made the SWP painfully aware of this fact of political life, winning dozens of members from the SWP over the last several years. Yet although the Anti-Spartacist League has devoted incredible efforts to reaching our membership, to our knowledge none of these cliques has recruited a *single member* from the SL since the unlamented Harry Turner launched the prototype for anti-Spartacist rotten blocs some nine (!) years ago (see "VNL/CSL Form Anti-Spartacist League," *WV* No. 20, 11 May 1972).

It is not because we haven't given them the chance. The SL is scrupulous in our consistent defense of democracy within the workers movement. The aging New Leftists, personality cultists and JFK assassination freaks who comprise the present Anti-Spartacist League can sell the most hysterical, slanderous attacks on us a few feet from our meeting halls without fear of harassment or physical intimidation. Their members are called upon during discussion periods and allotted the same speaking time as our members. Their diatribes may even be reprinted in our special bulletin series, "Hate Trotskyism—Hate the Spartacist League." And when they can usefully be invoked as a foil for political discussion, they even hit the big time—space in *WV*.

Meanwhile, this pack of opportunist huffers and puffers has been no more successful in convincing others of their anti-SL slanders. Particularly frustrating for the Anti-Spartacist League was our fusion last summer with the Red Flag Union, formerly Lavender and Red Union (L&RU), which began as a serious leftist gay liberation group with broadly Maoist politics. When during 1976-77 this group began seriously investigating Trotskyism, the RSL and the Pablists who later formed the CRSP fell all over themselves in championing gay liberation as a strategic "new vanguard." The Spartacist League, however, has been consistently hostile toward the life-style radicalism of the gay liberation milieu and toward all sectoralist conceptions of revolutionary organization. So when these former gay liberationists chose to unite with the SL, of all groups claiming to be Trotskyist, it must have appeared to our New Left moralist opponents as the ultimate political crime against nature.

All that the Crispies and the RSL could do was fulminate that the "gay Uncle Toms" of the former L&RU had joined the "notoriously anti-gay" Spartacist vultures. And those who may have thought that by handying around charges of racism they could seal blacks off from the Spartacist League will be chagrined to learn that in the last two years the SL has steadily recruited blacks and Latins. In fact, the number of minority group members of our movement today is double that of July 1977. In short, the Anti-Spartacist League has recruited no one from the SL, and its Big Lie campaign has not prevented us from winning serious black militants to Trotskyism. Which goes to show that political integrity has its rewards.

Rosenberg/Detroit Free Press

Sacks/New York Times

Scene along Detroit's 12th Street at the time of the 1967 ghetto explosion, above, and the same area ten years later.

Goat Fuckers and Guilt Trippers

The Anti-Spartacist League, however, has grown increasingly frenzied in its attacks upon us as its frustration deepens. Last year Sy Landy's *Socialist Voice* (Spring 1977) began hawking a diatribe against "The Spartacist League's Scandalous Chauvinism." The article claimed a January 1977 New York forum by SL National Chairman James Robertson "added a new, ugly, and damaging stain on the reputation of Trotskyism." The reason? "Robertson delivered a series of chauvinist epithets that insulted the revolutionary capacities of the working classes everywhere and denigrated almost every non-white, non-American and non-English speaking people. . . ." To wit:

> "'The Greek population exists by selling its children or selling Swiss watches to one another.'
>
> "Albania, the only 'workers state' Robertson saw fit to mention, was a nation of 'goat-fuckers.'
>
> "'Northern Europe is dripping with fat' . . .
>
> "Canada was not worth considering (although the Spartacist tendency has a group in that country) because it is only the 'fringe on the surrey extending fifty miles north of the U.S. border.' Non-English speaking North America (Mexico and Quebec . . .) was specifically ignored in this talk.
>
> "As for the U.S. . . . it too 'is a jaded country' which, like Northern Europe, 'drips with fat if you exclude the Negro from the statistics.' But Robertson saved his vilest spleen for the American blacks. 'The black population burned down the ghettoes and it's now waiting for the Jews to come back and open up the drug stores.' High prices charged by storekeepers in the ghetto were attributed to the fact that 'black kids rip them off.'"

Whew! No one is safe, it seems, from the SL's acid comments.

But what is the frenzy really all about? Like all good liberals, the Anti-Spartacist League wants to deny that oppression oppresses. In their eyes, the downtrodden are morally cleansed by the very fact of their subjugation. By definition, there can be no black criminals. They rail against the likes of racist mass murderer Vorster in South Africa but you will not find a word in their papers against Idi Amin, who has directly killed many tens of thousands of black Africans, far more than the apartheid Führers.

And there is a program behind this priggishness: petty-bourgeois moralism. Citing Lenin's elementary observation that there is an important difference between the nationalism of the oppressed and the nationalism of the oppressor, these unwashed New Leftists fall into line behind the program of "revolutionary" retaliation. Marxists have a different program. We fight national oppression from the standpoint of proletarian internationalism. We recognize the right of self-determination of *all* nations; cheerleaders for "Third World" nationalism hold, inverting a line from a recent rock song, that "big peoples got no reason to live." Socialism will transcend the national limits of capitalism; "consistent nationalists" seek to reverse the terms of oppression.

The anti-Spartacists go apoplectic because the SL does not abide by the liberal convention that in "polite society" one does not talk frankly about the race question. Case in point: Robertson's ghetto drug stores. We invite our outraged opponents to take a drive through the areas of Detroit that were burnt out in 1967. They will find the population indeed still waiting for the shopkeepers to return—and the few black-managed businesses that are open bristling with black security guards carrying shotguns. No, it's not pretty—it's just true. But for the New Left moralists, aimless outbursts of frustrated violence—testimony to the desperation and powerlessness of the ghettoes—are to be dressed up as "ghetto rebellions," glorious celebrations of lumpen rage. If their only real result is to worsen the quality of life in the ghettoes, Sy Landy couldn't care less.

All that counts is to get the SL for "'great nation' bullying." Of course, *Socialist Voice* fails to mention that Robertson's reference to a reported remark by Karl Marx had a political purpose: underscoring the political irony of the fact that the "Gang of Four" Maoists' last redoubt of socialist purity is a tiny, wretchedly poor and backward country composed largely of mountain tribes and shepherds:

> "The harder Maoist types, looking for a spiritual homeland that has state power, are now looking at Tirana. We have had our comrades checking, and it is not yet assured, but we believe that Marx referred to the Albanians as 'goat-fuckers.' Is that true? But then he was prone to ethnically pejorative phrases. And it must be pointed out that, to this day, and under the conditions of the fourth 5-year plan, the production of goats is still the principal activity in Albania."

For people of such refined sensibilities that their hair is standing on end, we must advise them not to expand their obviously meager reading of Marx on the national question. For what will they say when they find Marx comparing Turkey to the stinking corpse of a dead horse, labeling the Poles slothful or speaking of the Chinese nationality "with all its overbearing prejudice, stupidity, learned ignorance and pedantic barbarism"?

Marx and Engels despised the hypocritical prurience of those who eschew strong language, and for their epithets were frequently attacked as racists and German nationalists, a charge they vehemently rejected:

> "Let no one object that we speak here on behalf of German national prejudices. In German, French, Belgian and English periodicals, the proofs are to be found that it was precisely the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* who already long *before* the revolution most decisively opposed all manifestations of German national narrowmindedness. But precisely for that reason we should be permitted not to share the fantastic illusions of the Slavs and allowed to judge other peoples as severely as we have judged our own."
>
> —"Democratic Pan-Slavism" (February 1849)

The Spartacist League takes second place to no one in denouncing the crimes and imperialist chauvinism of American imperialism. We were unique in denouncing Jimmy Carter's "human rights" crusade from the outset as a campaign to morally and militarily rearm the bloodiest imperialist power in history. "The main enemy is at home," proclaimed our headlines when the reformists were calling on Carter to "make good" on his "human rights" rhetoric. We have steadfastly defended the democratic rights of blacks, women, homosexuals, immigrants and all the oppressed and we are not going to be lectured on "chauvinism" by people like the LRP and RSL who join the anti-busing racists in opposing "forced" school integration in Boston and elsewhere.

The "Spartacist Tapes"

Following the publication of the LRP's distorted account of the January 29 forum, Communist Cadre apparently felt inspired to go one better, with a pamphlet purporting to contain the verbatim text of the forum "virtually in its entirety." In the introduction, CTC queries.

> "What can one say of a man who claims to be a revolutionary and who publicly refers to the Albanian peasants as 'goat-fuckers'? Who complains of the poor showing made by an SL candidate to student office even though 'we ran a very pretty girl'? . And what can one say of the SL membership who did not sit through this shameless performance in embarrassed silence, but who roared their approval at every turn, cheering Robertson on to the next indecency, to the next slap at the oppressed?"

One can say of the SL that it does not mince words, that it is not afraid to speak frankly to the socialist public about any subject—including itself. "We haven't been growing very much lately," Comrade Robertson told the January 29 forum.

After its introduction and six (!) "appendices," the CTC pamphlet finally gets around to its version of the Robertson speech, broken up every couple of paragraphs with clumps of CTC exegesis, meanwhile complaining that the half-page *WV* account ("Reforge the Fourth International," *WV* No. 143, 4 February 1977) presented only "innocuous" passages and "cleaned-up" paraphrase. But CTC's "Spartacist tapes" must have been "edited" by Nixon's Rosemary Woods! The pamphlet deletes much of the central political material, which is apparently insufficiently titillating: Robertson's evaluation of the class struggle in different countries, emphasizing the key question of leadership (the betrayal of the French Stalinists in 1968, the fossilized British Labour Party, the United Secretariat majority's "self-criticism" on Latin America). Instead, we are treated to reams of distorted summary and editorializing ("There follows here in deleted remarks a lengthy, though scarcely illuminating discussion...").

Communist Cadre is indignant that *WV* treated the speech as a political statement, centering on an elaboration of programmatic points comprising a basis for principled regroupment among elements seeking to break from centrism and reformism, rather than focusing on the one-liners, personal observations and evocative images that make a good speech. In the "almost verbatim" pamphlet, only the jokes are given serious treatment and are highlighted with every typographical device (underscoring, italics, exclamation marks, *sic* notations, capital letters) available on an IBM Selectric. But despite the schoolmarmish commentary and crudely falsifying "editing," the speech still makes interesting reading. We give it an X-rating only for those who are shocked by Trotsky's admonition to "call things by their right names."

Marion Delgado's Little Brothers

The charges of "American chauvinism" and "racism" directed against the SL are not simply random mud-slinging. Most of the Anti-Spartacist League consists of groups derived from the late 1960's New Left. There they learned it was wrong for an American ever to speak ill of "Third World" peoples. As Marxists, we do not pander to the national conceits of *any* people. So we become the target of guilt-tripping petty-bourgeois moralists whose ideas are influenced far more by Frantz Fanon than Leon Trotsky.

To the vicarious guerrillas of the New Left, the "white" nations of capitalist Europe and North America had to pay for centuries of tyranny over the dark-skinned peoples. The entire working class of the "mother country" was a "white labor aristocracy" which had shared in the imperialist plunder. And the only expiation was to "pick up the gun," "follow Third World leadership" and join the global war against "honky Amerika." This was the time when Bernadine Dohrn praised the pathological killer cult of Charles Manson, when another Weatherman leader proclaimed "all white babies are pigs," when youth were urged to emulate one Marion Delgado, an apparently deranged five-year-old Chicano boy who in 1947

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RSL: THE HARDER THEY FALL

Apparently a concerted slander campaign requires no agreement among its participants except the choice of a target. At least, it seems that every "Trotskyist" organization in the U.S. with less than fifty members has embarked on a crusade to "expose" the Spartacist League for "racism" and "chauvinism." They apparently feel no need to get together on the "evidence" they adduce to support their epithets. So the third-camp LRP waxes indignant over our presumed insult to the "Maple Leaf prochivities" of the Canadian bourgeoisie (see accompanying article) while the sour-grapes Pablo-lite fringe rails against the "notoriously antigay" SL and "Uncle Toms" of the former gay liberation collective with which the SL fused last summer. Meanwhile the frenzied Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) last year denounced the "racist" SL on behalf of Spanish-language monolingualism and the moral superiority of the Jamaican lumpenproletariat.

Lumpen capital of the world?

It all began when Spartacist supporters attending a Los Angeles RSL forum last spring requested the Spanish-language meeting provide translation for the English speakers comprising most of the audience. According to the *Torch* (15 April) the demand for translation "reveals the true nature of the Spartacist League" as "arrogant and racist" because "Anglo SLers in Los Angeles have not bothered to learn Spanish." Of course, when an

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Cyprus 1964: Turkish woman mourns for her husband killed in village battle with Greeks. Then the Greeks were dominant, now the Turkish army holds sway. Which is the good people, which the bad? Communists oppose all indiscriminate terror and ethnic/communal attacks.

Don McCullin

A Bolshevik Practice Revived

The Candidate and the Party

At the same time that she was writing a statement to the NYC Board of Elections accepting the Spartacist Party nomination as candidate for New York State Assembly in Manhattan's 64th A.D., Marjorie Stamberg deposited a very different document with the Spartacist League central committee. It was a resignation from the post of assemblyman, signed but undated, to be tendered at any moment at the discretion of the CC.

Although it undoubtedly seems strange to most Americans, this practice is actually an old revolutionary tradition going back to the late 1800's. It is an integral part of the democratic-centralist organizational norms of parties which base themselves on the program and practices of the pre-Stalinist Communist International. And it is a guarantee that here is a candidate the working people can depend on. You are voting not for an individual, who is subject to a myriad of pressures, but for a party which stands or falls on its program.

To understand the reasons for this tradition, it is necessary to look at the history of electoralism in the socialist movement. During the short lifespan of the International Workingmen's Association, its forays into bourgeois elections were in order to use the campaigns as a platform to spur on the struggle of the working class. However, as its successor the Second (Socialist) International deepened its immersion in the quagmire of opportunism—eventually leading to the social democrats' shameful support of their "own" bourgeoisies in World War I—an altogether different spirit infused their parliamentary campaigns.

It was the spirit of encrusting themselves into the existing state apparatus and pressuring for a minimum program of piecemeal reforms. It also meant the domination of a privileged layer of "socialist" lawyers and professionals who became increasingly independent of control by the party ranks. In the British Labour Party, for instance, the Parliamentary Labour Party (the group of Labour members of parliament) is not even formally bound by the decisions of the Labour Party membership. Thus the annual party conference has twice recently voted down the wage control policy of the Labour cabinet, but still it remains government policy. The prime minister, of course, is relatively independent from the rest of the Parliamentary Labour Party, and even of the cabinet, which he personally nominates on behalf of the queen.

Thus "independence" from party control actually means domination by the capitalist state. Furthermore, the conditions of parliament, where the workers' deputies are in constant contact with the representatives of the bourgeoisie, exert a powerful pressure toward collaboration with the class enemy. The right wing of the social-democratic parties is almost invariably strongest in parliament. And the same pressures would of course be felt even by revolutionary communist representatives.

> (undated)
>
> I, Marjorie Stamberg, hereby resign as a candidate for/elected member of the New York State Assembly. As a communist who shares Lenin's understanding of the dangers of parliamentary corruption of the representatives of the working people, I willingly submit this resignation should the Spartacist League of the U.S. so demand
>
> (signed)
> Marjorie Stamberg

The question of party control of socialist deputies goes back to the 1890's and a left-wing split from the dominant faction of French socialism, the Possibilists. These forerunners of the French Socialist Party of Jaurès, led by Jean Alleman, were disgusted by the all-too frequent spectacle of elected Socialists becoming careerists who resisted the political direction of the party which had put them forward. To protect the socialist movement, the Allemanists placed their parliamentarians under the direct supervision and control of the party body which had nominated them, and initiated the practice of securing an undated written resignation from every candidate.

In response to the mounting opportunism, chauvinism, corruption and all-round reformism centered in the Socialist parliamentary fractions, many left-wing social democrats in the pre-World War I period leaned toward syndicalist anti-parliamentarism. The Bolsheviks, however, demonstrated with their revolutionary work in the tsarist Duma that it was possible to carry on principled struggle in the "representative" organs of the bourgeoisie. Thus in August 1920 the Second Congress of the Communist International incorporated this practice in its "Theses on Communist Parties and Parliament," which stated:

> "After elections, the organization of the parliamentary fraction must be completely in the hands of the central committee of the communist party. The central committee must have a permanent representative in the fraction, with the right of veto and, in all important questions, the fraction must seek in advance guidance from the party central committee. The central committee has the right and the duty, when the communist fraction in parliament is about to undertake an important step, to appoint or to contest the spokesman for the fraction and to require that the outline of his speech or the speech itself be submitted for approval by the central committee, etc. Every communist candidate must officially give a written undertaking that he is ready to resign from parliament at the first request of the party central committee, so that in any given situation resignation from parliament can be carried out in unison. . . ."
>
> — Jane Degras (ed.), *The Communist International 1919-1943*, Vol. 1 (1919-1922)

Organizational form is the handmaiden of political program. The mechanism of securing an advance resignation from any socialist candidate reflects Lenin's struggle to forge a revolutionary vanguard party whose electoral aims were fundamentally counterposed to the parliamentarianism of the Second International. Because the social democrats' program was one of class collaboration rather than the independent mobilization of the working class for power, their "socialist" Sunday speechifying was a cynical tool for aspiring parliamentarians. When Lenin urged the communists to put their lawyers in the factories and their workers in parliament, he gave sociological concreteness to the Bolsheviks' insistence that communist electoral work differs from reformist electoral work not in degree but in kind.

Though our present numbers and influence are rather more modest, we emulate the Communist International's practices as fully consonant with our revolutionary program and purpose. Our aims in this electoral campaign are to expose the narrow and partial "democracy" of the bourgeoisie expressed in capitalist elections, and to use the elections as a forum to hasten the day when socialist revolution will sweep away the bourgeoisie's kept politicians and inaugurate real democracy and freedom for all the working people. ■

Pope ...

(continued from page 1)

Edward Gierek immediately sent a telegram expressing "great satisfaction" at the selection of Wojtyla, and the new pope is described as more able to get along with the government than the Polish primate, Stephan Cardinal Wyszynski, whose militant anti-communism is scarcely veiled despite a recent "unthawing" of church-state relations. Nevertheless, the selection of a Polish cardinal as pope can only mean a period of greater pressure on the Soviet bloc by the West.

To the Stalinists Pope John Paul II may seem a prince of peace and détente, a man of the post-Helsinki period. Domestically the Gierek regime portrays him as a symbol of Communist-Catholic coexistence. But he now stands at the head of many millions of practicing Catholics in East Europe, a tremendous potential force for counter-revolution. *And it is precisely the Stalinists who are responsible for the existence of this grave threat to the social conquests of the degenerated and deformed workers states.*

Polish Catholicism is an extremely powerful political force, its influence extending far beyond the usual circles of seedy provincial intelligentsia and expropriated lumpen nobility who idolize Marshal Pilsudski, the fascistic dictator of inter-war Poland. Their sullen offspring now flaunt tiny American flags on their ersatz blue jeans and buy pictures of John F. Kennedy. During President Carter's visit to Poland in January 1978, Brzezinski and Rosalynn Carter made a special point of holding a private meeting with Cardinal Wyszynski.

Of all the East European bureaucratically deformed workers states, Poland is the most solidly and actively Catholic, partly for historic reasons. Polish Catholicism has always been an expression of intense nationalism in this historic battlefield of Europe. The Polish church is based firmly on the small peasantry, which remains intact despite 30 years of Stalinist rule, for alone in the Soviet bloc Poland has not collectivized its agriculture. Moreover, the peasantry has tremendous economic leverage as it produces much of the hard-currency exports to the West.

A landholding peasantry is everywhere a deeply conservative potential bastion of reaction, whose immediate interests run counter to those of the working class. The Stalinist bureaucracy, while resting on the foundations of collectivized industry, seeks to balance between the proletariat on the one hand and the peasantry, the church and imperialism—thereby attacking the workers, the only force that can defend the revolutionary conquests. This was graphically seen in June 1975 when Gierek abruptly raised food prices to appease the peasantry, touching off a nationwide wave of wildcat strikes. When the army was called in to put down the strikes, the Catholic church, mumbling a few words of "Christian concern" about the fate of the more than 2,000 arrested, lined up solidly behind the government.

Fitzpatrick

Brzezinski meets Cardinal Wyszynski.

The dangerous policy of Gierek & Co. is the very opposite of that pursued by Lenin and Trotsky to break the reactionary power of organized religion. The victorious Bolsheviks in Russia gutted the temporal power of the Orthodox church by expropriating its gigantic estates worked by knout-driven serfs. While carrying on some anti-religious agitation, their fundamental tack was to eliminate the hideous poverty and rural isolation which were the basis for the hold of religious obscurantism on the masses. The measures which began to free women from the oppressive limits of the family thereby undercut another of the principal sources of active religious participation.

But with the triumph of Stalin, all this was reversed. The family was reinforced, collectivization was carried out in a brutally bureaucratic manner, and during World War II Stalin directly built up the authority of the Metropolitan of the Russian Orthodox church in order to tap nationalist sentiment in the "Great Fatherland War." Likewise in Poland the Stalinist policy of conciliating the solidly anti-communist Catholic hierarchy is part and parcel of its overall program of "peaceful coexistence" with capitalism/imperialism.

This program is not only utopian, it is positively dangerous. The Polish Stalinists' cancellation of the church and peasantry embolden these reactionary forces, who now have one of their own in the Vatican. And Jimmy Carter may figure he has a pope in his pocket, which can only increase the intensity of his bellicose anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade. ■

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For a Socialist Fight to Save New York!

The following is an excerpted speech by Marjorie Stamberg, Spartacist Party candidate for New York State Assembly in Manhattan's A.D. 64, delivered at New York University on October 14.

People ask why we're running a socialist campaign in New York City. We have a very simple answer, and that is that the crisis in New York City is so intense that there is absolutely no other kind of politics that makes any sense whatsoever in this town.

Take a look at the situation. Here it is in 1978 and you have people literally freezing to death in Harlem in the winter, and you have the South Bronx looking like Dresden after the allies firebombed it, and what is the program that the ruling class has for this city? There are laws about how you are not supposed to smoke in the elevators and how you should clean up the dog shit after your dog. Maybe you would feel more sympathetic about not smoking in the elevators and getting out your pooper scooper if people were not dying in the hospital corridors and you didn't have trucks falling through the highways with the result that the highway is not used again for five years!

How did New York City get this way? Well, it is fairly complicated. One thing to keep in mind is that because the labor movement in this town was very strong during the twenties and thirties, New York was a city that tried to act halfway decently to the population. You had welfare that was somewhat higher than the rest of the country, and it was the only city in the entire country that had a decent free higher education system.

Irish schoolteachers brought up a generation of Jewish kids, and the Jewish kids grew up and they are the teachers in the schools right now. The problem is that the Jewish teachers can't educate the black and Puerto Rican kids because the society is not the same. But myths go on about the great melting pot.

So, that's partly what it is, and, also, New York is really the victim of a racist plot. Middle America and Congress look at New York City as a city filled with Puerto Ricans and blacks and run by Jews and Italians, so that when it came time to cut back somewhere, it was made the scapegoat. It reminds you of the old joke in the McCarthy era when people used to say what you ought to do to New York is to float it out to sea and use it as a nuclear testing ground.

Those are some of the political aspects, and then you have the financial aspect that is connected with New York being the finance capital of U.S. imperialism. You have a situation where a lot of money goes in and out of New York, and what the city pays out in federal taxes is far higher in proportion to what it gets back than in the rest of the country. And then you have the Rockefellers.

You know, the Rockefeller banks owned the BMT and the Morgan bank owned the IRT. Then the subways went bankrupt and the city bought them out for $320 million. But the city didn't have the money, so back they went to the Rockefeller banks and back to the Morgan bank to negotiate a loan to buy the subways from the Rockefellers and the Morgans! That is what we pay debt service on year in and year out, so that by 1971 we had something like $720 million of the city budget going to pay for the interest on the loans for the subways and the rest of the boondoggles.

That's the kind of stuff that Jack Newfield and these *Village Voice* muckrakers are always talking about, and there is an interesting book, *The Abuse of Power*, that talks about where the money is going, and they are onto something. But, of course, we differ from them in that we don't have an "evil genius" theory that claims one man—Rockefeller, for example—or a small conspiracy is responsible. We say that the crisis in New York City is essentially the crisis of capitalism itself.

It was the inability of U.S. capitalism in this period of economic crisis to deal with the running sores of the big cities, with their huge unemployed and minority populations, their welfare rolls and city services, and their municipal unions. The immediate crisis came about directly because of the enormous growth of the UFT and AFSCME in this town in the sixties, combined with the economic situation in the seventies. There was a decision of the ruling class to go after the unions and to go after the other social services, and they decided on New York for both economic and political reasons.

* * * * *

So how do we get out of it? Well, we are not utopians and we're not reformists; we deal with reality. So you start talking about getting a little money to rebuild the South Bronx, and you ask where the money is. The money is in the banks. So let's talk about wiping out the debt and expropriating the banks. As soon as you start talking like that, you realize that you can't have a program for a New York City commune, because the money is going to federal income tax, and pretty soon the IRS is going to show up looking curiously like the U.S. Army. So you're already talking about socialist revolution, and that is the one main point that we want to bring out in this election: if you talk about doing *anything* in this city, whether you're talking about education or housing or jobs, you find yourself talking about socialist revolution.

It is not as if the situation can go on like it is, because it can't. The alternatives are a socialist fight or something like Crown Heights, the situation last summer where you had virtually the entire black population of the area pitted against the Jewish community, being led in attacks against each other by Democratic Party politicians.

So we have been going around Greenwich Village and saying that we're running on the program of socialist revolution, and everybody says, "Well, that's very nice, but isn't it kind of far-fetched to talk about the labor movement in this city leading a united fight against the Democratic Party and the Rockefellers and the banks and Big MAC?" And we say, "No, it's not very far-fetched at all. In fact, as recently as 1975 a situation existed that was utterly ripe for that kind of fight—the period when MAC and the Emergency Financial Control Board (EFCB) and welfare cutbacks were first coming down." This was a situation in which every sector of the population was feeling the heat, and there was a felt need to fight back against it. You had the labor movement, which had lost 60,000 jobs and was having its union contracts ripped up; you had the Co-op City rent strike; you had students at City College demonstrating to save the open admission program and free tuition; and you had all kinds of sit-ins and demonstrations in the South Bronx and Harlem against the fire station and hospital closings.

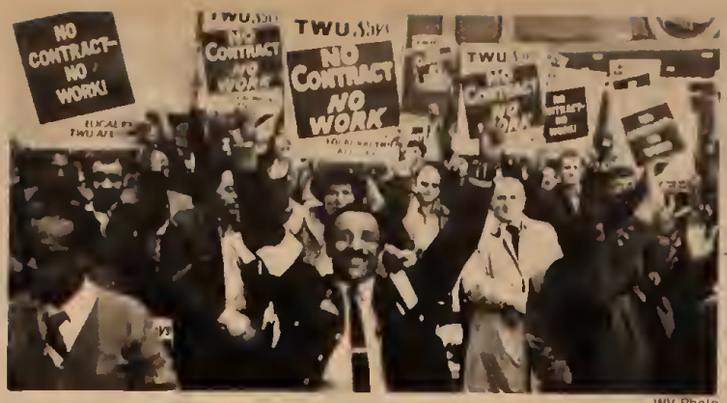
Of course, the leadership of the labor movement—the Gotbaums and the

continued inside

WV Photo

Marjorie Stamberg speaking at campaign rally in Sheridan Square.

STAMBERG FOR 64th A.D.



WV Photo

Spartacist Party's

Victory to Labor Struggles!

The heroic miners strike showed what the American working class is capable of!

From the heroic lines of last summer's *Daily News* walkout to the present bitter pressmen's strike, provoked by sinister union-buster Rupert Murdoch, New Yorkers are on the picket lines to defend past gains.

■ **Victory to the press strike!** *For labor solidarity! Picket lines mean "Don't Cross!" For NYC pay and manning scales at all dailies distributed in the city! For a daily newspaper published by the labor movement! New York Labor: Don't Beg—Strike! Give Koch the Lindsay Treatment!*

For the criminal conspiracy to hold up, loot and bludgeon the citizens of New York we indict Carter, Congress, the banks, the Wall Street trusts, the Democrats and the labor traitors who rolled over and played dead. Koch pits the "public interest" against the unions. But the fight to save New York is the fight to save the unions.

■ **For militant labor action to smash Big MAC, the EFCB and the bank dictatorship!** *Cancel the debt! Expropriate the banks and the blood-sucking utilities. Con Ed and the phone company! Take back the billions in union pension funds poured down the Big MAC rat-hole. Reverse the "Give-Backs!"*

■ **Dump the bureaucrats! Break with the Democrats—For a workers party to fight for a workers government!** *Rescind the layoffs! Restore the budget cuts! Jobs for all—30 hours work at 40 hours pay! A penny-for-penny cost-of-living escalator! Smash the no-strike Taylor Law!*

■ *For a massive program of public works under union control! Let the Concorde fly! Build a ten-lane West Side highway underground!*

■ *Triple welfare! Unlimited unemployment compensation at full union wages! Free quality health care for all! Restore and expand rent control. Expropriate the real estate corporations! Free mass transit! Billions to save the subways!*

For a Working-Class Defense of Democratic Rights!

The capitalist government belongs to the anti-busing racists rampaging on the streets of Boston, the anti-homosexual bigots of the Anita Bryant reaction, the right-to-lifers in the White House. The reformists taught the mass movements to rely on the courts and Congress. Now the courts and Congress are leading the backlash and only a fight by labor can even restore the limited democratic gains won in the 1960's.

■ **For busing and its extension to the suburbs!** *No platform for Nazis and other racist terrorists! For labor/black defense against right-wing attacks!*

■ **End discrimination in schools, housing, education, jobs!** *No union-busting "affirmative action"*

Socialist Fight...

(continued from front)

Bankers—are intimately connected with and politically support the Democratic Party, which was the party that was carrying out the cut-backs, and they were the reason that the New York City labor movement could not fight. But you could really taste the opportunity and the SL fought very hard at that time to turn this opportunity into a reality by calling for the Transit Workers, the UFT and the rest of the labor movement to lead a political fight *and a general strike* to smash Big MAC. But it didn't happen, because of the labor bureaucracy.

* * * * *

Let me talk a little now about this particular election. We're running against an archtypical liberal Democrat, William Passannante, who has been assemblyman in this district for the last 25 years. Yesterday Passannante was one of your liberal reformers and today he is a law-and-order liberal, so we like to run against him because he personifies a political type that is very important.

This guy has got a 90 percent ADA [Americans for Democratic Action] rating. It's sort of funny, the stuff you get interested in when you are running for election. I would never have looked at this stuff, but it is interesting because they don't include who voted for the Albany EFCB package, to put the unions into 19-year receiverships directly under the banks last spring in Albany, or whether you oppose Carey's crime bill. But anyway, Mr. Passannante got this 90 percent rating. We thought our opponents in the CP and the SWP would probably have a pretty high ADA rating as well, because the SWP is really the biggest builder of liberalism. But you see we're not even on the scale, because we're not liberals, and that's the difference. In this particular election campaign there are two issues that knock us right off the ADA chart: Westway and gun control.

Yesterday we had an interview with a reporter from a local Village paper, and she said to me, "All right, I can see you need Westway, but does it have to be *ten lanes*?" And I said, "Well, we're flexible. I'll tell you what—let's make it 11 lanes. We'll build a great big one down the middle and we can land the Concorde on it [laughter]. I wanted to make a political point with her. Everybody says we only have a limited amount of money and we've really got to fix up the subways, and therefore you can't have any roads. Well, we don't accept that, and that's what makes the difference between revolutionary politics and reformism. We will not be bound by the confines of decaying capitalism. We say that the money is there, and we will start from the framework of what we need and go about getting it!

The other thing that really differentiates us is our position on gun control, because that is the other classic liberal solution. We're opposed to gun control and to the Sullivan law. We don't want a situation where only the cops and the criminals are armed. We do not want a monopoly of violence in the hands of the state.

Ten years ago politicians would at least have given a fig leaf of support to the idea that you change crime by changing the conditions that caused it. Now from Carey to Duryea, everybody in this town is running on the politics of death, whether it's stiffer sentences or the death penalty. Law-and-order liberalism is rampant all over New York. The flip side of this is a kind of Pollyanna reformism which preaches that if you say that lumpen crime exists and that people are afraid on the subway, you're some kind of racist. But if you can't deal with it, you can't deal with reality; you cannot make a revolution because you can't understand the situation, and you will become a cheering squad for nationalism, like the ostensible left did, when a situation like Crown Heights arises, which was a dress rehearsal for a pogrom.

What happened in Crown Heights? First of all, you have this Arthur Miller, a black Democratic Party junior hack. He goes out with his brother to see about a parking ticket one day, and he hasn't paid off the cops, and so they strangle him in cold blood at 6:00 p.m. in front of hundreds of people. Here is a situation where there should have been a united mass protest against police brutality. Instead, the incident led to the brink of race war, because black Democrats and nationalists took the heat off the cops and off Koch by turning it against the Hassidic population. And the "leftists" followed them!

The most criminal aspect of this was not the threat posed to the Jews but the threat posed to the blacks. Anybody who leads blacks into race war in this country is the worst enemy of the black population, because this is a racist country, and in a race war the blacks are going to lose! That is the reality in the United States! So we called for stopping the cycle of ethnic vigilantism and for a united struggle of all the oppressed behind labor in a fight against the capitalists.

* * * * *

We run against both parties of capitalism, and that is one way in which we are distinguished from our reformist opponents. The CP, for instance, doesn't even bother to call for the independence of labor; its position, of course, has always been secret support to the Democratic Party. Everybody knows how one third of its central committee voted for McGovern. The CP's position has been secret support for the Democrats for the past 35 years, ever since the popular front—whose expression today in the U.S. is Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade.

The SWP gives lip service to an independent labor party. But then they turn around and tell us that the present leadership of the trade unions—the Arnold Millers and George Meanys—along with the NAACP and NOW will build it! We say you have to break with the Democrats and *oust the bureaucrats*.

Another difference between us and the reformists is that it is easy to make a list of good things around election time—that is what the CP and the SWP do with their "community control" schemes and "tax the rich" gimmicks. Their campaigns are virtually indistinguishable from each other. The CP says let's put "people before profits," and the SWP says "human needs before profits." We have one thing to say about that: There will never be *anything* before profits in the capitalist system!

We also denounce parliamentary cretinism. We run because we want the platform from which to rally the working masses and all the oppressed around the program that calls for a socialist fight to save New York—a program of socialist revolution.

When Lenin was asked by Badayev, a Bolshevik deputy in the czarist Duma, what bills the Bolsheviks should advance, he replied: "You had better introduce a 'Bill' stating that in three years time we shall take you all, black-hearted landlords, and hang you all on the lamp-posts. That would be a real 'Bill'" [applause].

So that's what our campaign is about. We say that the future of the working masses lies not at the ballot box, but on the picket lines, the battle lines of the class struggle. ■

Labor/Gays...

(continued from back)

wielding thugs who savagely attacked six men last July in a section of Central Park frequented by homosexuals—a grim reminder of the vicious prejudice faced by lesbians and gay men even in liberal NYC.

At a Sheridan Square street rally in early October, Stamberg, who is running in the Greenwich Village-Chelsea district, pointed out: "The Democratic Party runs the city, state and federal governments, but they don't stand up for rights for homosexuals because they're busy denying democratic rights to women, blacks and other minorities." The liberal Democrats who once claimed to support school integration in the South, dropped busing like a hot potato as soon as it came under fire from mobs of racists in the streets of Boston and other northern cities. Democratic president Carter axed poor women's right to abortions by cutting Medicaid funding with the excuse that "life is not fair."

Liberal Democratic legislators like William Passannante, Stamberg's opponent in the 64th assembly district, used to say that the answer to crime was social reform. Now the bleeding hearts of the '60's have become the "law and order" liberals of the '70's. Passannante recently supported Governor Carey's bill to authorize life sentences for 13-year-olds. In a period when long-time liberal Ed Koch can be elected mayor as the champion of the death penalty, the dedication of a machine politician like Passannante to the rights of homosexuals is not something you would want to stake your life on. Today he wants to send seventh graders to Attica—who knows what he'll stand for tomorrow?

The Anita Bryant bigotry crusade produced a turn to Democratic Party electoral politics by "mainstream" gay organizations. The votes of the large homosexual communities in such cities as San Francisco and New York are seen by groups such as the National Gay Task Force as a way to buy into the Democratic Party as one more "special interest" constituency. And right behind the "gay power" Democrats are their "best builders" on the left, the reformist Socialist Workers Party. The Communist Party, of course, keeps its mouth shut on the whole issue, not daring to challenge reactionary prejudices in the working class and eager to ignore the persecution of homosexuals in the Stalinist-ruled degenerated and deformed workers states.

While passage of legislation such as Intro 384 might make it harder for bigoted landlords and employers to openly discriminate against homosexuals, it will not fundamentally alter their oppression in capitalist society. Formal legal equality will not eliminate pervasive anti-homosexual prejudices, which

s Fighting Program

but union programs for upgrading and special programs for minorities! Jobs for all! For union hiring halls! Cops out of the unions – Courts out of the labor movement!

■ **Full democratic rights for homosexuals!** *Pass Intro 384! Pass the Equal Rights Amendment! For free abortion on demand! Keep the repressive state out of consensual sexual activity! No laws against pornography, drug use, prostitution! Down with all censorship!*

■ **Down with the Bakke decision!** *Restore open admissions! For free quality higher education for all! Nationalize the private colleges – For free tuition and living stipend! For bilingual education!*

Down With the Racist "Law and Order" Campaign!

From Koch's call for the death penalty to Carey's stand for non-parole life sentences, the liberals' "law and order" campaign is aimed against blacks, minorities and the poor. While pollyanna reformists pretend crime doesn't exist, the capitalists' answer is increased punishment, more cop terror – a license to kill for the racist cops who are New York's biggest narcotics pushers – and gun control laws guaranteeing that only cops and criminals are armed.

■ **Down with the death penalty!** *Junk the Sullivan Law—No to gun control! No guns for cops!*

■ **No to ethnic vigilantism! Jail killer cops!**

Down with Carter's Anti-Soviet "Human Rights" Crusade!

The "human rights" campaign of Carter/Young/Brzezinski means South Africa's Vorster, Chile's General Pinochet and the bloody Shah of Iran. Its real purpose is to prettify U.S. imperialism's "image" after its debacle in Vietnam and the embarrassment of Watergate, and to build Cold War support for a provocative arms build-up against the USSR.

As Trotskyists, our movement has fought for 50 years against the Kremlin's counterrevolutionary suppression of workers democracy. But our call for the overthrow of the Kremlin usurpers through proletarian political revolution means uncompromising opposition to Carter's imperialist appetites to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union, Cuba, China and all the deformed workers states.

■ **Defend the gains of the October Revolution!** *For workers democracy! Oust the Stalinist bureaucrats! For workers political revolution!*

■ **No to reactionary protectionism!**

■ **For international labor solidarity!** *Smash apartheid in South Africa! For international labor action in defense of the black trade unions! Throw out European and American colonialism and imperialism! For African self-destiny!*

■ **Stop the deportations—Full citizenship rights for foreign workers! For the independence of Puerto Rico!**

■ **Down with imperialist "human rights" hypocrisy—The main enemy is at home!**

are rooted in the conception of "normal" sexual roles in the nuclear family. And the family – which chains poor and working women to the kitchen, laundry and nursery – will survive until a socialist society can collectively assume the burdens of cooking, cleaning and child care.

Today Democratic liberals may give token support to democratic rights for homosexuals – tomorrow they will turn their backs on "gay rights," just as they have already abandoned busing and abortion. Gay activists in the homosexual ghettos of Manhattan and the Bay Area should not forget the pogroms of the Jewish ghettos of central Europe. The very existence of "Gays for Carter" can only be explained by incredible political myopia and death-wish on the part of groups who count on a millionaire Southern Baptist who considers homosexuals morally damned to defend them against the likes of Anita Bryant and the sinister forces which stand behind her.

In NYC elections this fall there is only one candidate who is running on a program to mobilize the power of the working class in defense of democratic rights. Vote Spartacist – For Marjorie Stamberg in the 64th A.D. – For a socialist fight to save New York! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Pass Intro 384! Pass the Equal Rights Amendment! Free abortion on demand! Break with the Democrats – For a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

Expressway...

(continued from back)

linking New Jersey and Brooklyn directly with Manhattan. Such a road would be of enormous value. Objections about smashing up Chinatown and Little Italy and choking the city with more exhaust fumes would be resolved by building it *underground*. More expensive, sure, but that's what we need. Meanwhile, in the absence of such an expressway, Canal Street is a perpetual traffic jam from one side of the island to the other.

We supported bringing the Concorde to New York while others were waving the flag to denounce the European supersonic jet as un-American. (*Workers Vanguard*, the newspaper of the Spartacist League, was the first to point out that the hearing discomfort caused by the brief overflight of the Concorde was considerably less than the earsplitting torture experienced daily by millions of NYC subway riders.) And we are for creating an efficient transportation system, both for commuters and for industrial and commercial activity. We need a West Side expressway and we need to rebuild the filthy, decrepit subway system—install air conditioning and rubber wheels on the subway cars; finish the Second Avenue subway line; repave the bus routes; fix up the Long Island and Penn Central railroads. There are all sorts of good plans gathering dust in architects' offices for how to revitalize the port area, bring rail freight into the city, and so on. We demand that these plans be brought out of mothballs, presented to the working people of this city for approval, and then *built*!

Rad-Libs Reinvent "Benign Neglect"

It's no surprise that the anti-Westway fever infects Greenwich Village and other traditional strongholds of middle-class liberalism. What appears as utopian hostility to technology is in fact a deep pessimism about the future—a pessimism based on liberalism's failure to make good on its promises of a decent society through industrial development and economic growth.

During the building boom years it seemed the Rockefellers' and Robert Moses' dreams of Xanadu-on-the-Hudson would spring up overnight with only a wave of the government's magic bond-issuing wand. The dreams turned into nightmares in the fiscal crisis of 1974-75 as the debts came due in the midst of a depression and the banks and federal government told New York to drop dead. And the liberal bubble burst.

Marjorie Stamberg, a 34-year-old labor militant, has been active in struggles against imperialist war, poverty and social injustice since 1965. In the mid-1960's she was an SDS and civil rights activist, writing for the *Washington Free Press* and later joining the *Guardian* as a staff writer. During 1969-72 she was a leader of the Oakland Women's Liberation. Stamberg was among those student radicals whose commitment to fighting oppression brought them to a working-class socialist perspective. Today she writes for the Trotskyist newspaper of the Spartacist League, *Workers Vanguard*.

Marjorie Stamberg, candidate of the Spartacist Party in Manhattan's 64th assembly district, draws on nine years experience as a telephone worker, many of them as a leader of the Militant Action Caucus, in campaigning For a Socialist Fight to Save New York

Now the liberals are for cutting back because they can fool almost nobody with dreams of going forward. The ecology movement is made up of aggrieved liberals who blame growth itself for the destructive irrationality of capitalism in decay. The "zero growth," "small is beautiful" crowd accuses science and technology of having failed us by opening the way for some horrific environmental disaster. Their gloomy forebodings are reminiscent of the butter ad warning, "It's not nice to fool Mother Nature." And their "solution"? Bring to a screeching halt any more "progress" and let nature take its course, healing our wounded ecosystem so snail darters, bats, albino fish and fuzzy green things on the Hudson River bottom can flourish.

So the anti-Westway sentiment has a profoundly conservative basis. It is the ecologist version of the Emergency Financial Control Board's anti-working-class austerity plans. Having accepted Felix Rohatyn's view of the limits, the rad-libs choose to protest the symbols of growth rather than the government's refusal to supply what is necessary. Is Westway a boondoggle? Of course, but that is not what the anti-Westway forces are protesting. The Rockefellers are not the object of their ire: instead they bemoan big roads and fast planes because they assume the Rockefellers, in one form or another, are eternal. Indeed, if you believe that capitalism will last forever, continually decaying, there is good reason for frenzied pessimism and the desire to go to hell slower, making it last with less.

But we have had too many cutbacks already. More than 600,000 jobs have been lost from New York in the last ten years. "Scaling down" means further factory shutdowns and the loss of even more productive capacity.

The rad-libs, from urban planner Jane Jacobs to the Clamshell Alliance to the *Village Voice*'s Jack Newfield, have reinvented "benign neglect" as the way to "save the neighborhoods." They point proudly to Soho as an area which just "naturally" grew and revitalized itself by being left alone. Of course, those small businesses and their workers pushed out of the lofts to make way for galleries, expensive restaurants and hip boutiques are of no concern to the new Soho middle class.

Soho is making it today because a lot of "beautiful people" invested a lot of capital in it. The South Bronx has been let to "naturally develop" for decades—a hideous tragedy for the people trapped in the rotting ghetto, which has come to resemble Nagasaki after the bomb was dropped. What we need is vast new public works projects, *more* new construction. And while we're at it, we can expropriate Rockefeller's World Trade Center and turn it into a decent welfare hotel.

Capitalism Can't Do It—Labor Is the Key

The ecology reformists and the Socialist Workers Party point out that "Capitalism fouls things up." But that's the end of their wisdom. Their "solution" is to turn things over to the "community," which will presumably cut itself off from the major productive forces of modern industrial society.

Of course capitalism fouls things up – things and people. Nuclear power in the hands of the capitalists is indeed dangerous—even its peacetime uses pose safety and environmental hazards (like the West Valley site, which Getty Oil is abandoning, leaving nuclear wastes to just sit there); modern industry is wasteful and polluting; and lots of beautiful country is being callously damaged. And given the disastrous record of New York City construction projects (like the World Trade Center and those mega-potholes once optimistically described as "the Second Avenue subway") New Yorkers' suspicions that Westway is just one more bank/construction industry rip-off, which will tear up the neighborhood for years and then never open, are justified. But the solution does not lie with cutbacks!

The Spartacist Party does not support these utopian, bucolic fantasies which feed into Jimmy ("life is not fair") Carter's austerity schemes to make the working class pay for capitalism's economic crisis. It should be obvious to anybody who lives in New York that capitalism can't solve this city's problems. It has long since exhausted its progressive role in fostering economic development and today retards the further development of humanity, choking off technological and scientific advancement. But there is a class capable of replacing the capitalist rulers – the proletariat—and carrying out a thrnough overturn of the capitalist property relations which are a fetter on progress.

The labor movement is the key to smashing the banks' blood-sucking grip on New York City. The question is not where money is going to come from for construction, but where it has gone to over the last decade: to finance the city's debt to the banks. We demand: Cancel the debt! Take back the pension funds sucked into Big MAC! Start a program of public housing, roads, mass transit—at union wages, under union control! Both a ten-lane underground highway and renovated, free subways! For a socialist fight to save New York! ■

☐ I endorse the campaign for Marjorie Stamberg for 64 A.D.

☐ Please send further information on the campaign

☐ Enclosed is $ _____ contribution to the campaign.

Make checks payable to/mail to:

Spartacist Party Campaign Committee
c/o Box 444
Canal St Station
New York, N Y 10013

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

VOTE SPARTACIST! VOTE STAMBERG!

Pass Intro 384! Pass the ERA!

Labor Must Defend Civil Rights For Gays!

One hundred fifty demonstrators picketed outside New York City Hall on Thursday, October 12 to demand passage of Intro 384, a bill which would outlaw discrimination against homosexuals in housing, employment and public accommodations. It was announced at the rally that the City Council's General Welfare Committee in a meeting that same morning had again postponed hearings on the bill, this time until after the November elections. The news came as a surprise to no one as similar bills have repeatedly failed or died in committee throughout this decade, even at the height of the gay liberation movement.

Marjorie Stamberg, Spartacist Party candidate for State Assembly in the 64th District, led the Spartacist contingent, the largest in the demonstration, under the banner: "Labor Must Defend Democratic Rights for Gays! Pass Intro 384 Pass the ERA! Break With the Democrats!" But while Spartacist signs and slogans attacked the "people's party" of American capitalism as an enemy of homosexuals and other oppressed groups, the organizers of the demonstration intended simply to pressure the Democratic liberals to "do it this time."

Almost twenty speakers, including three Democratic City Council members and a leader of the Gay Independent Democrats were permitted to address the crowd. But in a blatant display of anti-communism, Marjorie Stamberg was barred from speaking by the rally's sponsors, the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights. When the Spartacist candidate attempted to speak at the end of the announced speakers list she was shouted down and physically threatened; yet another Democrat mounted the podium and cops moved in to prevent the largest group at the demonstration from being heard.

So why don't the Democrats pass Intro 384? The bill is nothing but a formal statement of democratic rights. But year after year the liberal Democratic-dominated Council turns thumbs down on equal rights for homosexuals. Polls show a majority of New Yorkers favor such a measure, yet

WV Photo

October 12 rally at City Hall in support of Intro 384.

this carries less clout than the powerful opponents of Intro 384, led by Catholic bishops and Orthodox Jewish rabbis. And in the rightward-moving political climate of 1978 there is no good reason to believe that Intro 384 will fare any better than its predecessors.

The anti-homosexual holy war launched by Anita Bryant has succeeded in rolling back "gay rights" ordinances in Miami, St. Paul, Wichita and Oregon. It inspired California state senator John Briggs to sponsor a witchhunting ballot proposition which, if passed, will fire teachers for "encouraging" or "advocating" homosexuality. The well-publicized victories of the fundamentalist hate campaign no doubt also encouraged the gang of bat-

continued inside

No to Eco-Faddism! Let the Concorde Land!

NYC Needs a West Side Expressway!

"Stop the Westway!" is the banner slogan of New York City's rad-lib faddists and conservative environmentalists. Opposition to the projected highway running along Manhattan's West Side from the Battery to 42nd Street has become an article of faith, like opposing nuclear plants and the Concorde and preserving endangered species—symbols in a holy crusade against the noxious effects of industrialism and the supposed evils of "bigness." The Westway, we are told in apocalyptic terms, will wreak environmental disaster; it will pollute the air, offend the eye, break the eardrum and corrupt the "ethnic purity" of the neighborhoods.

The "Stop Westway" crusade has also been taken up by the electioneering politicians, from silk-stocking district reform Democrats to old-time Tammany Hall wardheelers, to demonstrate their "progressive concern for the quality of life" and to appease the wide-mouthed clamshells who inhabit their districts. They explain it as a trade-off: not Westway, but money for mass transit; not transportation for smelly, noisy trucks, but fixed-up subways for people. And they are joined by this year's crop of reformist, pseudo-socialist "people's candidates" always on the lookout for the latest "mass movement" to tail after.

WV Photo

The West Side Highway: a symbol of the decay of New York.

Marjorie Stamberg, a revolutionary socialist running for State Assembly in the 64th A.D., is not riding the eco-faddist handwagon. Her program calls for both adequate highways *and* mass transit: "Build a ten-lane highway underground! Billions to save the subways. Free mass transit!"

Stamberg's Marxist approach to environmental problems is based on the real needs of working people. And the Spartacist Party offers a strategy of independent working-class action to get it, through *a socialist fight to save New York*. The fight for a decent future will not be a fight for *less*. It will be a working-class fight against the austerity programs of the administrators of decaying capitalism. In New York City the workers must meet the bankers' belt-tightening ultimatums with a struggle for *more* more jobs, more social services, more wages. And the same goes for transportation.

This is our fundamental difference with the anti-Westway claque: we do not accept the limits of capitalism. We do not pretend to figure out how this rotten system can be "cleaned up." The revolutionary socialist program breaks through the contracting possibilities of decaying capitalism to establish a rationally planned economy in the interests of all working people.

This city needs a fast, efficient transportation system—not only for suburban commuters, but for the trucks which carry goods in and out of the city. Back-to-nature types don't like trucks, but what do they think carries all the food into Manhattan? Back-alley vegetable gardens and foraging for nuts and berries in Central Park won't feed the city. The garment center, meat market, flower market and printing trades are only a few of the job centers which would be directly served by a new highway on the West Side. Or would well-heeled, chic Greenwich Village liberals prefer to preserve the area's charm by going back to deliveries by horse and wagon?

Westway itself is only a small piece of a much larger road system conceived in 1929, which would entirely encircle Manhattan with several crosstown links. One of these, much debated a few years ago, was the cross-Broome Street highway (later switched to Canal Street)

continued inside

Tommy Lee Hines Is Innocent!

In Jimmy Carter's land of "human rights" the Ku Klux Klan makes its lynchings legal. The racist mob had its rope out for Tommy Lee Hines, a severely retarded black man, as he was convicted of rape October 13 and sentenced to 30 years.

Hines sat motionless as his trial opened in Decatur, Alabama where more than 40 years ago the Klan had formed a similarly murderous alliance with capitalism's racist "justice" in an attempt to hang the "Scottsboro Boys." It is the same old cross-burning Klan and the same old lynch law in the "New South."

The Decatur cops knew they had to get some black for the rape of three white women. Hines seemed an easy mark. On May 23 they picked up a young black man for loitering. By the end of the day the cops announced that Tommy Lee Hines had "confessed" to the rapes. He was charged with "forcibly ravishing" the three women.

The "confession" was taken from this man who had never been questioned before by the cops. Forced into a patrol car, Hines supposedly waived his right to a lawyer. The cops claim he was asked, "How many women did you rape, two or three?" And they say he answered "three." But Hines can't even count, much less could he have planned the abductions and rapes, which required driving the victims' cars.

At the trial, teachers at the North Central Alabama Center for the Developmentally Disabled where Hines spent several years testified that he could not count to three, nor name the days of the week in order. He has an IQ in the 30's and a mental age of six. According to the prosecution's description of the events, it is obvious that Hines has neither the mental ability nor physical coordination to execute the crimes of which he is accused. Said his father, Richard Hines, "They had Tommy driving a car. The boy can't even ride a bicycle" (*Time*, 16 October). But the frame-up went on as one of the rape victims claimed she could identify Hines even though her attacker had a garbage bag over his head.

The frame-up was so obvious and terrible that from the outset it sparked outraged protest from blacks throughout the South. Even the moribund Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) set up a "tent city" in front of the Decatur City Hall as a gesture of protest. The Klan, emboldened by the support it has received from the courts and mainstream capitalist politicians, set up its own "tents" as bases for racist provocations. Anxious to prove itself the defender of the virtue of "Southern womanhood" and white "ethnic purity," the Klan commenced a campaign of terror that culminated in a cross burning on August 14 at Decatur's Civic Center.

AP

Klansmen block defenders of Tommy Lee Hines outside Cullman, Alabama.

With a lynch mob estimated at 6,000 gathered in Decatur, even the court was willing to grant Hines' attorney's motion for a change of venue.

However, he is now being tried in nearby Cullman, a town with a 1 percent black population. To no one's surprise, an all-white jury was seated, while the Decatur Klan simply packed itself into cars and drove the 30 miles to reinforce Cullman's hooded vigilantes. On the eve of the October 3 trial opening, the SCLC risked the lives of 60 Decatur blacks when it led a tiny group on a march to Cullman. The intended symbolism of this re-enactment of the bloody, 1960's civil rights marches was not lost on the fascist Klan "action squads" which have a murderous tradition of their own. They met the march with force...and the Cullman police. Joseph Lowery and John Nettles, national and state leaders of the SCLC, together with 21 marchers were arrested.

As the trial has progressed, Klan terror has continued. Two bomb scares caused the emptying of the courtroom. Police confiscated automatic weapons at the door, and defense attorneys monitored CB radio conversations calling on the jury to "hang the nigger" (*Time*, 16 October).

The vicious Klan mobilization—evoking vivid memories of white-hooded lynch mobs surrounding a small, Scottsboro, Alabama jail in the 1930's—are not an aberration in these later days of "enlightened Southern justice." Throughout the South, Klan mobilizations are on the rise as black misleaders bark back to the golden days of the civil rights movement. Demonstrations in Lexington, Kentucky and several small towns in Mississippi for jobs and federal poverty funds, led by the liberal-black United League, have been met by organized Klan violence helping the cops "keep matters in hand." In Tupelo, Mississippi a black boycott against the downtown merchants has brought the racist vigilantes onto the streets in the light of day. And some have revealed the blue uniforms beneath their white sheets.

Scottsboro Revisited?

The striking similarity between Tommy Lee Hines and the Scottsboro Boys has been noticed by the bourgeois media. *Time* magazine titled its article on the Hines case, "Scottsboro Revisited?" But only parallel incidental facts interest the bourgeois media, which can well afford to lambaste "isolated examples" of Southern "backwoods justice" in the hope that an embarrassingly grotesque frame-up can be avoided.

Marxists, however, see the thread of racial and class oppression which reinforces the fabric of capitalist "law and order." It is a thread which runs through the countless legal persecutions of the oppressed intended to enforce class rule through legal terror. Marxists see Tommy Lee Hines, Gary Tyler, Johnny Ross and Delbert Tibbs rotting in jails, all victims of class injustice, and we remember Scottsboro. We remember the courts and the Klan united in a campaign to lynch nine black men for rapes which never occurred.

We also remember a defense of the Scottsboro Boys which the bourgeoisie would rather forget. Mass international protests of hundreds of thousands marked the years-long fight to stay the hangman's noose. The protests were organized by the CP *against* the moderate advice and cowardly obstruction of the NAACP. No longer revolutionary in the early 1930's, the CP of that time nevertheless still reflected some of the flame of its earlier revolutionary days. But today the traditions of mass proletarian defense have been obscured by decades of betrayal.

No such mass, activist protest exists to save Tommy Lee Hines, or, for that matter, the countless other victims of racist frame-ups that populate American jails. The liberal politics which would have finished off the Scottsboro Boys, now dominate the cause of Tommy Lee Hines.

Hines faces charges for the other two rapes, while a new battery of lawyers tries to win a retrial and appeal. In the meanwhile he stands alone to face trials he cannot understand for crimes he could not possibly have committed. That is the real tragedy of Scottsboro revisited. Free Tommy Lee Hines! Drop the charges against the SCLC marchers! ■

Faces Firing For Respecting Picket Lines

Defend Steel Militant Gene Goldenfeld!

Gene Goldenfeld, a journeyman motor inspector at the coke plant of U.S. Steel's huge Gary, Indiana mill, is being victimized by the company in an attempt to intimidate and silence all union members and deal a blow at the fundamental defensive weapon of the labor movement, the picket line.

For refusing to cross the picket lines of striking rail workers at the Gary facility last month, and for issuing a public statement demanding that leaders of the United Steelworkers instruct their members to respect the lines, Goldenfeld was handed a stiff 38-day suspension. Thus he has been set up to be summarily fired on the next available pretext.

In a leaflet to his fellow members of USWA Local 1014 to rally support against the vindictive management attack, Goldenfeld stressed.

> "U.S. Steel is not just trying to root out an active union supporter. In the rail strike and last spring's coal strike the company witnessed the power of the trade union principle of honoring picket lines. They want to destroy any possibility of that happening in the steel mills."

Pointing out the outrageous lengths to which the company is willing to go to root out solidarity in the mills, Goldenfeld emphasized that he was being victimized not only for respecting the picket lines, but for merely expressing his views on union policy. Using the "no strike" clause of the contract as its justification to trample on the democratic rights of steelworkers, management is seeking to establish a precedent whereby it can discipline any union member who advocates militant struggle against U.S. Steel.

Already saddled with the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement, which bans strikes even after their contracts expire, steel workers must not allow the bosses to purge militants who comply with the most elementary obligation of labor solidarity, honoring the picket line. USWA Local 1014 and all Chicago/Gary-area labor must demand that the victimization of Gene Goldenfeld be stopped. Drop all disciplines—Full back pay!

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(Signed) Jan Norden, *editor*

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(Signed) Jan Norden, *editor*

Victory to California Teamsters Strike!

Safeway Strikers Vote Down Fitzsimmons Sellout

SAN FRANCISCO—For the second time in the bitter three-month-old strike against four major northern California supermarket chains, 3,500 striking members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) this weekend overwhelmingly voted down a "settlement" cooked up by the IBT International and the bosses' Food Employers Council.

The rotten deal pushed by International president Frank Fitzsimmons would reportedly retain Safeway's computer speed-up plan designed to increase work loads by up to 50 percent, which triggered the strike last July, would institute takeaways in the cost-of-living allowance formula and new-hires' pay rates and would substantially alter traditional union work rules.

The bosses are also reportedly demanding the right to fire up to 300 strikers and have asserted that strikers who return to work would be reassigned jobs without regard to seniority! Union members correctly view this as total capitulation to the companies.

Such a vicious assault by the employers, directed at a major union like the Teamsters, is unprecedented in recent years. Scores of strikers have been arrested and assaulted; one, Randy Hill, has been murdered. The bosses, operating with a multi-million-dollar war chest used to hire hundreds of scabs, are determined to crush an important center of Teamster militancy.

For Mass Picketing to Halt Scabbing

The treachery of the IBT International had been obvious from the beginning. Union president Frank Fitzsimmons and his Western Conference of Teamsters agent William Grami refused to sanction the strike until they were finally forced into doing so because the membership would not buy the first rotten offer and the bosses initiated a lockout. Then on August 22 Grami announced a new "settlement"—that would submit all issues to binding arbitration. This was so unpopular with the ranks that it was not even put to a vote! Since then, the bosses, buoyed up by a massive strikebreaking force of 2,500 scabs, local cops and private guards, have decided to cut the union apart. Grami's response? To call off picketing at distribution centers in Denver and southern California on September 29 and to cancel plans for dispatching pickets to Seattle and Portland!

Both the International and local Teamster leaders have capitulated to court injunctions limiting picketing. The handful of officially sanctioned mass pickets have only been token showpiece affairs such as the September 9 demonstration in front of Lucky's Gemco Store, which the bureaucrats used to bolster the sagging image of the strikebreaking Democratic Party by allowing politicians like Congressman Ron Dellums to be the main speakers. (Only the most craven hootlickers for the union bureaucracy such as the Communist Party's *People's World* had the gall to label this picketing a "militant fight back.") Ironically, even this timid affair was assaulted by company guards after the Democratic Party notables had left the rally, and several Teamsters (including Local 70 secretary-treasurer Chuck Mack) were later charged with "assault, battery and inciting to riot."

In fact, the token picketing ordered by the union tops has been largely ineffective in halting the massive scab-herding efforts. Teamster militants reported that the food chains are retaining at least two thirds of their business, while at the same time accumulating a massive scab workforce. If the picket lines are not made effective, the strikers are doomed. Mass picketing, directed particularly at the critical distribution centers, must be initiated immediately and expanded statewide! The periodic threats by Teamster leaders to shut down Safeway operations nationwide must be implemented now! Over-the-road Teamster drivers must halt all transport of scab goods!

For Union Solidarity

Decades of cozy relationships between union leaders and Democratic Party politicians, reflected in the suppression of the class-struggle tactics which built the unions, have disarmed the labor movement in the face of the vicious onslaught of the food employers. While the various Bay Area union leaderships have mouthed their usual cheap statements of "solidarity," when it came down to the wire they all took a dive. On September 8, the Retail Clerks withdrew its sanction, thereby permitting up to 20,000 clerks to cross the Teamster picket lines and return to work.

Trying to justify this scabbing policy, the clerks' regional vice president Jack Loveall asserted that his membership had been confused and angered by the "disorganized and sporadic picketing by Teamsters." Incredibly, IBT spokesman Dennis Shaw excused the scabbing policy: "As far as we're concerned, the clerks have done everything they possibly could to support and help us. We understand. We feel it's our fight and we'll continue the battle on our own" (*Oakland Tribune*, 8 September). Similarly, on September 23 Butchers union Local 115 announced its withdrawal of strike sanction.

WV Photo

Teamster pickets stop delivery truck in front of Safeway store in San Francisco.

The conduct of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) leadership is hardly less reprehensible. While some 350 ILWU members are respecting picket lines at the Safeway Preserve and Coffee plants and the Safeway Distribution Center, Local 6 officials have ruled that in non-Safeway houses, ILWU members must fill orders and move goods bound for struck stores, even when Teamsters are present picketing scab trucks. The bureaucrats are making the absurd claim that as long as ILWUers don't physically enter the trucks, they are "honoring" the lines. Therefore ILWU warehousemen have been instructed to move struck goods from the warehouse to the shipping dock all the way to the loading plate. Then all the scab drivers need do is move the cargo a few feet into the truck and be on their way!

The class-struggle Militant Caucus initiated a campaign to halt this disgusting back-door scab policy. Signed by 40 Local 6 members, including ten chief stewards, a petition was submitted to the October 5 meeting of the stewards council, demanding that "the ILWU must support the IBT strike by refusing to work orders of struck goods where there are picket lines." The response of Local 6 president Keith Eickman was to rule the motion "out of order."

With Teamsters making up the dominant partner in the ILWU-IBT bargaining alliance which negotiates its master warehouse contract next year, many ILWU militants realize only too well how such backstabbing directly undercuts their own interests. Six of the houses represented in the list of endorsers had already refused to move scab goods until the union business agents ordered them to violate the ILWU's traditional observance of picket lines. Unfortunately, many would-be leftists in the union have lacked even this elementary level of class solidarity.

At a previous stewards meeting, the Militant Caucus had presented a motion calling for hot-cargoing of scab goods, whether or not a picket line was present, but that proposal was defeated with the aid of well-known CP supporter Joe Lindsay. Supporters of the CP and the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) then refused pointblank to endorse the petition presented at the October 5 meeting. CP supporters have functioned consistently as lawyers for the ILWU bureaucracy, aping their masters in excusing the despicable scab policies by citing the Teamster leadership's failure to vigorously prosecute the strike.

Such is the rationale always offered by cowards and opportunists. It is not merely the strikers who stand to lose if the supermarket bosses are victorious, but warehousemen, meat cutters and retail workers up and down the West Coast, as well as the broader labor movement. It ought to be crystal clear that if the bosses can get away with it here, they will do it next time to weaker unions. The Teamster strikers' fight is the fight of all labor!

Despite their as yet undaunted courage and will to fight on, the strikers are in grave danger, confronted by a vicious anti-union assault and betrayed by their leaders. The defeatist policies of the bureaucracy must be dumped now—no more kowtowing to the courts and looking to liberal Democrats for help. Militants must demand election of strike committees to carry out a fighting policy that can *win*. For mass picketing! Hot-cargo scab goods! Extend the strike! ■

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Miller Goes After Dissident Miners

Since the conclusion of their electrifying and bitterly fought 110-day strike last winter, coal miners have receded from the national news. Though the impact of their militancy is being felt in a wave of strikes involving railroad workers, teachers, municipal employees and West Coast Teamsters, this past summer was the first since 1974 that did not see a major coalfield wildcat.

But as miners were paying off their creditors, rebuilding their bank accounts and assessing the results of last winter's strike, United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) president Arnold Miller took advantage of the lull in militant action to move against his opponents within the union. Miller emerged from the coal strike a despised and isolated figure—scorned by the capitalist media for his inability to control the ranks and hated by most miners because he continually capitulated to the bosses and the government and finally saddled the miners with a contract that is universally viewed as a major setback. Without the following or the authority to purge his opponents outright, Miller has instead resorted to salami tactics aimed at slicing off his critics one by one.

Miller's first post-strike victory came at the July meeting of the union's International Executive Board (IEB). Recall petitions demanding Miller's ouster and bearing 31,000 signatures—twice the number required to set the recall machinery in motion—were submitted to the IEB. By a vote of 14 to 5 with five abstentions, the IEB upheld Miller's claim that the petitioners had failed to prove the charge of "malfeasance" and refused to submit the question to a vote of the union membership. Many of the so-called "dissident" Board members who under the pressure of the ranks had opposed Miller's contract proposals simply folded up and went along with the suppression of the recall petitions.

Buoyed by this victory, Miller called a special IEB in August with the intention of stuffing more opponents by consolidating three western UMWA districts into one. This would have instantly eliminated dissident Board members Robert Long (District 14: Iowa, Missouri, Kansas) and Donald Lawley (District 21: Oklahoma, Arkansas).

Trying to assure that he would have the two-thirds vote necessary to push through this maneuver, Miller first moved against Bill Lamb, one of his most strident critics and the Board member from District 6 (Ohio). Under the first order of business, the IEB suspended Lamb by a 16-8 vote for alleged financial "insubordination." The charges came without warning and stemmed from Lamb's failure to submit expense account vouchers for March 1977 through August 1978. In an interview with *BT*, Lamb claimed that he had saved the union $8,000-10,000 by personally absorbing his hotel, food and travel expenses over this period. Whatever the ins and outs of this financial wrangle, it is clear that Miller went after Lamb mainly to knock out another oppositional vote. As IEB member Lawley told *BT*, "they suspended Lamb immediately, knowing for sure where his vote was at." Miller's vote to consolidate the oppositional districts fell short of the necessary two-thirds majority by just one vote.

Miller's vendetta against his critics reaches down to the local level, where it is ultimately aimed at the volatile UMWA rank and file. Outspoken anti-Miller local presidents in West Virginia and Ohio told *BT* that Miller has recently conducted or ordered audits of their local books in hopes of discovering some grounds for disciplinary action. And in rebellious Pennsylvania locals, Miller has gone after local officers for

WV Photo

West Virginia miners protesting Miller's sellout contract on steps of Charleston state house last spring.

their militant actions against the coal companies.

In mid-August Local 2874 (Bethlehem Steel mine in Marianna, Pennsylvania) president Clemmy Allen and vice-president Paul Lemon were called to Washington by Miller to discuss matters "of mutual concern." When they arrived, they were separated, called into Miller's office and confronted by Miller, UMWA vice-president Sam Church, International secretary-treasurer Willard Esselstyn and District 5 IEB representative Marty Connors. With a baseball bat leaning against his desk, Miller blamed Allen for the occupation of the UMWA headquarters by militant Pennsylvania miners last February during protests against the first sell-out contract proposal. According to Allen, Miller told him in no uncertain terms that turmoil in the coalfields was going to stop, or else.

At the same time, safety grievances were piling up in Allen's mine, where 12 men died in a 1958 explosion. Workers complained of improperly examined escape ways, water accumulation and unsupported roofs, as well as falsified inspection reports. The company denied the charges, federal inspectors wrote citations but refused to prosecute and state investigators sought only to charge two union members for safety violations, letting 24 implicated foremen off the hook. Finally, a special union meeting was called on September 5 and close to 200 miners voted unanimously to strike. The walkout lasted five days and ended with a written statement by the company to comply with federal and state safety laws.

The right to strike is the coal miners' first-line defense against the deadly conditions underground. But loyalists of Miller and his flunkey District 5 president Lou Antal, organized in the "Miners for Unity" group in southwest Pennsylvania, immediately began charging that the strike was a waste of time and clamored for Allen's removal from office. At the next, ill-attended local meeting, Miller supporters pushed through a 30-to-17 vote castigating Allen for calling the strike without the required three days notice. Despairing of a further fight, Allen angrily submitted his resignation. "The time and money that went into knocking me out was unbelievable," Allen told *BT*.

Miller's attacks on his opponents in the union have gone largely unreported in the press of his left-wing apologists, most notably the Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP), both of whom backed Miller in his 1972 election and are reluctant to give him up in the absence of a more "popular" alternative. The CP's *Daily World* (11 October) can only breathe a sigh of relief that "the movement to recall Miller seems to have run its course" while the SWP's *Militant*—which during the coal strike argued that it was wrong to criticize Miller and deliberately downplayed the growing movement to recall him—continues its cover-up. A September 22 *Militant* article on the Marianna safety walkout—written by an SWP supporter at the mine—failed to even mention Miller's attacks on the local UMWA officers.

In the wake of the coal strike, many of Miller's opponents in the union hierarchy have retreated or thrown in the towel altogether, as reflected in Miller's growing majority on the IEB. "Miners for Recall" leader Bill Bryant is now working as a foreman at Cedar Coal Company in West Virginia. A group of Miller's remaining critics, led by Ohio's Bill Lamb and former District 6 board member Don Nunley, have joined with local-level leaders to circulate hundreds of petitions demanding a special convention to reform the recall procedure, review union expenses and reform the dues structure to relieve the hard-pressed districts, amend the union constitution to allow the membership to pick a chief negotiator other than Miller for the 1981 contract talks and move the 1979 convention out of Florida, the spot picked by Miller to keep the convention distant from the coalfields and avoid the presence of large numbers of miners.

Mine militants should certainly support an early convention in the coalfields so that the ranks can straighten out the mess Miller and his cohorts have made, by fighting for a class-struggle leadership. But the loose anti-Miller coalition is a diffuse lot without clear goals or a concrete program to solve the union's problems, even were Miller to be dumped. Some are supporters of Lee Roy Patterson, the right-wing former flunkey of past UMWA president Tony Boyle. Some were active Miller supporters who broke with the UMWA president only when his sell-outs grew so outrageous that the rank and file was up in arms. Some are sincere young activists who have only been active in union politics for a year or two, while others are hard-boiled anti-communist careerists, even more hostile to class-struggle unionism than they are to Miller.

Such a heterogeneous group, united only around getting rid of Arnold Miller, has not and cannot answer the threats against the UMWA's power and very existence. Miners have been on strike for over ten months at mines in Virginia and Kentucky, trying to gain acceptance of even the weakened UMWA national contract. At the Jericol mine in Glenwood, Kentucky, 100 strikers have been repeatedly fired on by company guards armed with automatic weapons, who have been escorting scabs into the mine in armored coal trucks. For almost two and a half years miners in Stearns, Kentucky have been striking for a contract. Largely unorganized Western coal and the growing number of scab mines in the East threaten to swamp the union's hold on the industry. Unable to force a no-strike clause on the miners last winter, the coal operators and courts continue their war of attrition against picket lines and the right to strike. Determined to increase the use of coal to reduce oil consumption, the Democratic and Republican parties are united in backing the operators' drive to break the resistance of the militant miners, as shown in the unanimous bipartisan support for Carter's Taft-Hartley injunction against the miners' strike.

Such a corporate/government offensive demands a political response: a fight for complete independence of the labor movement from the bosses' parties and courts, and for a workers political party to combat the strikebreaking Democrats and Republicans. It means demanding expropriation of the parasitic mine owners and the energy conglomerates who stand behind them. It requires a fight for a workers government which will end the need for the miners to wage endless bloody battles against the coal operators—by establishing a rationally planned economy without the bosses' private ownership and profit greed.

Miller's critics who eschew such demands will end up leading the miners down the same road upon which Miller has led them, which inevitably subordinates the needs of the miners to the interests of the bosses and their paid-for politicians. Aspiring UMWA leaders who remain confined to militant trade unionism and disgust for the treachery of Arnold Miller cannot break the union out of the impasse it is in. ■

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New Left ...

(continued from page 5)

derailed a passenger train in California, causing the death of scores of innocent people.

The nationalist-populist ideology which justified such wanton, senseless carnage was the product of the open rejection of Marxism by the early New Left. In 1963 a French West Indian intellectual, Frantz Fanon, wrote a book whose title became the watchword

Weathermen said "Marion Delgado, live like him."

for a generation of radical petty-bourgeois intellectuals, *The Wretched of the Earth*. Based on his experience in the Algerian independence struggle, Fanon dismissed the proletariat in backward countries as "the nucleus of the colonized population which has been most pampered by the colonial regime," who "because of the privileged place which they hold in the colonial system constitute also the 'bourgeois' fraction of the colonized people."

Fanon saw the revolutionary vanguard in the landless peasants and the permanently unemployed urban slum dwellers

> "The men whom the growing population of the country districts and colonial expropriation have brought to desert their family holdings circle tirelessly around the different towns, hoping that one day or another they will be allowed inside. It is within this mass of humanity, this people of the shanty towns, at the core of the *lumpen-proletariat* that the rebellion will find its urban spearhead. For the *lumpen-proletariat*, that horde of starving men, uprooted from their tribe and their clan, constitutes one of the most spontaneous and the most radically revolutionary forces of a colonized people."

Implicitly accepting Fanon's explicit anti-Marxist lumpen vanguardism, the rat groups embrace his program of terrorist vengeance. Fanon highlighted the "cathartic" role of random violence in enraging the lumpenproletariat. The nationalist FLN deliberately made use of indiscriminate terror to sow panic among the French colons.

The same anti-proletarian tactics have been used by nationalists all over the world, from the airplane hijackings of the Palestinian guerrillas to the London subway bombings of the IRA Provos. Marxists stand on the side of those seeking to fight imperialist oppression, and defend even bourgeois nationalists in military confrontations with the oppressor state, but we in no way condone such criminal acts whose targets are not the class enemy but random individuals. South African whites and French colons in Algeria play the role of an oppressor caste vis-à-vis the non-white majorities. But our program is not to exterminate these privileged social layers which possess an important reservoir of skills and culture that could be invaluable for working-class rule.

At bottom it comes down to the question of genocide – do all peoples have the democratic right to exist, or only the "good" peoples? Alleging that we "equate the rights of oppressor and oppressed," *Socialist Voice* inquires, "If the South African whites demand 'self-determination' on the verge of a black victory in that country, whose side will the South African Spartacists be on?"

In fact, the same question was raised at the January 29 forum. And the Spartacist spokesman responded:

> "There's a theory. It's a Stalinist theory – that all the peoples on the earth are to be divided (it jumps from time to time – you see, the Jews used to be progressive, now they're reactionary), that all the peoples are either progressive or reactionary. If you are progressive, not only do you have the right to exist, you have the right to do *anything* to your oppressors, but if you are a reactionary people, you have no right to exist and I have the right to kill you. Now, oddly enough, the peoples on the earth – the Irish, the Biharis, the Turks, the Armenians, the Jews in Israel, the Palestinians – they all want to exist.
>
> "It's all wrong, the methodology of the horse race of peoples. The Germans are good or bad, the Armenians and Cyprus, who's good or bad? Used to be the Turks were good because they were being oppressed by the Greeks. Then the Turkish army arrived, now the Greeks are good. It's a scoreboard of who you get to kill because of their culture, then ethnic origins. We reject that. You're absolutely right.
>
> "And there's several million Boers in South Africa. *They have no right to exploit and oppress the blacks. They do have a right to live.* You think they have no right to live? Well, then, go try to kill them!"

The program of "revolutionary" revenge is a formula for forcing the Jewish workers of Israel, the white workers of South Africa to cleave ever more tightly to the crimes of their "own" imperialism.

Encouraging the national chauvinism of oppressed peoples, now pervasive among those who twitch when the SWP pulls the "consistent nationalist" strings, is profoundly alien to the Marxist world view. It used to be that implacable hostility to indiscriminate mass terror was universal in the socialist movement – so much so that the Armenian Dashnaks were expelled from the Second International over precisely this question. Now Communist Cadre dubs George Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which set off the wave of airplane hijackings, a *centrist* party i.e., part of the workers movement.

Blanket endorsement of any and all acts of retaliation by members of an oppressed population has nothing to do with proletarian communism. The RSL's perverted idea of "defending" the Livermore Five (black youth arrested in a cop sweep following a Detroit ghetto explosion in 1975) was to initially dismiss the killing of an innocent white motorist. And last year the RSL found a real heroine – a woman who in response to years of abuse by her husband retaliated by burning the family house down with him in it (*Torch*, 15 November-15 December 1977). What a way to win the working class to the idea that they have a vital interest in fighting for the liberation of all the oppressed!

The real architect of the rat groups' sociopathic cheerleading is the SWP, which makes up in patronizing corruption what it lacks in missionary fervor. While Marion Delgado's little brothers are vicariously torching individual whites in their press, the SWP is egging on the black Democratic demagogues of Crown Heights in making aged Jewish immigrants the scapegoat for capitalism's systematic degradation of black youth.

For Leninists, recognition of the right of national self-determination is not based on do-goodism, and certainly isn't necessarily a good turn for the peoples involved. The strategic purpose of Leninist support to the right of self-determination is to clarify the centrality of *class* oppression by eliminating foreign domination, so that combative sections of the proletariat are able to see that the latter is not the root of all evil. At the risk of offending our oversensitive opponents, we would point out that the post-independence regimes in Asia and Africa are frequently more ruthless and violent in their exploitation of the workers and peasants than were the colonial governments. While the Dutch colonial authorities were far from tolerant toward the Indonesian communist movement, it was the national bourgeois state of Sukarno/Suharto which in 1965 massacred *half a million* leftists, workers and peasants. It took the new Sudanese "anti-imperialist" colonels to orchestrate the genocide of the South Sudanese black population.

Frantz Fanon Time

Lenin never maintained that imperialism transformed the economically and culturally underdeveloped peoples into progressive nations imbued moreover with the right of revenge upon their historic oppressors. The Leninist position is based upon the democratic principle of the *equality* of national rights, not on the "progressive" extermination of oppressor peoples. The path to equality and freedom for all the peoples of the world lies through the construction of a world vanguard party based on the revolutionary Trotskyist program of proletarian internationalism – the unique program of the Spartacist tendency. ■

Pabloists sputter over fusion of L&RU/Red Flag Union with SL.

WORKERS VANGUARD SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE

Sub Drive a Success at 135%

Spartacist supporters have just concluded another successful drive to bring *Workers Vanguard* to new subscribers. Again this year, the hard work of SL/SYL comrades is reflected in substantial overfulfillment of the quotas set by the Central Office. In fact, half the SL local branches were encouraged to end the drive a week early after meeting their quotas in only three weeks. This year's individual leaders were comrades Ann W. of San Francisco with 63 points and Steve Ha. of Berkeley/Oakland with 62.

This year, subscription quotas were modest, set at approximately two-thirds of the 1977 sub drive levels, as part of the limited cutback and reordering of SL priorities decided last spring (see "WV to Go Biweekly," *WV* No. 206, 19 May). Instead, emphasis on single copy sales was increased and the locals placed highest priority on continuing the Summer Expansion Drive, to broaden the *WV* readership to new localities through placing the paper in bookstores in areas where the SL does not have an organized presence. During the sub drive, more than 300 bookstores in cities like Boulder, Colo., Kalamazoo, Mich. and Morgantown, W. Va. were visited, bringing the number of new bookstores stocked with *WV* and other SL/SYL publications during the Expansion Drive to 176.

The successful 1978 sub drive brings *WV*'s domestic subscription base up to 2,804. As usual, this year's drive stressed full-year subscriptions, nearly three-quarters of the *WV* subs sold were one- and two-year rather than introductory subs. In addition to *WV*, 274 subs to *Women and Revolution* and 326 to *Young Spartacus* were sold.

In addition to the 2,605 points sold in the U.S., 110 points were sold by the comrades of the Trotskyist League of Canada.

Those who find all these numbers bewildering may be amused by another set of figures. Readers of the *Militant* will have noticed the current ballyhoo about the SWP's drive to sell 100,000 copies over 15 issues. They may not have noticed, however, that the SWP's method for figuring "sales" includes counting subscriptions. Thus, each new 10-issue subscription sold counts as ten copies sold. Using the same method by which the SWP calculates it has sold 43,951 copies over the last five issues, the SL has sold 35,099.

Local	Quota	Points	%	Local	Quota	Points	%
Berk./Oak	250	425	170%	Detroit	225	270	120%
Boston	125	137	109%	Los Angeles	225	347	154%
Chicago	250	276	110%	New York	300	419	106%
Cleveland	200	275	137%	San Francisco	225	436	193%
At Large	50	20	40%				
				Total	1850	2605	135%

Beirut...

(continued from page 1)

March Zionist invasion of southern Lebanon, in which over 1,000 Lebanese and Palestinians were killed and tens of thousands driven north to add to Lebanon's refugee burden.

During its invasion of southern Lebanon Israel avoided direct military confrontation with Syria. At the same time, Israel solidified its military alliance with the Maronite militias and turned captured positions over to them, as opposed to UN forces. Therefore, Syria views these Maronite militias as Israeli military mini-clients and as its enemies in any confrontation with the Zionists. Thus the present Syrian attempt to disarm the Maronites and cut off their Israeli military supplies is viewed by both Maronites and Zionists as a proxy war with Israel.

Zionists to the Rescue?

Maronite calls for direct Israeli intervention have grown increasingly strident as their situation deteriorates, and have not fallen on deaf ears. Israel responded to the present offensive against its Maronite clients in its characteristic fashion ...by killing Palestinians. On October 5 the Israeli navy sent five gunboats up the Mediterranean to shell beach houses which had become shelters for Palestinian refugees, claiming that they were guerrilla naval bases about to launch an attack against Israel! Not only were these hovels not naval bases, they were southwest of Beirut, far from the fighting between Maronite militias and Syrian forces.

But while Israeli leaders publicly denied a direct link between their naval actions and the Syrian campaign against the Maronites, they nonetheless made it clear they were not about to see their Israeli-trained and equipped military allies smashed. Israeli defense minister Moshe Dayan, in the U.S. for upcoming peace negotiations with Egypt, was asked about the naval bombardment on "Face the Nation" and stated: "Maybe indirectly it served as a signal that we won't hesitate to send our forces to strike, whether by sea or by other means, as far as Beirut or to other parts of Lebanon."

Israeli government radio reported that defense minister Weizman before the parliament's foreign affairs and defense committee warned that Israel might militarily intervene on behalf of the Maronite militias if Junieh was closed or Israeli military supplies were cut off. As in March, Israel is presently avoiding a direct military confrontation with Syria only under U.S. pressure to let nothing interfere with the conclusion of a separate peace between Israel and U.S. imperialism's new-found client in Cairo. But when those negotiations are concluded—or if Israel feels the Maronite militias are decisively threatened—the next Zionist invasion of Lebanon will not stop at the Litani River.

Back to Versailles?

In the Near East the film of decolonization is being run backwards, with the U.S. replacing Britain in Egypt and Palestine (Israel and Jordan) and France reconquering its "mandate" in Lebanon. Beginning with U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger's "salami" tactics in the Sinai ("a slice of land for a slice of peace") up to Camp David, U.S. diplomacy has resulted in increased direct U.S. imperialist intervention in the Near East, including militarily. No matter how much Washington may squabble with the "inflexible" Zionists it continues to pick up ball the tab for Israel's $3 billion war budget.

In Egypt, the U.S. and the oil sheikdoms have developed a division of labor. In the last two years the U.S. has provided $2 billion in so-called "economic aid" while Saudi Arabia has shelled out $1.2 billion directly for military hardware. One half the budget of Jordan's government has traditionally been picked up by some imperialist patron; today the remittances are paid out in dollars instead of pounds sterling.

As a result of Kissinger's Sinai agreements, U.S. military and CIA personnel are strategically placed between Israeli and Egyptian troops. A final peace treaty between Israel and Egypt will inevitably be "protected" by dramatic escalation of direct U.S. military presence.

Of course Israel is already ringed by United Nations troops: since the 1949 armistice they have served as the landmarks and border guards for each act of Israeli expansionism and annexation. Most recently, 4,500 UN troops were sent to sanctify the Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon and share guard duty over Israel's northern frontiers with the Israeli-equipped Maronite militias.

Sadat, Carter and Begin sign the Camp David "peace" agreement. Heikes

His head swelled with the success of Camp David, on September 28 U.S. president Carter called for an international conference on Lebanon, a demand also often raised by the right-wing Maronites who since the Crusades have looked abroad for patrons and protectors. Carter's guest list was particularly revealing: the various communal factions in Lebanon (but not the Palestine Liberation Organization), Syria, Israel, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, France and the U.S.! Of course such a conference would be conducted "under the aegis of the United Nations."

The invitation of Lebanon's old colonial master, France, was not accidental. The U.S. has increasingly looked to French imperialism to discharge its "responsibilities" for its former colonial possessions in the Near East as well as Africa. Thus, of the 4,500 troops sent to southern Lebanon under UN auspices, 1,400 are French! As in Africa, so too in Lebanon France has been increasingly willing to reestablish its imperial prerogatives.

Syria's response to Carter's conference proposal was to dramatically escalate its offensive against the Maronites. Assad, touring various Arab capitals to line up support against Camp David and a separate Israeli-Egyptian peace agreement, rushed off to his military patrons in Moscow. No doubt the Soviet bureaucrats took note of the fact that they were not included on the guest list for Carter's conference on Lebanon.

France, of course, took the initiative in proposing a cease-fire, albeit a ludicrous plan calling for the withdrawal of Syrian troops from Beirut and the creation of a buffer zone manned by the shattered and almost phantom "Lebanese army." The UN Security Council unanimously passed a call for a cease-fire without the French-proposed separation of forces, a cease-fire which broke down two days after it was halfheartedly implemented by the Syrians. Ominously, a group of 17 U.S. senators sent a letter to Carter urging him to expand the French-dominated UN forces in southern Lebanon and send them to Beirut to replace the Syrians!

In the meantime the Soviet Union squanders arms on reactionary Arab regimes like Syria and Iraq while even the political supporters of the Moscow bureaucracy are hung in the streets of Baghdad and Damascus. Tomorrow no doubt these regimes will treat Soviet generosity no differently than did Egypt.

Henry Kissinger has observed that what the Balkans were to World War I the Near East could become to a future World War III. He should know, since he was quite willing to plunge the globe into nuclear holocaust over the October 1973 war. Ironically Israel's recent shelling off the Lebanese coast "celebrated" the fifth anniversary of that war. In five years the threat of direct imperialist confrontation with the Soviet degenerated workers state over the Near East has only escalated, threatening not merely the gains of the October Revolution in the Soviet Union but the fate of all humanity. If blood-soaked and battle-ravaged Beirut is not to be the dress rehearsal for world war, the workers of the Near East and the world must find the road to international proletarian revolution. ■

British Ford...

(continued from page 16)

pro-capitalist tops. The Spartacist League/Britain (SL/B), sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, is uniquely championing that fight, at a time when most self-proclaimed Trotskyist groups in Britain are urging continued electoral support to the Callaghan government. The SL/B is backing the Ford workers' fight and urging that the struggle against wage controls be expanded by bringing other unions with pending wage demands out on strike.

Critical electoral support to a mass reformist workers party is a legitimate tactic for a revolutionary propaganda group, in order to expose the anti-socialist policies of the present leadership of the labor movement by placing them in office. In both 1974 general elections the Spartacist tendency gave critical support to Labour against the Tories. However, when it recently looked like a general election was in the offing, the SL/B was virtually alone on the British left in not calling for a vote to Labour, because of Callaghan's policies of wage-freezing, strikebreaking and coalitionism with the Liberals. The reports of growing anti-Labour sentiment among the militant Ford workers indicate that many in the union ranks are itching to dump their treacherous misleaders. It is precisely at a time when substantial numbers of British workers are most open to a genuine socialist alternative to the Labour Party that the pseudo-revolutionary "far left" is calling on them to return Callaghan to power again so they can "go through the experience" of five more years of wage slashing. Four years of Callaghan, Foote and Benn are more than enough to expose the anti-working-class policies of the Labour leadership.

Victory to the Ford strike! No productivity deal! Down with wage controls! No vote to the wage-freezing Labour Party! Split the Labour Party along class lines – Build a mass Trotskyist party in Britain! ■

RSL...

(continued from page 5)

RSL er spoke from the floor in English this was translated. Finally, a Chicano member of the SL provided the same right for the rest of the audience. The RSL's pique at not being able to seal off its contacts from the SL by a language barrier led straight to the slanderous charge of racism.

And it didn't stop there. The *Torch* complains that at an RSL forum, an SL spokesman referred to Jamaica as "the lumpen capital of the world." The SL repeated this at a later talk by the RSL's Jamaican fraternal group, the Revolutionary Marxist League (RML). Predictably our New Left opponents jumped up and down, their faces contorted with indignation as they screeched "racist." The real motivation is the same: the RSL is now using the incident as an excuse to exclude Spartacist supporters from its forums.

It is an empirical fact that the lumpenproletarian population of Jamaica is huge. Even according to official statistics, the unemployment level has never fallen below 20 percent during the 1970's (International Labour Office, *Yearbook of Labor Statistics*, 1976). A British sociologist who studied Kingston slums found them populated by long-time residents "either scorning or failing to find employment in 'Babylon,' the modern industrial city." After listing the various trades (fishermen, potters, traders in ganja [marijuana], washerwomen, bar girls) he concludes: "The characteristic shared by all these occupations was that they were outside the sphere of industrial organization (and domestic service); they were on the margins of the economy" (Adam Kuper, *Changing Jamaica*, 1976).

For those unconvinced by mere statistics, the immensely popular Jamaican film, *The Harder They Come*, presents an accurate picture of Kingston social life. The ganja trade is a major economic activity of the urban poor. And the two-gun rebel ganja trader played by Jimmy Cliff is just the kind of hustler folk hero spawned by the conditions of social disorganization in the lumpenized slums. He is the embodiment of undirected, individual lumpen rage, whose targets could just as easily be a cop, a white tourist or a rival hustler.

The RSL takes our reference to the social weight of the lumpenproletariat as an insult to "the most oppressed layers of the working class." But lumpenism dominates every fact of life in the Jamaican rural and urban slums. There is the marijuana culture with its Rastafarian fringe, the semi-criminal cult whose badge is wearing hair in dreadlocks and whose adherents view former Ethiopian emperor Haile Salassie (originally named Ras Tafari) as god on earth. The lumpen gang culture also shades over into politics, with the ruling People's National Party of Michael Manley and the opposition Jamaican Labour Party both dominating various slum districts through their gangs of bullies.

Our supporter did indeed say that it was no accident that the Jamaican group was the RSL's only international supporter. For the RML is deeply bound up in this lumpen politics. It gave critical support to Manley in previous elections, and though it now reportedly dissociates itself from this position, it still gives "military support" to Manley's youth gangs in the endemic turf wars between the two competing bourgeois parties. The SL points out that just as Louis Napoleon was able to recruit goon squads from among the Paris lumpenproletarians, Jamaica's populist bonapartist regime does the same (with the RML tailing along behind). But to the RSL to say this is to be racist.

Adding its voice to the chorus of slander, the RSL "exposes" only itself. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

British Ford Strikers Challenge Labour's Wage Freeze

The strike of 57,000 Ford Motor Company workers in Britain has sparked a first-rate political crisis for Prime Minister James Callaghan and the Labour Party cabinet. The Ford workers walked out September 21 demanding a 25 percent pay raise and a 35-hour workweek, directly challenging the government's "Phase Four" wage-control ceiling of 5 percent. This is potentially the most serious union vs. government confrontation since 1974, when the striking coal miners toppled the Tory government of Edward Heath and Labour was boosted to power. The Ford strikers are spearheading what the *Financial Times* nervously calls "the shopfloor revolt against wage controls," a rebellion which may well prove the downfall of the wage-freezing Callaghan government.

The Ford workers have already scored an important victory. Despite massive government pressure to "hold the line" and threats of economic reprisals, British Ford, losing £10 million a day during the strike, broke with the government's pay policy on October 9 and offered to resume negotiations "under conditions of free collective bargaining," i.e., outside the government's limits. Ford subsequently made an offer of 8 percent, which was flatly rejected by the unions. The same day Ford announced its breach of the government's standards, the large British Oxygen firm followed suit with an 8 percent proposal to its employees, which was also turned down, with shop stewards demanding a 15-20 percent increase.

Callaghan is now desperately caucusing with leaders of the Trades Union Congress (TUC), trying to salvage the "social contract" incomes policy of wage restraint which has been the cornerstone of the Labour government since 1974 and whose success the prime minister hoped would insure his re-election. But under the impact of the Ford strike, which millions of British workers are hoping will shatter the wage controls, the outlook for formal controls is problematic.

Last month, the annual conference of the TUC voted overwhelmingly against continued wage controls and, in the first week of October, the annual Labour Party conference also rejected, by a vote of two-to-one, "totally any wage restraint by whatever method." Callaghan may be forced to rely on the often repeated pledges of the TUC tops to be "responsible" at the bargaining table, backed up by his threats to slash the budget and impose even more austere fiscal and monetary restraints should inflation begin to pick up. Though government ministers are still publicly invoking the 5 percent limit, the most likely result of the TUC/cabinet talks is a slightly more liberalized pay policy which will link future wage increases to productivity gains.

British workers must not tolerate their leaders' swapping the 5 percent freeze for productivity deals which will continue to make them the scapegoats for the outmoded plants and aging machinery of the British economy, the "sick man of Europe." For four years, the British working class has been saddled by their "socialist" leaders with wage controls that have, in the name of salvaging British capitalism, reduced their standard of living to below that of the workers in Spain. The Ford strike is the clearest indication that the fragile social peace of the "social contract" is now on the verge of exploding. British workers must turn thumbs-down to any more appeals that they "sacrifice" for the sake of Callaghan's ministerial portfolios.

Workers Back Ford Strike

The eruption at Ford clearly caught the union leaders, Labour ministers and British capitalists by surprise. Callaghan had only recently unveiled the government's White Paper *Winning the Battle Against Inflation* (outlining the 5 percent wage limit) and postponed general elections, hoping that a few additional months of relative economic stability—at the workers' expense—would take the wind out of the Tories' sails. But Callaghan's plans went up in smoke when Ford delivered to all its workers a copy of its reply to union negotiators: no pay raise can exceed the government's limit.

Thousands of angry Ford workers walked out at nearly all of the company's 23 plants that night in response. Mass meetings the following Monday overwhelmingly backed the call for strike action. Leaders of the Transport and General Workers Union (T&GWU) and Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW), the two major unions at Ford, were left little choice but to sanction the accomplished fact and back the strike. British workers quickly and enthusiastically rallied to the support of the Ford strikers. Dockworkers and railwaymen are preventing the loading and unloading of Ford cars and parts at major ports. The National Union of Seamen likewise "blacked" (refused to handle) all Ford shipments.

News Line

Striking Ford workers picket meeting of union bureaucrats.

The Ford strike is also serving as a rallying point for the millions of British workers who have been stifled by wage controls and are now seeking to catch up. Ron Keating, assistant general secretary of the National Union of Public Employees, which is demanding a 60 percent raise, told the press: "The men at Ford are not alone. They will be followed by one million local council [government] workers and 250,000 hospital staff." Tanker drivers are demanding a 40 percent raise and at least 30 other unions are asking for 20 to 30 percent increases. Miners' union leader Joe Gormley has threatened strike action later this winter and auto workers at GM's Vauxhall and at British Leyland have made pay claims far in excess of the government's limit.

British unionists whose leaders are currently talking tough must not wait until these very same leaders have worked out a new modus vivendi with the Labour cabinet. They should demand that their unions link up with the Ford workers and *strike now* to bury wage controls once and for all.

Beware the Labour Traitors

The biggest obstacle to the burgeoning wage offensive of the British workers is their own union leaders. Though the growing discontent of the rank and file has forced many of these leaders to distance themselves from Callaghan's 5 percent limit—the most stringent in the four-year-old incomes policy—the TUC tops are desperately looking for a way to avoid leading major strikes and breaking sharply with the government.

Thus, just before the closed-door meetings between the TUC and Callaghan's cabinet, TUC general secretary Len Murray said, "I have never taken the view that we are on a collision course." Similarly, Ron Todd, national organizer of the T&GWU and London treasurer of the Labour Party, has pleaded, "I don't want to get into confrontation with the Labour government." The TUC spokesmen fear above all that aggressive union demands might endanger the electoral position of Labour and undercut its main appeal for the British bourgeoisie: that it can handle the unions better than the arch-reactionary Tories.

Under pressure from the ranks, the union brass vote against the government's policies—as at the recent TUC and Labour Party conferences—and then scramble around looking for a way to sabotage those votes. This is old hat in Britain. Last year the TUC also voted to oppose the government's wage controls, then set at a more liberal 10 percent. But the bureaucrats proceeded to keep wage settlements within the 10 percent limit. This year, the union leaders—whose bloc votes account for 90 percent of the total at the Labour Party conferences—voted down Callaghan's 5 percent, then gave the prime minister a standing ovation the following day.

The current Ford strike is just one indication that the British workers are tiring of this cat-and-mouse game. The sing-song "We must keep Labour in power" is wearing thin. On September 26, a delegation of shop stewards from Ford's biggest plant at Dagenham went to the prime minister's residence at 10 Downing Street with a message that warned, "Proposals that we should work for the return of Labour MP's are now being openly derided." During the Ford workers' strike-vote meeting at the Southhampton plant, workers hoisted the banner "Bring back hanging—Big Jim first." These are not sentiments that bode well for Labour in the next elections.

The key to leading the class struggle forward in Britain lies in breaking the working class from its traditional illusions in social-democratic Labourism. The Labour Party must be exploded by setting the base against the

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Solidarity With British Ford Strikers

Militant trade unionists in the U.S. and Canada are demanding that their unions take action in support of the strike against British Ford. At Ford's River Rouge complex near Detroit, members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 600—the largest in the union—called for financial aid to the British strikers and for the UAW to refuse any work Ford might try to divert to its North American plants. Similar demands were made by auto workers at Ford plants in Mahwah, New Jersey and Oakville, Ontario and at General Motors' Fremont, California plant. The Militant Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union urged U.S. seamen to halt all Ford shipments to Britain for the duration of the strike.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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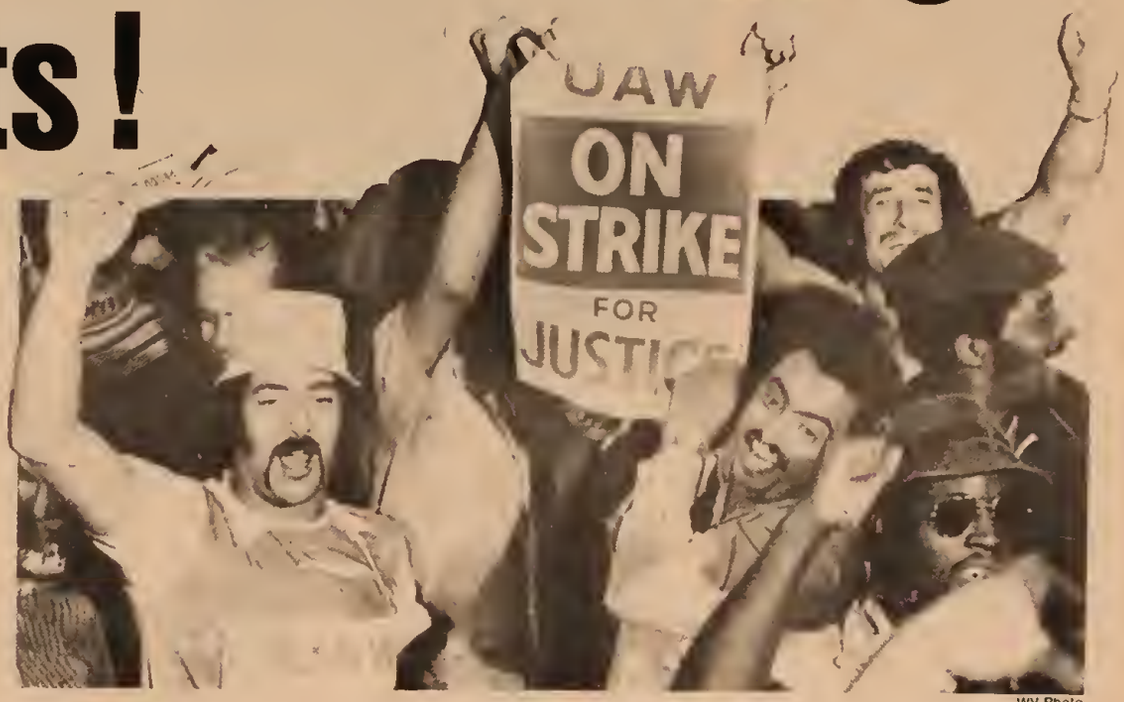
No. 218 — 3 November 1978

This One's Not Going Down

Smash Carter's Wage Limits!



WV Photo

Jimmy Carter's recently announced "voluntary" Phase II wage-price guidelines are a broadside attack on the American working people. While the U.S. economy goes to hell and the dollar is falling through the floor, the parties of big business want to make the working people pay the costs of the capitalist economic crisis.

Labor must throw these wage controls right back in Carter's face, breaking through the "guidelines" to restore past losses and achieve full protection against the ravages of inflation. What is more, with contracts covering several million workers coming up in the next year; with even the conservative Meany wing of the bureaucracy rankling at the anti-labor policies of the Carter administration; with the militant example of the 1977-78 coal strike to spur them on and no recent major defeats to demoralize them, U.S. workers have an excellent opportunity ahead to do just that.

Masquerading as a program to "fight inflation," the heart of Carter's plan is a 7 percent annual limit on pay and benefit hikes. It is an open invitation to the bosses to hard-line it in upcoming contract negotiations with major industrial unions, cutting wage increases to the bone and slashing hard-won gains such as cost-of-living protection. With inflation already spiraling to double figures, Carter is demanding that the unions swallow further substantial cutbacks in real income.

The "wage insurance" gimmick inserted to woo labor's support is a total fraud. Workers who accept the 7 percent limit will supposedly be able to get a tax rebate later if inflation exceeds that rate. But this requires approval from a Congress that has spat in the face of labor time and again; and it also reportedly contains an as yet undetermined "reasonable" limit, which is expected to be *below* the rate of inflation.

The "price guidelines" are even more of a joke. While thousands of businesses will rush forward to do their patriotic duty to hold wage and fringe benefit increases to the 7 percent limit, the

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While Castro's Guest

Trotsky's Assassin Dies in Havana

Late last month Ramón Mercader del Rio, the man who on 20 August 1940 murdered Leon Trotsky, died of bone cancer in Havana, Cuba. Thus ended the life of a despicable being who would have been happily ignored by history had he not 38 years ago struck the crowning blow in the greatest political crime of this century: Stalin's systematic assassination of the entire remaining Bolshevik general staff which made the Russian Revolution of 1917.

Mercader's counterrevolutionary blow with a mountaineer's ice-ax struck down the man who together with Lenin led the October Revolution; the founder of the heroic Red Army, which prevailed in a terrible Civil War against tsarist armies and the expeditionary forces of 18 imperialist countries; the Marxist leader who carried forward the flame of Bolshevism in the darkest days of fascist barbarism and Stalinist betrayal. We neither forgive nor forget Mercader's infamous crime, and we bitterly regret that like his master, Stalin-Cain, this vile assassin died in bed instead of facing the revolutionary justice of a victorious proletariat.

There was no official announcement of Mercader's death, a fitting end for the cynical instrument that carried out Stalin's monstrous order, then to be put out into the cold by his patrons. Although his name was known throughout the world, after 20 years imprisonment in Mexican jails, Mercader spent the last 18 years in obscurity in dachas in Prague, Moscow and finally Fidel Castro's Havana. Why? In tsarist Russia

Ramón Mercader.

the Narodniki and Social Revolutionaries used to trumpet their terrorist exploits far and wide as a revolutionary blow against the autocracy.

But Stalin's terror was in blatant contradiction to the Communist aims his regime professed—so it had to be excused with frame-up trials and Big Lie propaganda, or else hidden and denied. Ramón Mercader's single notable act in life was so odious that he could not show his face even in the countries dominated by the Kremlin, whose parasitic rulers he had served. His very presence was a living reminder that Stalinism did not vanish with the death of J.V. Stalin, the Great Organizer of Defeats and Butcher of the Peoples.

Ramón Mercader was the epitome of the mindless, bitterly corrupt and cynical hit-man of Stalin's secret police, whose initials—GPU (later NKVD)—became the hated symbol of counterrevolutionary bureaucratic terror. From the day of his arrest until his release in 1960 he repeatedly denied his true political-criminal affiliations, maintaining the patently false story that he was "Jacques Mornard" (alias Frank Jacson), a disillusioned Belgian follower of Trotsky. Under this guise he had befriended an American Trotskyist, Sylvia Ageloff, and used her to worm his way into the Trotsky residence in Coyoacán, just outside Mexico City. At the time of the assassination he carried on his person a

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How the Stalinists Planned Trotsky's Murder...6

Homosexual Teachers Targeted in California

Vote Down the Briggs Initiative!

On November 7 the latest effort of reactionary bigots to terrorize homosexuals comes before California voters. Proposition 6, sponsored by right-wing state senator John V. Briggs, is a particularly vicious piece of legislation which would empower local school boards to fire teachers, school aides, counselors and administrators for "advocating, soliciting, imposing, encouraging or promoting private or public homosexual activity directed at or likely to come to the attention of, school children and/or other employees."

Prop 6 is part of Briggs' scheme to ride the wave of anti-homosexual reaction from obscurity to the governor's mansion. In the aftermath of successful anti-homosexual referenda in Dade County, Wichita, St. Paul and Eugene, Oregon, the issue of democratic rights for homosexuals has been losing ground to the same right-wing offensive which has stalled the Equal Rights Amendment, has virtually put a halt to busing to achieve racial integration in the schools, and even justifies the murderous fire-bombing of abortion clinics in the name of the "right to life."

Almost unnoticed in the furor raised by Briggs' Proposition 6 is Briggs' equally atrocious Proposition 7, which mandates capital punishment for an increased number of crimes. Briggs complains that he is having trouble raising money for the initiative because it is considered sure to win.

But Prop 6 is not assured of victory. Where initially polls found the measure supported by a 2 to 1 majority, they now indicate that it may be defeated, primarily because of the opposition of bourgeois politicians, many of whom are more anti-Briggs than anti-Proposition 6. Even Ronald Reagan has come out against it. Nevertheless, the support which Proposition 6 has been able to elicit in liberal California should make it abundantly clear that the anti-homosexual campaign initiated by Anita Bryant was not merely an outburst of backwater fundamentalism.

WV Photo

Spartacist League/SYL contingent in Los Angeles march against the Briggs amendment in July.

The labor movement and all those concerned with the defense of democratic rights must mobilize to smash the reactionary Briggs initiatives and similar efforts to victimize and terrorize minorities and "deviants." Yet while the California Federation of Teachers, Teamsters, UAW and California Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO, all issued resolutions condemning the measure, none of these unions has been willing to take its paper resolutions into the streets by initiating or supporting mass demonstrations to stop the witchhunt.

The response of numerous gay liberation groups to the current wave of anti-homosexual referenda has been to intensify their participation in Democratic Party electoral politics, trying to stiffen the liberals' backbones by getting more "clout" at the ballot box. But even if Prop 6 is defeated on November 7, the tide of reaction is still running strong and the liberal Democrats may abandon their gay "constituency" just as they have already turned their backs on busing.

Moreover, as Marxists we point out that the persecution of homosexuals is closely bound up with capitalism's defense of the nuclear family as a profoundly conservatizing social force. (It is no accident that Anita Bryant peddles her bigotry under the slogan of "Save Our Children.") The oppression of homosexuals will not be eliminated until the family is replaced by higher forms of social organization in a socialist society. Full democratic rights for homosexuals will be won neither in the voting booths nor in the conclaves of the Democratic Party, but in the workers soviets.

Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Down with the death penalty! California labor must mobilize to smash the Briggs initiatives! ■

Wage Limits...

(continued from page 1)

single standard for price hikes that had been widely discussed in Administration circles—5.75 percent—was dropped at the final moment. This was replaced with the much looser request that businesses keep their price increases .5 percent below their 1976-77 average, giving plenty of flexibility to firms who jacked their prices up steeply during that period. The upper limit is supposed to be 9.5 percent annually, and there are exceptions even to that.

Little more than five years ago the Nixon administration imposed mandatory government wage controls on the American working class. Pay boosts were held to 5.5 percent a year. The pro-capitalist trade-union officials acquiesced to this vicious program, sat on Nixon's Pay Board and urged the working class to put the Democratic Party in power. Meanwhile inflation surged to rates of 9 percent, and corporate profits shot up at an annual rate of 40 percent. In 1976, claiming that the Democrats were "friends of labor," the bureaucrats worked mightily for and bailed the election of Carter, claiming that he would create jobs and halt the runaway flight of prices, rents and profit. In return workers are now saddled with "voluntary" wage limits.

The working masses have continued to be ravaged by both unemployment and inflation. With the jobless rate still well over 6 percent—and double or triple that for blacks and Latins—inflation has spiraled to over 10 percent. The Labor Department's Consumer Price Index for Urban Areas, rose at an 11.4 percent rate in the second quarter of the year, with food costs climbing even faster in the same period, up a staggering 20.4 percent. Workers are simply living more poorly, while the unemployed and those on fixed incomes barely live at all. That Carter is now resorting to the same schemes as Nixon and Ford only demonstrates starkly the fundamental identity of the program expounded by all the political spokesmen for declining American imperialism, Democrats and Republicans alike—make the working masses pay!

The Carter government has attacked coal miners, rail and postal workers with vicious strikebreaking measures. And virtually every one of labor officialdom's "must" legislative bids has been shot down, from common situs picketing to labor law reform. Union presidents and lobbyists begged for more spending on jobs and got "sorry, too inflationary" for an answer, while the Pentagon's budget rose to a record $126 billion. Carter chopped 100,000 federally funded CETA jobs, then threw labor the sop of a toothless Humphrey-Hawkins bill which will not provide one new job and which even the *AFL-CIO News* called "more symbol than substance."

In the face of Carter's naked austerity program, however, the labor fakers are yet attempting to shore up their rotten alliance with the Democratic Party. Of the officials of major unions whose contracts expire next year, Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters conditionally endorsed the program, while vaguely suggesting some "adjustment" in the wage cap. Rubber Workers president Pete Bommarito said he "could live with" the president's guidelines if prices stabilized. United Auto Workers president Doug Fraser commented: "The UAW is hopeful that the plan can be administered in an equitable manner that achieves the goal of reducing inflation." And AFL-CIO head George Meany reiterated his earlier "alternative": *mandatory* wage-price controls (so that the heat is taken off the bureaucracy)!

But American workers are fed up. 1978 was considered a relatively light bargaining year. Yet it saw the dramatic 110-day coal miners strike, the long wrangle over the postal negotiations, a four-day tie-up of the nation's railroads and a rash of public employee and teachers' strikes this fall. Most significantly, in every one of the major nationwide contracts the Carter government was forced to resort to open strikebreaking measures. Clearly dubious of the labor bureaucracy's ability to discipline its membership, Carter's "voluntary" guidelines are a thinly veiled threat that if the trade union tops do not whip the ranks back in line, then he will resort to mandatory wage controls.

The decisive test of Carter's program will not be long in coming, as powerful sections of the organized working class come face to face with the bosses early next year. Some 70,000 oil and chemical workers will be first, when their agreements expire in January. Then come the Teamsters, whose master freight agreement covering nearly 500,000 drivers expires in March. In quick succession follow contracts covering the rubber workers, 400,000 construction workers, the Clothing Workers, electrical unions, meat packers and in September nearly a million Big 3 auto and agricultural implement workers.

Carter's pay guidelines and threat of wage controls must be dealt a smashing blow on the picket lines. Teamsters, auto workers, rubber workers and other trade unionists must prepare now for strike action. The heroic miners demonstrated that the bosses and their government can be defied by militant labor solidarity. Dump the pro-capitalist trade union bureaucracy! Smash Carter's pay guidelines! End all support to the Democrats and Republicans. For a workers party, based on the unions, to fight for a workers government. ■

"War is Peace"

When the Washington press corps heard the statement of Secretary of State Vance congratulating Anwar Sadat and Menachem Begin as the joint recipients of the 1978 Nobel Peace Prize, they just laughed. It was the obviously appropriate response to what Soviet foreign minister Andrei Gromyko accurately termed a "certain sort of joke." Indeed, it was the most ironically laughable decision since the Nobel Committee awarded the prize to "peacemaker" Henry Kissinger in 1973 after he advised the Christmas 1971 bombing raid on Hanoi.

What more appropriate winners of this prize established by munitions profiteer Alfred Nobel—than an Israeli terrorist known as the "Butcher of Deir Yasin," and an Egyptian militarist who is viewed as the "hero" of the October 1973 war? Nor could the Nobel Committee forget to praise the guiding spirit of Camp David, Jimmy Carter. But even the world's most dangerous imperialist is reportedly hopping mad at Begin whose decision to expand the Zionist settlements in the West Bank exposes the hoax of Camp David.

So there is much cruelty in this joke for the Palestinians, and for the Arab and Hebrew workers who are thrown into deadly battle against their class brothers by these nationalist warmongers. The phony "peace" of Camp David is meant to be built over the bodies of Palestinians as surely as the Munich "peace" was built on the bodies of the Czechs. In fact, one wonders how the Nobel Committee overlooked those other historic "peacemakers" in 1938 Hitler and Chamberlain—for their role in establishing a "framework for a lasting peace."

Mullah Lovers Go Berserk at SYL Forums

As the anti-shah protests which have rocked Iran for the past year and a half continue, the entire left has been put to the test. What attitude do Marxists take toward a protest movement under the leadership of reactionary religious fundamentalists? Without exception—so far, at least—our opponents have opted for the holy men of Islam, claiming that the Muslim mullahs are "progressive" and even "revolutionary." Some of them, moreover, have been driven to a state of absolute frenzy by our slogan "Down with the shah—Down with the mullahs!" and together with Muslim Iranian students have embarked on a campaign of disrupting forums of the Spartacus Youth League (SYL).

From the outset the Spartacist League (SL) has uniquely insisted that the followers of Ayatollah Khomeini do not constitute a progressive or democratic opposition to the shah. Instead of calling on the three-million-strong Iranian proletariat to mesh its demands with those of anti-Western Muslim puritanism, we have stood for the absolute political independence of the working class, fighting under its own banners for socialist revolution. So during last month's series of SYL forums in the Midwest and on the East Coast, at every meeting Maoist and Muslim Iranian groups were found locked together in a clearly orchestrated campaign of disruption and slander to defend the "honor" of the mullahs.

Ironically our analysis of the religious opposition to the shah was vividly confirmed during the forums by the Muslim student activists who attended. At a meeting held at Harvard, for example, one Muslim student noticed the speaker, *Spartacist* editor Charles O'Brien, pour himself a drink, prompting the student to leap to his feet, howling, "How dare you insult us by drinking whiskey in front of us!" At the end of the meeting another Iranian student came forward to explain that the veil (symbol of the segregation of women from public life) was simply a matter of "fashion" much like the maxi-skirt here!

At an October 12 talk given by O'Brien at the University of Illinois, Chicago Circle campus, Muslim student speakers repeatedly contradicted the picture of "revolutionary mullahs" served up by various Maoist spokesmen. When a representative of the Revolutionary Community Party-aligned wing of the Iranian Student Association (ISA) attacked the speaker for stating that followers of Khomeini in Tabriz had raised the slogan, "Death or the veil," a spokesman for the Muslim student association on campus rose to defend the veil, acknowledging matter-of-factly that of course Khomeini and his followers raised the slogan, "Death or *hejab*" ("modesty," i.e., the veil).

Anti-shah demonstrators in Washington, D.C. Young Spartacus

When another Maoist speaker tried to denounce us for suggesting that Khomeini would suppress communists in Iran were his followers to topple the shah, a Muslim student rose to remind the audience that Khomeini has repeatedly stated that he was irreconcilably opposed to communism and would not collaborate with Marxists even against the Peacock Throne. To further ingratiate themselves with the Muslim students, the wretched "Marxist-Leninists" appeared at the SYL forum the following evening bearing a huge icon of Khomeini and chanting, "Long live the revolutionary mullahs!"

If the Muslims and Maoists diverged over their depiction of Khomeini's role, they were as one in trying to silence any criticism of their beloved leader. Forums in Chicago (Roosevelt University), at the University of Wisconsin, Michigan and Michigan State were all disrupted by a bawling Maoist/Muslim bloc which did not stop at calling the cops on the SYL. This provided a pretext for the cops to intervene against the Iranians themselves, potentially putting these student militants in danger of being deported back to the shah's dungeons!

Unable to answer our revolutionary opposition to both the butcher shah and the mullahs, the mullah lovers resorted to the techniques of political cowards everywhere: threats and disruption, cop-baiting and cops. In standard Stalinist style they slanderously accused us of being SAVAK and CIA agents, just as in the 1930's Trotsky was accused of being in the pay of (successively) British imperialism, the French intelligence service, the Mikado, Hitler, Wall Street and then Hitler again. But it was Stalin who signed the Hitler-Stalin pact, and it is his political offspring who today are praising the reactionary Muslim leaders.

This is no academic matter. The Islamic student militants and their Maoist brethren tie the working class to a political program which, if implemented, could well lead to a bloodletting comparable to the 1965 slaughter by Muslim fundamentalists and army officers (backed by the CIA) of half a million Indonesian leftists. Tailing the popularity of the mullah-led movement not only means abandoning any struggle for socialism in Iran; it also means forsaking the most elementary democratic demands. A movement which holds that women who shun the veil should be stoned, overturns Coca-Cola trucks and denounces Western movies as "pornography" will not look kindly on anyone who prefers Mao's Red Book to the Koran of Muhammad.

As the Iranian proletariat enters into action against the hated U.S.-backed monarchy the question of revolutionary leadership is posed sharply. The SL/SYL stand for the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution, combining revolutionary democratic demands (smashing the shah's autocracy and his SAVAK secret police, a sovereign *secular* constituent assembly, land to the tiller, the right of self-determination for oppressed nationalities, equality for women) with transitional demands such as expropriation of the capitalists and arming the workers to achieve a workers and peasants government. Above all what is needed is an authentic Trotskyist vanguard party in Iran to lead the masses to victory over the jet-setting despot now in power and the apostles of the seventh century seeking to oust him. Not the SAVAK's white terror nor the reactionary rule of Islam, but workers revolution to smash the shah! ■

Spartacist Candidate Denounces Grand Jury Whitewash

Arthur Miller Was Strangled by the Cops!

The following statement was issued by Marjorie Stamberg, Spartacist Party candidate for New York State Assembly in the 64th district, following the release on October 25 of a Brooklyn grand jury report clearing the police of any responsibility for the death of black community leader Arthur Miller in Crown Heights:

The grand jury report on the murder of Arthur Miller is a whitewash, pure and simple. Fifteen cops beat and strangled the Crown Heights leader in front of dozens of witnesses last June, and now District Attorney Gold and his grand jury have the gall to tell us that it was just "a tragic, unforeseeable accident which occurred during a lawful arrest." So how did Miller die? No doubt we are to believe that he "slipped" on the billy club while being choked to death.

The report is an outrage—every labor, left and black community organization should join in a united protest against this racist atrocity. No one should be surprised by the grand jury's findings. The D.A. and the grand jury who covered up for the killer cops were only doing their job—just as Arthur Miller's murderers were doing theirs. They just used "recommended procedure," stated the grand jury report—and no doubt they did. Black people in every ghetto in this city can testify to the cops' and courts' "recommended procedures" for racist oppression.

Arthur Miller was hardly the first victim of legal murder in Brooklyn, and so long as capitalism's hired guns blaze in the ghetto, he won't be the last. Only 11 months ago an all-white Brooklyn jury put Robert Torsney, the cop murderer of 15-year-old Randy Evans, on the streets a free man, using the phony excuse that Torsney was "temporarily insane" when he gunned down the black youth pointblank for no reason on Thanksgiving Day 1976.

The grand jury's whitewash in the Miller case was so blatant that in order to head off anticipated protest from the black community, Mayor Koch issued a statement calling on the federal government to intervene (while simultaneously approving of Gold's "investigation" and report). So now the Justice Department has decided to step in to determine whether or not the cops violated Arthur Miller's civil rights by strangling him to death! The NAACP and some community spokesmen have hailed this federal intervention into the case. But no one should have any confidence whatever that the same Justice Department which set up the police/FBI assassination of Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, and paid informers like Gary Rowe to provoke Ku Klux Klan terror against the civil rights movement, is going to bring the killers of Arthur Miller to justice.

The answer to police violence in the black community will not be found by running to the more powerful racists in Washington, D.C. The Justice Department "investigation" is likely to be a further cover-up for the Brooklyn cops. Yet it is not only the capitalist state which has acted to protect the police, but black community misleaders as well. Claiming to act in the interests of Crown Heights blacks, aspiring Democratic Party ward heelers like Rev. Herbert Daughtry have cynically played upon racial tensions inflamed by the brutal beating of black youth Victor Rhodes by a Hassidic Jewish vigilante squad and have attempted to take the heat off the cops and put it on the Hassidic community as a whole. On July 16 Daughtry led an anti-Semitic provocation in the form of a march on a Hassidic synagogue, and today his Black United Front continues to exploit the issue of police brutality in the interests of its own brand of Democratic Party pork-barrel politics.

The Spartacist Party calls for the end of the cycle of ethnic violence. Not black against Jew, but class against class! We call upon the NYC labor movement to take the lead in a struggle of the workers and all the oppressed of this city in a united fight against cop terror. Jail the police murderers of Arthur Miller! No guns for cops! ■

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Spartacist Candidate Debates CP, SWP on Crown Heights

Class Struggle or Race War?

October 19 was "candidates night" at the Marxist Education Collective (MEC) in New York. Spokesmen for the Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) had been invited to address the MEC's crew of homeless leftists to explain why all "progressives" should cast a protest vote for the CP and SWP reformists. It was supposed to be a dull evening. But the presence of Spartacist Party state assembly candidate Marjorie Stamberg and her supporters shattered the non-aggression pact and turned the meeting into a real political debate between reformists and revolutionists.

On the podium were Jay Shaffner, Organizational Secretary of the Young Workers Liberation League, representing Jarvis Tyner, CP candidate for governor of New York, and Ken Miliner, SWP candidate for Congress, representing Diane Feeley, the SWP's gubernatorial candidate. The "non-sectarian" MEC had at first refused to allow the Spartacist candidate to make a presentation, hiding behind the absurd rationale that the CP and SWP were running for a more important office! But after some wrangling, the MEC agreed to give Stamberg extended speaking time from the floor: ten minutes to the CP's and SWP's twenty, with no right of reply to comments and questions.

The "official" presentations were lackluster. CP spokesman Shaffner read a standard CP pitch about rallying "all

WV Photo

SWP's Miliner: "We'll help break those picket lines again!"

objective anti-monopoly forces to compel a change of government policy." After some ritual genuflections to "the world strength of the socialist countries," he moved on to detail the CP's "people's program": such items as reducing the "swollen military budget," raising the minimum wage to $3.50/hour, "outlawing racism" and dismantling the Emergency Financial Control Board "set up to thwart the democratic process and the elected representatives of the people."

The SWP's Ken Miliner gently if repetitively chided the CP for its open electoral support to "progressive" Democrats like Ron Dellums or John Conyers. In deference to the leftist crowd at the MEC, he even attacked the union bureaucracy for "class collaborationism" (of course, the SWP election brochure eschews such language, merely hinting obliquely at the need for a "revitalized" trade-union movement). As usual, though, "democratic" out-bureaucrats were exempted, as Miliner explained that the SWP supported Ed Sadlowski of the Steelworkers "not because he had the best program to

WV Photo

SL's Stamberg: "There's nothing in any kind of communist program that calls for marching on a synagogue."

resolve all of the problems of the steel workers" but because of his posture of trade-union "democracy."

Needless to say, Miliner, while scolding the CP for "miseducating" the workers about the role of the capitalist parties, had nothing to say about Sadlowski's support to the Democrats. Reproaching the CP in passing for being insufficiently black nationalist in its propaganda against the Bakke decision, he went on to uncritically laud the so-called "mass movement" of the "black community" in Crown Heights, which apparently exemplifies the SWP's idea of "independent political action." It makes no difference to the SWP that this "movement" is an extraparliamentary mobilization for black Democrats who, seeking a bigger slice of political patronage, are trying to turn the anger of oppressed blacks against the Hassidic Jews of Crown Heights in a dangerous fratricidal confrontation.

Finally Stamberg took the floor and the fun really began:

> "You guys might be running for governor but we're running this campaign the way the Bolsheviks ran, that is as a platform to raise our revolutionary program to the masses. And because of that, there's a way that we're running not only for governor but for mayor and for congressman and for every post, because you see, *you're running for governor but we're running for state power*.
>
> "So let's talk about your campaign and ours... Look at this: the CP runs on a program that says 'People Before Profits,' and the SWP has a program that says 'Human Needs Before Profits'! And they both have their what we call 'sewer socialist' penny-ante municipal legislative schemes, like this one for taxes, right? So the CP has this, what's it called?—People's Tax Program and it says that every family that makes under $25,000 ought to be exempt from taxes. And the SWP has its Tax the Rich program and that means that people under $30,000 shouldn't be taxed. All we have to say is, you know George Wallace once said about the Democrats and Republicans that there's not a dime's worth of difference. Well, nobody can say that about you guys because there's $5,000 worth of difference [laughter].
>
> The basic similarity in these two things comes down of course to this 'People Before Profits,' 'Human Needs Before Profits.' It's the old social-democratic formulation of 'we want butter before guns,' we think that capitalism can reshift its priorities. And that's our difference with you: we don't think that they can be shifted. *We think that the capitalist system puts nothing before its profits*. And that's why we call for the fight for socialist revolution....
>
> "We call here for a mobilization of the working class in New York City to lead behind it all the oppressed in a political fight against the Democrats, against the capitalists. And that hasn't happened here because of the bureaucrats and their [ties] to the Democrats. And also because of you reformists who want to prop up the bureaucracy. And because we haven't had that, we have something very different in New York City and it looks like Crown Heights last summer.
>
> "What do communists do in that situation in Crown Heights? When you have a situation that the Jewish population is pitted against the blacks? When you have a situation where the blacks look at the Hassidic Jews as the KKK and the Hassidic Jews see the blacks as the Black Hundreds mobilizing for a pogrom. What do communists do to unlock that situation? It's simple: not blacks against Jews but class against class. And we said 'no' to ethnic vigilantism. *We said there's nothing in any kind of communist program that calls for marching on a synagogue*. But that's what you [SWP and CP] did and that's what you supported. And you were out there behind those Democratic Party politicians: oh no, there's no-

WV Photo

CP's Shaffner: "We have to break our crystal balls."

> thing in their program that was anti-Semitic: read that in the *Militant*. That's what you did.
>
> "Now it ought to be pretty easy in Crown Heights for a communist to be able to find the class line. You can't find it, though, and it indicates something. You know, Trotsky said that the crisis of humanity is the crisis of revolutionary leadership. And, comrades and friends, we've seen a little bit of that crisis on the platform tonight....
>
> "We're running in this election to reaffirm the basic ABCs of Marxism. And also the ABCs of trade unionism if you will. We stand on a program of 'picket lines mean don't cross.' And it's something the miners understand but it's something you guys don't.
>
> "We stand for other basic principles of Marxism, such things as the government is not neutral.... Not for you guys, with your affirmative action and bringing the government into the unions and calling on the army to come into Boston to 'protect' the black children. We call for other things: the basic independence of the workers parties from the bourgeoisie.
>
> "That's what we stand for. What does the CP stand for? Everybody knows their secret support to the Democrats, their popular fronts since the period of the thirties. The SWP gives lip service, yes, but their 'labor party' is going to formed by the Millers and Sadlowskis and the guys that are integrally tied with those Democrats....
>
> "We stand for another basic principle of Marxism-Leninism: and that's why we're against Carter's anti-Soviet human rights crusade, which is not just a question of hypocrisy, but... the moral and military rearmament of U.S. imperialism. So we say '*the main enemy is at home*'.
>
> "In closing I have one question to ask the SWP, a final question: if Cuba is such a healthy revolutionary workers state, how come the assassin of Trotsky, Ramón Mercader, died there today a free man and in his bed?"

And the politics of the Spartacist League continued to dominate the discussion period. Certainly it was not because of equal access to the floor. Stamberg was given an occasional minute while the speakers from the podium responded at length to virtually every intervention from the floor. And though the SL, unlike the CP and SWP, had brought dozens of supporters to the meeting, only three SL members and a trade-union supporter were called on. In addition to their candidates' extensive interventions, the CP and SWP each got two speakers from the floor.

Nevertheless a striking counterposition emerged between the SL's revolutionary Trotskyism and the reformism of the CP and SWP. The latter differed mainly in style: Shaffner, the standard Stalinist cynic seeking to portray revolutionaries as unwilling to fight for reforms, calmly slid the sharp questions under a mound of "unity and struggle" rhetoric; Miliner completely lost his cool under pressure, sometimes sounding more like a black nationalist demagogue howling about the "privi-

leged" white workers than an ostensible Trotskyist.

Sadlowski's Running Dogs

On trade-union policy, the CP and SWP spokesmen displayed their basic agreement. Throughout the debate, the SWP speaker made a big deal out of his party's refusal to support the Democratic Party at the polls, even raising the call for a "labor party based on the unions." But in the unions, there is no real difference between the CP and the SWP.

The SWP's backhanded support to the Democrats was illuminated by a speaker from a National Maritime Union oppositional caucus which is supporting Stamberg. Criticizing CP trade unionists for their open support to capitalist politicians, he explained that the "slicker" SWP refuses to demand that the unions break from the Democrats and back socialist candidates (even their own candidates), which would embarrass the pro-Democratic union backs the SWP tails.

The CP's Shaffner replied with the usual stagist arguments against presumably dogmatic Leninists. "I think we have to break our crystal balls," he told the audience:

> "There is no revolutionary situation today. I'll say that. And I think we should all be frank in recognizing that. So how are we going to affect the lives of people today? I'm not embarrassed to say that I will support [Detroit Democrat] John Conyers for reelection. Until we have trade unionists in there, workers in there, I'd rather have John Conyers in there than representatives of GM and Ford.
>
> "... when it comes down to voting for McBride or Sadlowski, I'll put my vote down for Sadlowski. And if you're not going to do that, you're supporting McBride and you're supporting the steel companies."

The SWP's Milner hastened to solidarize with the CP.

> "I don't think it's accurate to say that if you're not doing that, you're supporting the steel companies, in terms of McBride. But *I agree with the general approach* [general uproar in the audience] In the trade-union movement you actually just have to look for opportunities to advance the struggles forward ..."

A Spartacist speaker underlined the reformists' kinship:

> "*The future of Ed Sadlowski can be seen in Arnold Miller* and what happened to him. And that is that if you don't break with class collaborationism, if you don't break with the Democratic Party which Ed Sadlowski has not done, he backed Jimmy Carter and just backed [Steelworker bureaucrat Jim] Balanoff's wife in an election as Democratic Party candidate in Chicago then you're going to end up like Arnold Miller, betraying the interests of the workers. When the New York teachers were pressed to the wall by an unholy alliance of Republican Party legislators who had lined up disillusioned blacks. That's right, they got lined up by Lindsay, by McGeorge Bundy, by the Ford Foundation, behind 'community control' and were armed against the teachers unions in New York City. So who was transferred out by the local board in Ocean Hill-Brownsville? The UFT stalwarts, chapter chairmen and shop stewards. And at that time both the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party destroyed for a whole decade the possibility of a real fighting alliance between teachers and the black and oppressed communities, by strikebreaking and scabbing on that strike."

Whenever the race question was raised, the SWP spokesman outdid the CPer in putting forth unreconstructed black nationalism. Though the CP and SWP pursued identical strikebreaking policies in the 1968 teachers' strike, the CP speaker sensibly shied away from any mention of it. But not the SWP:

> "The 1968 teachers' strike by the UFT was a racist strike against the demands of the black community to control [drowned out by applause and tumult in the audience] *The Socialist Workers Party helped organize teachers to cross those picket lines* and go back into those schools! For us it is not an abstract question of every time some section of the working-class social democracy goes out on strike, we support that movement. If it's directed against another section of the working class, as the '68 strike was, then we will oppose that. We broke those picket lines! And if they carried out another strike against the black and Puerto Rican community, *we'll help break those picket lines again*. We support the right of the black community to control its community. We support the right of the black community to get racist teachers out of their schools. And yes, it's no accident that the first teachers to go at those damn schools were the shop stewards and the higher-ups in the UFT bureaucracy, those most allied with the reactionary politics of Shankerism ..."

The aspiring sellout artists of the SWP have a lot to learn. The CP knows from long experience that today's "smart" opportunism is tomorrow's skeleton in the closet. Case in point: the 1968 teachers' strike. Case in point: Arnold Miller, who as an out-bureaucrat running on hypocritical promises of "democracy" was the darling of all the reformists and centrists. They beat the drums for Miller and applauded when, in concert with liberal Democrats, he put the Mineworkers in receivership to the Labor Department.

The CP and SWP are united in pushing pro-Democratic Party "lesser evil" politics in the union movement. But their "lesser evils" are in no programmatic sense "lesser." We have a different program. We would be delighted to find a trade-union leader who stands, even in a contradictory or partial way, for a real break from pro-capitalist business unionism on even one key issue of the class struggle. As the revolutionary Trotskyists of the 1930's blocked with elements of the union bureaucracy willing to break from narrow craft unionism in favor of industrial organization, so today we would be happy to consider critical support (with criticism!) to a union leader whose words about a "labor party" are not between-elections hot air or backhanded support to the Republicans. But Sadlowski? Sadlowski, who has pledged to abide by the no-strike "Experimental Negotiating Agreement" in steel, who actively supports the Democrats, who seeks to use the capitalist courts against the unions? No thanks! In the words of Eugene Debs: it's better to vote for what you want and not get it than to vote for what you don't want and get it. In Miller, the CP and SWP have got the leadership they deserve. But the working class deserves better.

Race War vs. Class War

The SWP's and CP's efforts to provide a "left" cover for black Democrats in last summer's bitter race-hate confrontation in the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn emerged as the key question polarizing the debate. CP spokesman Shaffner sought to evade the question as long as he could, retreating to appeals for less vehemence in a discussion "among leftists" (and all this time we thought we were still "counter-revolutionary Trotskyites"!). Though he could not conceal his party's capitulation to black "community" demagogues, he was artful enough to separate the CP from the black-nationalist Jew-baiting which the *Daily World* has carefully covered up in its Crown Heights coverage.

But not the SWP. While Shaffner grudgingly admitted that "demonstrating in front of a synagogue is not what the Communist Party would do," lamenting "we didn't think it correct that the demonstration end up in front of a synagogue," the SWP's Milner could find nothing to criticize except some "formulations that we don't totally agree with" and could offer no counterproposals save the SWP's line for all seasons, "We think they should build bigger demonstrations." The debate revealed that the Spartacist League's account of the Crown Heights events was factually correct and that both the CP and SWP had covered up the aspiring black Democrats' campaign to make Jews the scapegoats for capitalism's war on the ghetto masses.

We will let the protagonists speak for themselves:

> *Milner (SWP):* "... I want to take up this question of anti-Semitism in Crown

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Marjorie Stamberg on NYC Radio

"Consistent Feminism Leads to...Strikebreaking"

On Tuesday, October 24, Marjorie Stamberg, the Spartacist Party candidate for New York state assemblyman in the 64th A.D., was interviewed, and talked with listeners for approximately two hours on the 'Round Midnight radio show broadcast by WBAI. In response to a question on the Spartacist attitude toward feminism, from a listener who identified himself as a supporter of the Socialist Workers Party, Stamberg answered:

We believe that the sex line is not the fundamental division in society—the class line is. We have forged our work in the women's movement by fighting against the strategy of feminism and to link the fight against the oppression of women to the workers movement. Let me give you some examples of this. You see I spent many years in the women's movement myself and I considered myself a feminist for many years, and part of my being won to a Trotskyist program had to do with my experiences trying to organize working-class women to a feminist strategy....

My experiences are similar to those of a number of people of my generation who went through various kinds of struggles in the New Left and the women's movement. I joined SDS in 1965 and was active in the New Left until approximately 1969. At that point I moved to Oakland, California where I began to work with a group of women there that was interested in doing working-class organizing. We looked at the women's movement and found that it was pretty petty-bourgeois ... and we said, well, what's wrong with the women's movement is that it has a middle-class program, and if you want to change that what you ought to do is go out and get yourself some working women to join it.

WV Photo

New York City, 4:00 a.m.: 10 phone lines of radio station WBAI are jammed.

At that time we had a kind of Maoist strategy that "the correct politics flows through the blood of true proletarians." So we went into the phone company to organize the operators, which is where most New Left feminist types went when they wanted to try out their strategies in the working class. We also at that time had a position similar to that of the Socialist Workers Party, which says that consistent feminism leads to socialism. We did not have that formulation, but we had a similar one: "If you organize women around their oppression they'll come to a full understanding of the social struggle." It's been around that strategy that the SWP has cynically organized in the women's area.

So we went into the phone arena. And in the telephone workers union, the CWA, in Oakland there existed, at the same time as our feminist group, a caucus called the Militant Action Caucus which was politically supported by the Spartacist League. For about three years we fought out our feminist strategy and our nationalist strategy.... We fought these political questions out with the Militant Action Caucus and we really came to no decision for quite a while until the class struggle heated up in 1971. Then there were a series of strikes against the phone company and we were able to test our strategy out in action against the revolutionary strategy of the Spartacist League and the class-struggle politics of the Militant Action Caucus.

So here's a couple of things that happened. The key thing that won me in that struggle away from feminism was that shortly before the CWA strike in the summer of 1971 the IBEW, which was composed mainly of male workers in the phone company, went out on strike and we were faced with a strange phenomenon. We saw that many of the women that my friends and I had recruited to women's consciousness-raising groups in fact crossed the picket line of the male workers, of the IBEW, using all the feminist arguments that we had recruited them to. They said, "Well, there's not very many women in the IBEW, and therefore it's all right to cross the picket lines." And they said, "Well, we really are the most oppressed, so it's all right if we cross the picket lines."

This really shocked us because we had been organizing women on a feminist strategy around their own oppression and it did not lead them to understand the need to forge real links with the rest of the class, but it led them to become *strikebreakers*. So that situation, combined with a few other experiences at that time, forced us to break empirically from our feminist politics in order to hold onto the class line. And it was through that strike that we gradually were won over to the class-struggle perspective of the MAC and the Trotskyist program of the Spartacist League. ■

We reprint below a chapter from the recently published memoirs of Mexican Communist Party leader Valentin Campa, Mi testimonio, memorias de un comunista mexicano *(Mexico, 1968). The translation is by* Workers Vanguard *from the French version published in* L'Humanité *of 26 and 27 July 1978*

We Do Not Forgive or Forget!

HOW THE STALINISTS PLANNED TROTSKY'S MURDER

by Valentin Campa

We intensified the struggle against Trotsky, which immediately placed the Communist Party in opposition to President Cárdenas.[1] The CTM (Confederation of Mexican Workers), led by Lombardo Toledano,[2] struggled vigorously against Trotsky, without going to the point of breaking with President Cárdenas. Things being as they were, we unceasingly denounced Trotsky's betrayals. It was only later that we realized the harassment directed against him, which drove him in desperation to reprehensible excesses. At the end of 1936 the Dies Committee was created in the House of Representatives in Washington. It was named for the congressman who chaired it, who proved to be the McCarthy of that period—a vicious anti-Communist who propagated the worst calumnies against the Communists and the Soviet Union. Along with the well-known aviator Charles Lindbergh and numerous other American reactionaries, he organized an intense propaganda campaign in favor of United States participation in World War II on the side of Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese Empire against the Soviet Union. This Dies Committee organized a whole series of public hearings and invited Trotsky and Diego Rivera to appear before the House of Representatives in Washington.

A leader of Trotsky's Fourth International, Diego Rivera[3] participated in this arch-reactionary, anti-Communist campaign of the Dies Committee, clearly playing into the fascists' hands and obviously serving the interests of imperialism. Trotsky was also personally invited to appear before the Dies Committee, but, being more intelligent, refused to do so. On the other hand, he lent his cooperation through his statements, writings and other means. The neo-Trotskyites denied that Trotsky had collaborated with the Dies Committee, but there is the testimony of Trotsky himself to confirm it, he stated that he had accepted the invitation "in order to help the workers understand the reactionary historical role of Stalinism and to turn them away from it" (*Cárdenas y la izquierda mexicana*, Mexico: Juan Pablos Editorial). Trotsky's explanation is even more far-fetched given that the fascist character of the Dies Committee was quite well known.

In his capacity as a leader of the Fourth International, Diego Rivera amply cooperated with all the Dies Committee's activity against the USSR, against the Mexican Communist Party and most especially against Comrade Hernán Laborde.

A Ruinous Directive

In the course of the campaign against Trotsky, a meeting called by the Communist Party took place at the Arena México on Friday, 26 September 1938. Speakers included Carlos Rivera, a Colombian leader; Margarita Nelken, a Communist deputy from Republican Spain; Jacques Gresa, a French Communist deputy; and Hernán Laborde, secretary-general of the Mexican Communist Party.

At this meeting where the international situation was analyzed (we were on the eve of the Second World War), Trotsky was politically unmasked, exposed by his reactionary excesses which played into the hands of Hitler and Mussolini against the Soviet Union.

Around that time, Comrade Laborde sent for Rafael Carrillo and me, both members of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, to discuss with us an extremely delicate confidential question. It concerned a matter which had been communicated to him by a comrade who introduced himself as an accredited delegate of the Communist Third International. The latter had announced the decision to eliminate Trotsky, and requested his personal cooperation as secretary-general of the Party, as well as a squad adequate to ensure this elimination. Comrade Laborde replied that this involved an extremely delicate question, that the Communist Party considered Trotsky to be a defeated political figure, and that he needed several days to resolve this. The envoy of the Third International emphasized to him that no one should hear anything about this whole business, that it was strictly confidential.

Laborde decided nevertheless to consider the matter with the two of us. We were all in complete agreement that this was an extremely serious and strictly secret matter. We examined it very calmly and carefully. After the rigorous analysis which the question deserved, we concluded, as we had already done on several occasions, that

Stalin Did It!

Trotsky denounces May 25 machine gun attack on him. A week after the attempt he wrote: "The interrogation... of Siqueiros, would help very much to shed light on everything concerning the attempt on my life.... And who could have given them the order? Obviously, the master of the Kremlin: Joseph Stalin."

WV Commentary

Ramón Mercader sought to take his secrets to the grave. But not all his accomplices were so tight-lipped and over the years a mass of evidence has accumulated showing how the Kremlin plotted the murder of Leon Trotsky. Much of this has come from the statements of defecting Stalinist intelligence agents and second-hand sources—which in no way reduces their value as proof, for the accounts are remarkably consistent. But now we have the testimony of a leading public political figure, Valentin Campa's *Memoirs of a Mexican Communist*, detailing the assassination conspiracy. *Workers Vanguard* now presents this revealing document for the first time to the English-language public.

Who is Valentin Campa? In 1939 he was a member of the secretariat of the central committee of the Mexican Communist Party (PCM), then led by Hernán Laborde. Both Campa and Laborde were violent Trotsky-haters, but in December of that year the two were expelled from their leadership positions (and subsequently from the party itself) as "Trotskyites." Yet—strange circumstance—the specifics of their sin were never publicly spelled out. The PCM body which heard the report of the special purge commission (appointed by whom?) was not the party congress or even the CC, but a hand-picked committee *meeting in secret session*. What was this crime too sensitive to tell even the party membership? Now, 39 years later, Campa has decided that the "opportune moment" has arrived to tell all... or almost all.

We should begin by noting the signal merit of Campa's disclosures. Once and for all it does away with the Stalinist slander that Trotsky was killed by "one of his own." The 25 May 1940 machine-gun assault on Trotsky's residence in the Mexico City suburb of Coyoacan was originally portrayed by the GPU-controlled press as an "*autogolpe*" ("self-assault"), even though it was soon established that the famous Stalinist painter David A. Siqueiros led the gunmen. Then the PCM tried to float the ludicrous claim that Siqueiros was actually a former Trotskyist, even though he was quoted as a party luminary in the Communist press up until a few weeks before the attack. And when, three months later, Mercader carried out Stalin's grisly order he tried to pass himself off as a disillusioned follower of the Fourth International. The Campa memoirs (together with the Siqueiros interview, cited in the above text) demolish this lie.

Campa confirms that the orders to "eliminate" Trotsky came directly from Moscow, and reveals that the Communist Party leadership even sat around *debating* the assassination. His account of how he and Laborde were summarily removed as PCM leaders is a graphic demonstration of the cynical modus operandi of the Stalinized Comintern. And it verifies in every respect Trotsky's brilliant analysis of the "Laborde affair":

> "Today it is absolutely self-evident that the overturn in the [Mexican] Communist Party was intimately connected with the order for the attempt [on Trotsky's life] issued in Moscow. What happened most probably is that the GPU encountered some opposition among the leaders of the Communist Party who had become accustomed to a peaceful existence and might have feared very unpleasant political and police consequences from the attempt. Perhaps this is the source of the charge of 'Trotskyism' against them. Whoever objects to an attempt against Trotsky is, obviously, a—Trotskyist."
>
> "The Comintern and the GPU," 17 August 1940

The question of the Dies Committee (HUAC) plays what at first glance seems a disproportionate role in Campa's account. Part of the standard Stalinist slander lexicon is the charge that the leader of the Fourth International revealed his ties to reaction by agreeing to

Trotsky had been politically defeated, that his influence was practically nil, and that moreover we had already made this point sufficiently throughout the world. On the other hand, his elimination would result in great harm to the Mexican Communist Party, to the revolutionary movement in Mexico and in the Soviet Union, and to the international Communist movement as a whole. We thus concluded that to propose the elimination of Trotsky was a grave error. Once this viewpoint was agreed upon, Laborde informed the delegate of the Third International about it. The latter threatened him, telling him he would pay the consequences for his attitude, and that a breach of discipline with respect to the Third International carried a high price. Laborde told him that we were acting according to our principles, and that we considered the idea of eliminating Trotsky to be inadmissible.

In the face of the threats against Laborde on the part of this delegate of the Third International, we considered the problem in the Secretariat, and decided to go to New York to discuss with Earl Browder[4], a member of the Executive Committee of the Third International. At the first opportunity we left by car for New York. All three of us spoke with Browder, laying out to him the whole problem in detail.

Without reflecting at length, he stated categorically that he agreed with us; he decided we were right, asked us immediately not to see the delegate again and told us he would go to Moscow and explain things.

The Intrigue is Orchestrated

Several weeks later, some rather suspicious comings and goings occurred. Vittorio Codovilla,[5] an Argentine, arrived in Mexico; then Martinez, a Venezuelan, and other comrades sent by the Third International, supposedly to cooperate with the Mexican Communist Party which was in a critical situation. What followed was the direct intervention of these delegates in all the business of the PCM. They began to place Laborde and me in the defendant's box, according to them, we had been following a sectarian and opportunist line. This opportunism took the form of the policy of "unity at any price"; it *was* in fact opportunist, but they pretended they had known nothing about it and that they did not know that it had been imposed on us in June 1937 by the Communist International, despite our reservations. This was even more grotesque since although our orientation had been decided in Mexico at the suggestion of and under the discipline of the International, and on Browder's direct intervention, we were now accused of being opportunists for having carried it out! It was thus that a highly dishonest activity based on intrigues was then carried out against Laborde and myself in particular. Laborde was suspended from his post as secretary-general; I was suspended from the Political Bureau. A so-called committee to purge the Party leadership was set up under the direction of Andrés García Salgado, who some years later became a pro-government trade unionist.

In this atmosphere, I continued trying to attend meetings of the leadership. I edited reports and explained with supporting statistics and arguments how General Cárdenas had made a turn to the right in 1939. I quoted the Bureau of Agricultural Smallholdings, which permitted the curbing of the land redistribution. The statistics confirmed the sharp decrease in land redistribution proceedings in 1939 and 1940. Cárdenas had signed the unconstitutional decree forbidding bank employees from unionizing, this clearly tended to restrain mass struggle in the country and was aimed particularly at preventing workers' strikes.

I demonstrated with supporting facts and figures that a bureaucratic neo-bourgeoisie was being created within the Cárdenas government, with far greater resources than those available to the bureaucratic bourgeoisie of the supporters of Calles.[6] This bureaucratic bourgeoisie included Máximino Avila Camacho, Damaso Cárdenas, the president's brother, and the ex-"callistas" who went over to "cardenismo"; Abelardo Rodriguez, Aaron Saenz and others. This bourgeoisie predominated within the government, and decided on the course of supporting Manuel Avila Camacho for the presidency of the Republic, whereas the normal process in Mexico would have made General Mújica the democratic candidate, albeit with the serious handicap of having supported Trotsky's right to asylum in Mexico.

Codovilla became interested in my exposé and asked me to draw up a

Stalin the Assassin

"He seeks to strike not at the ideas of his opponent, but at his skull."

—Trotsky

document on the economic, political and social processes of the last year of the Cárdenas government. I prepared this material. In this connection, however, an incident occurred: in complete good faith, I had always held that the category of Marxism-Leninism ought not to be extended to Stalin, but it was already customary internationally to speak of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism. I refused to do this, while at the same time expressing my admiration for Stalin and for the value of his work, adding that I opposed elevating him to the level of Marx and Lenin because in the last analysis he was still alive and this estimation could only be made with a definitive balance-sheet of the work of those who were dead. I thus wrote my report using the expression "Marxism-Leninism" with regard to an unrelated subject; but the comrade who transcribed it added "Stalinism." When I protested, she replied that everyone said "Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism." "Everyone, perhaps, but not me," I told her, and I crossed out "Stalinism." The crossed-out original was to be presented as proof that I was a Trotskyite.

Impressed, he said, by my contribution on the turn of the Cárdenas government, Codovilla had a private conversation with me. Speaking of the crisis of the Mexican Communist Party, he gave me to understand, in no uncertain terms, that I was slated to become secretary-general in place of Laborde. I refused. I told him that he and others knew of my differences of opinion with Laborde, which were of a secondary and tactical nature, and that I would not lend myself to these underhanded maneuvers; that I was thinking of returning to my job as a railwayman; that that was my position consistent with the rules of revolutionary honesty to which I adhered. Codovilla became angry, and from then on he adopted the formula "the sectarian opportunists Laborde and Campa."

"Stalin is a Cuckold"

Thus we come to the Extraordinary Congress at which we were expelled. I made an appearance and denied the charges against me. Laborde did not come, because to him it was obviously a farce. He was already convinced that Stalin had participated fully in the problem of eliminating Trotsky and in using the Communist International against us for the position we had taken. He had always held a high opinion of Stalin, but at this point he rectified it, as the matter was extremely serious. Angered by the maneuvers, he reached the point of saying "*Stalin es un cabrón*" (Stalin is a cuckold).

We set out to examine the situation we had been put into. After our expulsion, we were chased after by the international [press] agencies, especially the Americans. They wanted a statement from us on Trotsky, since he had written an article saying that our expulsion was in connection with Stalin's intentions to eliminate him. Trotsky wrote: "What has happened, most likely, is that the GPU has encountered a certain opposition among the leaders of the Communist Party...and whoever opposes an attempt on Trotsky's life is obviously a Trotskyite" ("The Communists and the Cárdenas Regime," quoted by Lyle C. Brown, in the *University of Mexico Review*, 8 May 1971).

Certain comrades have wondered if, in this phase of intensifying crisis in the PCM, it would not have been preferable to go to the heart of the problem in order

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testify before this witchhunting committee, and Campa uses this to justify his continued hostility to Trotskyism. What he doesn't say is that this canard was the propaganda theme used by the GPU to prepare the climate for Trotsky's assassination: Campa wants to wash his hands of the blood while still supporting the "justification" for the crime, hoping thereby to excuse his own complicity.

But why the Dies Committee? Because up until that time, and notably in the Moscow Trials, Trotsky was consistently portrayed by the Kremlin as being an agent of the Third Reich. However, with preparations for the Hitler-Stalin pact underway already since mid-1938 ("What Lies Behind Stalin Bid for Agreement with Hitler?" was the title of an article by Trotsky in March 1939), this fabrication fell apart and had to be replaced with a new invention. The Dies Committee story was offered as "proof" that Trotsky had switched over to Wall Street.

And an invention it certainly was. Trotsky agreed to the committee's request for testimony on the history of Stalinism *in response to charges against him by American CP leaders who appeared before it*, ("Your name has been mentioned frequently by such witnesses as Browder and Foster," said the committee telegram, offering Trotsky the "opportunity to answer their charges") Moreover, Trotsky never did testify before the committee, which withdrew its request, possibly because of his insistence on open sessions. In contrast, the CPUSA leaders appeared voluntarily before the Dies Committee (they were not subpoenaed), tendering over 350 pages of testimony. Diego Rivera, incidentally, had left the Fourth International by the time he testified before the committee.

What Campa fundamentally leaves out is *why* Stalin wanted—in fact, urgently required—Trotsky's murder. While Campa and his type (Eurocommunists, Kruschevites) portray the plot as the work of a madman, and a certain genre of pseudo-Trotskyists (the followers of Gerry Healy) "explain" it in terms more appropriate to a paranoid police detective, Trotsky all along offered a trenchant *political* analysis of what moved the Stalinist regime to such criminal acts. When Stalin exiled Trotsky from the USSR in 1929, he thought that without an apparatus Lenin's former comrade-in-arms would simply disappear into obscurity. However, wrote Trotsky in a January 1932 letter to the Politburo of the CPSU (accusing the Kremlin of complicity in attempts on his life), "Contrary to expectations it turned out that ideas have a power of their own.... It is Stalin's conception that the mistake needs rectification." And he adds, in a postscript at the time of the first Moscow Trial, "To be sure, not by any ideological measures: Stalin conducts a struggle on a totally different plane *He seeks to strike not at the ideas of his opponent, but at his skull*" (original emphasis).

Though Stalin was the very opposite of a theoretician, his experience in the Bolshevik movement had taught him that the question of leadership was central. And ever since Hitler's accession to power (fundamentally due to the Stalinist and social-democratic leaders' refusal to unite in struggle against the fascist menace), he understood instinctively that a new European war was being prepared and the Soviet Union was its principal target. He knew also that war would bring about revolutionary conditions, and this would threaten his bonapartist position which was based on accommodating imperialism (and hence drowning revolution, as in Spain). Trotsky wrote following the Siqueiros raid on his house:

> "The Moscow trials of 1936-37 were staged in order to obtain my deportation from Norway, i.e., actually to hand me over into the hands of the GPU. But this did not succeed. I am informed that Stalin has several times admitted that my exile abroad was a 'major mistake.' No other way remained of rectifying the mistake except through a terrorist act....
>
> "...In the capacity of a former revolutionist Stalin remembers that the Third International was incomparably weaker at the beginning of the last war than the Fourth International is today. The course of the war may provide a mighty impulsion to the development of the Fourth International, also within the USSR itself. That is why Stalin could not have failed to issue orders to his agents—to finish me as quickly as possible."
>
> "The accidental failure of the [Siqueiros] assault, so carefully and so ably prepared, is a serious blow to

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Campa's Memoirs...

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to avert this crisis. In 1940 we didn't even envisage this possibility. The general tendency within the international Communist movement was that of unconditional obedience to the Third International led by the CPSU. To reveal disagreements meant exclusion from the Communist movement and consequently being turned into bogeymen ["satanization"].

To build a movement against arbitrary dogmatism, we would have had to begin by explaining the truth about the asphyxiating pressure of the policy of "unity at any price" [with Cárdenas] and the brutal interference demanding that we eliminate Trotsky; Laborde and I refused to do this, since the Second World War had just broken out (August 1939).

Laborde and I decided then not to fall into the errors committed by Trotsky when he found himself harassed by Stalin. The Trotsky affair would be used internationally against the Soviet Union and the Mexican Communist Party. Our situation was very difficult, but we had to remain discreet. We were particularly indignant to see Rafael Carrillo act as a perfect scoundrel towards us, covering us with slander, when he knew the whole truth of the matter. Some time later, moreover, this same Rafael Carrillo boasted of being a renegade from Communism.

Not yet expelled from the PCM, Laborde and I were informed that David Alfaro Siqueiros was in the process of organizing a squad of comrades to storm Trotsky's house and that it was being done very sloppily. The Dominican weekly *Ahora* later published an interview with Siqueiros titled, "Siqueiros Recounts the Attack Against Trotsky." He states: "Stalin was worried that Trotsky, during his exile in Mexico, could become the center of another chauvinist movement which would attempt to replace him in Soviet power. Therefore he ordered a high functionary of the NKVD, Leonid Eitington, to organize the physical elimination of Trotsky, and granted him unlimited resources to carry this out. But the leader of the Mexican Communist Party, Laborde, opposed this act of violence and in fact refused to assist with it. Finally Laborde and his collaborators were expelled and the Party remained under our control" (*Cárdenas y la izquierda mexicana*).

In a very offhand manner Siqueiros relates the facts concerning what was a political crisis for our Party and for the international Communist movement.

The attempt of Siqueiros and his group to take Trotsky's house by storm having failed, a third alternative was put into action. On the evening of 20 August 1940, Ramón Mercader, who went under the pseudonym of Jacques Mornard, assassinated Trotsky.

As Laborde and I had anticipated, and as we had told Browder in New York, the elimination of Trotsky unleashed a large-scale campaign against the Mexican Communist Party, the international Communist movement and the Soviet Union.

The Demands of Autonomy and Independence

Our Party recognizes the precious aid it has received from the Communist International and the important role

Siqueiros Arrested

which the Soviet Union plays in fighting the tendency of Yankee imperialism to unleash a Third World War which would be catastrophic for all of humanity. Very conscious of all of this, Mexican Communists—faced with the imbroglio caused by the interference of foreign comrades, above all in the course of a process crowned by the erroneous policy of "unity at any price" and then by the elimination of Trotsky—forcefully maintain, along with their internationalism, an insistence on the autonomy and independence of their Party.

Comrades of other countries, unaware of these serious facts, do not understand our unchangeable position with respect to the independence and autonomy of parties within the framework of proletarian internationalism.

For decades Laborde and I firmly resisted the lies and slanders hurled at us by people like Rafael Carrillo and others. We could not defend ourselves without creating a very tense political situation in the context of the Second World War then taking place. To defend ourselves would have caused grave injury to the international Communist movement and to the Mexican Communist Party in particular.

Laborde and I spoke of the need to let the truth be known. New generations of Communists and other revolutionaries need to know it in order to understand these experiences and act in a more consistent and effective manner in the struggles of our country.

Since I left prison in 1970, I have insisted along with the leadership of the Communist Party on the need to clearly lay out these historical truths. We have been in agreement on this, while considering that it was necessary to await an opportune moment to do it.

Laborde is dead and I am carrying out my duty in recounting this drama, convinced that I am thus contributing to the steeling and steadfastness of Communists in my homeland and in other countries.

FOOTNOTES

[1]General Lázaro Cárdenas was president of Mexico between 1934 and 1940. A bourgeois nationalist, he carried out a substantial agrarian reform and nationalized railroads and oil. In view of the general's popularity among the masses, the Communist Party's initial policy was "unity at any cost" with the government. However, due to the PCM's total submission to the Kremlin, Cárdenas' granting of asylum to Trotsky in 1937 made this "unity" henceforth rather less than total.

[2]Vicente Lombardo Toledano was a prominent fellow-traveling union leader, whose "independent" labor federation and "Popular Socialist Party" were tolerated by the government as an escape valve to let off discontent. They also served as a link between the tiny, isolated PCM and a sector of the working class. Toledano had close ties to Moscow and was virulent in his calls for the expulsion of Trotsky from Mexico.

[3]The famous Mexican muralist Diego Rivera was instrumental in obtaining asylum for Trotsky from the Cárdenas regime. He was active in the Fourth International until early 1939 when he broke with the Trotskyist movement after a series of personal disputes. He later rejoined the PCM.

[4]Browder, then head of the CPUSA, rode herd on the CPs of the Caribbean basin for the Kremlin. No major shift in PCM policy was decided without consultation with New York, and when Browder was dumped in 1944 on charges of "liquidationism" it led to leadership shakeups in the Latin American satellite parties.

[5]Codovilla, long-time head of the Argentine CP, played a sinister role in the Spanish Civil War as watchdog over and actual operational leader of the Spanish CP. Although officially only Comintern delegate, together with the GPU he engineered the kidnapping and assassination of Andrés Nin and the bloody suppression of the Barcelona May Days of 1937.

[6]Plutarco Elías Calles was president of Mexico from 1924 to 1928 and remained the strongman behind the succeeding three puppet presidents.

Trotsky's Assassin...

(continued from page 1)

typed "confession" in the typical GPU style, claiming to be a member of the Fourth International (which he never was) who had become enraged because Trotsky supposedly treated the working class like "a dirty sock." With this crude

Caridad Mercader

"Yes, for the assassin of Trotsky is my son, Ramón, whom I in the name of the sacred interests of the Revolution and of socialism, drove to this crime; and I am... a thing to inspire horror."

quoted by
Enrique Castro Delgado
16 June 1959

fabrication the assassin's Kremlin bosses sought to divert the blame from Stalin onto the victim himself.

Trotsky had already warned after the May 25 assault on his house led by David Siqueiros that a new attempt on his life would soon come and the "assassins may use 'Trotskyist' label" (title of a statement to the Mexican press). But although Mercader's claim to be the son of a Belgian diplomat immediately fell apart (no Mornard was ever employed by the foreign ministry, the address he gave for his father's house was a store in the center of Brussels, the military school he claimed to have attended did not exist, the Belgian

WV Commentary...

(continued from page 7)

> Stalin. The GPU must rehabilitate itself with Stalin. Stalin must demonstrate his power. A repetition of the attempt is inevitable."
>
> "Stalin Seeks My Death," 8 June 1940

The "jackal of the Kremlin" was not alone in perceiving the danger represented by the tiny forces of the Fourth International. The French ambassador to Germany, M. Coulondre, had a dramatic interview with Hitler in August 1939, just before the break of diplomatic relations between the two countries, in which he remarked, "If I really think that we will be victorious, I also have the fear that at the end of the war there will be only one real victor, Mr. Trotsky." But while the imperialist "democracies" feared Trotsky and refused to grant him asylum, Stalin had a special need to "liquidate" any potential revolutionary leadership. Trotsky wrote three days before his death:

> "... there has developed on the foundation of the October Revolution a new privileged caste.... This caste finds itself in a profoundly contradictory position. In words it comes forward in the name of communism; in deeds it fights for its own unlimited power and colossal material privileges. Surrounded by the mistrust and hatred of the deceived masses, the new aristocracy cannot afford the tiniest breach in its system.
>
> "Stalin's absolutism does not rest on the traditional authority of 'divine grace,' nor on 'sacred' and 'inviolable' private property, but on the idea of communist equality. This deprives the oligarchy of a possibility of justifying its dictatorship with any kind of rational and persuasive arguments. ... The ruling caste is compelled systematically to lie, to paint itself up, don a mask, and ascribe to critics and opponents motives diametrically opposite to those impelling them... ."
>
> "The Comintern and the GPU"

Writing three years earlier about the Moscow Trial of the Old Bolsheviks, Max Shachtman, then a leader of the American Trotskyist movement, vividly explained the political meaning of Stalin's terror:

> "The dramatic indictment of Zinoviev, Kamenev and the others, their ruthless execution, the indictment of Trotsky—that is, the assault upon those figures that symbolize the dread words 'World Revolution' to the international bourgeoisie, is Stalin's way of taking the blood-oath to the latter that the international proletarian revolution, so long as the Kremlin is concerned, has long been interred. That is just it: Stalin has dug the grave of the Third International, its founders, its traditions, and literally filled it with corpses. In their place, he erected an institution which resembles the dead one only in name. In fact, it is a border police patrol of the Soviet bureaucracy and the police guardian of law and order throughout the bourgeois world."
>
> *Behind the Moscow Trial: The Greatest Frame-Up in History* (1936)

* * * * *

Naturally, Campa portrays himself as innocent—wasn't he chucked out of the PCM for opposing the assassination? Of course, they all were, just like Khrushchev was too busy building the Moscow subway to notice the Moscow Trials and the shootings of tens of thousands of long-time party militants and leaders! But Campa doesn't have the luxury of using the standard argument: I didn't know. Campa knew. Furthermore he systematically helped prepare the terrain with the Mexican Stalinists' foam-flecked anti-Trotsky propaganda war. Even after he was expelled for "Trotskyism" he remained silent—to prove his servile loyalty to the Kremlin—when his revelations could have blown apart the whole conspiracy. In fact, he even knew in advance of the Siqueiros raid, and said nothing. And he kept his mouth shut for another 39 years afterward. *This man is an accomplice to murder*, and he should be thankful for bourgeois legality, for if the proletariat held sway he would certainly be called to account for his crime.

Why is he talking at all? Campa's memoirs were carefully considered as a political act and published with the agreement of the PCM leadership. Now the Mexican Communist Party is part of the current loosely known as Eurocommunism, and in recent years has been going out of its way to prove to the bourgeoisie its democratic credentials. Given its own history, this requires a certain settling of accounts over

continued on page 10

ambassador to Mexico swore he could not possibly be Belgian), and he quickly "forgot" his original prepared "confession." Moscow's agents brazenly continued their Big Lie campaign. Thus U.S. Communist Party chief Earl Browder wrote in the *Sunday Worker* (8 September 1940) that Trotsky had been killed "at the hands of one of his own intimates"; when Mexican president Cárdenas blamed the assault on Moscow, Browder termed this a "cheap Trotskyite slander."

Despite Mornard-Mercader's sealed lips, the murder of Trotsky was not forgotten and over the years a series of revelations from every quarter have confirmed his true identity. First to discover it was Julian Gorkin, a former leader of the Spanish POUM (a centrist party wrongly labeled Trotskyist by the Stalinist and bourgeois press alike), who following the assassination worked closely with the Mexican secret police colonel in charge of the investigation, Leandro Sánchez Salazar, as well as conducting his own inquiries. Gorkin learned from Catalan Communist refugees that the murderer was the son of Caridad Mercader, who was a Stalinist women's leader and leading GPU agent in Barcelona in the Civil War. He was able to confirm this by detecting a scar on Mornard-Mercader's forearm, received in fighting on the Aragon front (Sánchez Salazar and Gorkin, *Murder in Mexico* [1950]).

The identification of "Jacques Mornard" as Ramón Mercader was further substantiated by a court-appointed psychiatrist, Alfonso Quiroz, who had been frustrated in his attempts to elicit clues—or the slightest signs of remorse—from the prisoner. In 1950 Quiroz traveled to Spain where he sought fingerprints from the political police files to match those of Trotsky's assassin. An identical set was soon found—those of Jaime Ramón Mercader del Rio, dating from a 1935 arrest. A police photo of Ramón from that time compared with a 1940 Mexican prison photo further established his identity, and a comparison with a photo of Caridad Mercader as a young woman shows an extremely close resemblance between mother and son.

Further proofs and the direct link to the GPU were provided by former Spanish Communists. One of them, Enrique Castro Delgado, a top commander of the famed GPU-controlled Fifth Regiment of the Spanish Republican army, was a close friend of Caridad Mercader during the World War II years in Moscow. After Castro Delgado had fallen into disgrace Caridad continued to confide in him, and in one emotional visit told him the story of how she and her lover, Leonid Eitingon (known in Spain as General Kotov), had planned Ramón's murderous mission. When her son was taken by the Mexican police from the Trotsky residence, she and Eitingon were waiting in parked cars only a block away, ready to help him escape had he been able to carry out the crime undetected. For this heinous exploit Caridad had received from Stalin the Order of Lenin and for her son a Hero of the Soviet Union medal, the two highest awards bestowed by the Kremlin, which she showed to Castro (Julian Gorkin, *L'assassinat de Trotsky* [1970]).

Though hard-bitten Stalinists to this day maintain the fiction that Trotsky was killed by one of his disciples, a mountain of evidence shows in some detail just how the assassination was organized: ordered by Stalin, executed by the GPU with its special apparatus of professional murderers (for the most part trained in the Spanish Civil War), facilitated by the Spanish and Mexican Communist parties, in the witchhunt frenzy sparked by the Moscow Trials and whipped up by the Kremlin-subsidized press which throughout the world echoed a single bloodthirsty cry, "Death to Trotsky!" For years the Stalinist terror apparatus was running at full tilt with the sole aim of wiping out any vestige of revolutionary opposition to the usurpers in the Kremlin, anywhere on the globe. The Moscow Trials liquidated the Bolshevik Old Guard and passed the death sentence on Trotsky. Ramón Mercader, a despicable worm with less than the morals of a Mafia triggerman, was the executioner.

Assassin's Lie Exposed

Left: Fingerprints and photos establish Mornard-Mercader's true identity. Below: Confronted with Trotsky's murderer (seated, right), Sylvia Ageloff (left) screamed "Don't lie, traitor! Tell the truth even if you pay with your life."

* * * * *

The Mexican Communist Party and various of its bedfellows also on the GPU payroll constantly proclaimed that the masses of the working people fervently desired Trotsky's expulsion from the country. However, the funeral procession through the streets of Mexico City on August 22 demonstrated the emptiness of this lie. Huge crowds swelled the procession route—100,000 in all—gathering to pay their last respects to the great revolutionary, slain by the hand of Stalin. The PCM's refusal to acknowledge its own direct participation in the assassination until today, almost four decades later (see accompanying article), demonstrates that the "Kill Trotsky" campaign was a hateful deed, universally despised, which they had to hide instead of crow about.

Once again in death Trotsky disproved the cynical Stalinist accusations that he was an agent of Wall Street. Alive he was hounded from country to country, finally unable to obtain asylum except in the Republic of Mexico. But when American Trotskyists made plans for a second funeral procession in New York City, *the U.S. government barred even the corpse of Trotsky from entering the country.* The Socialist Workers Party newspaper, *Socialist Appeal* (31 August 1940) wrote: "The spectacle of the streets of New York filled with mourners for the man who symbolized world revolution was one which the capitalist class would permit under no circumstances."

* * * * *

Ramón Mercader, assassin of Trotsky, when he was released from jail in Mexico City in May 1960 declared to the press: "I killed a man for ideological motives.... It was a just act in its time." In October 1978 Ramón Mercader, assassin of Trotsky, unrepentant to the end, died in bed in Havana, a guest of the government of Fidel Castro.

Here was a man who had become the symbol of Stalinist perfidy, a reminder that Stalinism was/is far more than a "cult of the personality," far more even than a series of crimes to be swept under the rug with a single secret speech by Khrushchev. No one would have batted an eyelash if he had died in Moscow or in Prague where the Kremlin's tanks hold sway. But in Cuba? This must be a shock to a generation of young would-be Trotskyists who have been educated in the belief that Castro is an "unconscious Marxist," that Che Guevara was a closet Trotskyist and Cuba was indeed "the first free territory of America."

The anti-Trotskyist revisionists who have been singing hosannas to the Cuban Stalinist bureaucracy for the last 17 years—the self-styled United Secretariat of the Fourth International, led by Ernest Mandel and Joseph Hansen—will have some difficulty dealing with this unpleasant fact. Their French comrades have already taken the bit between the teeth, so to speak, in an article entitled "Mercader was useless" (*Rouge*, 21-22 October). Useless? The assassination of Trotsky was a tremendous blow to the fledgling Fourth International. It was part of a mammoth campaign to everywhere behead the Trotskyist movement. Before Trotsky, Stalin's gangsters had murdered Leon Sedov, his son and head of the FI's International Secretariat; as well as his secretaries Erwin Wolf (in Spain) and Rudolf Klement (in Paris). After the infamous night of 20 August 1940 the GPU terror machine rolled on, joining the Gestapo in shooting down scores of Trotskyist leaders across Europe. They very nearly accomplished their counterrevolutionary aim and did in fact succeed in decimating the Fourth International so severely that the Trotskyists did not stand at the head of the masses when revolutionary situations broke out in Europe upon the collapse of the Third Reich.

But perhaps this is just an infelicitous headline? No, the *Rouge* article begins:

> "It is not to the honor of the present Cuban leadership, headed by Fidel Castro who was an intransigent revolutionary, to have allowed Ramón Mercader to finish his sorry existence on Cuban soil; to have decided that, in the political balance sheet, a small service rendered to the Kremlin masters weighs heavier than the memory and morals of history. This is one of the little acts of cowardice which history does not forgive."

With a demonstrative slap on the hand, these pseudo-Trotskyists think they have at least absolved themselves of responsibility for "the present Cuban leadership." It is not the first time they have had to make such shamefaced apologies: we recall in particular Castro's support for the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia. But Mandel & Co. are at least consistent. For those who remained silent at the arrest of the Cuban Trotskyists in 1963—in some cases even apologizing for "Che" and "Fidel"—Mercader's death in Havana can only be another blemish, perhaps a mere pimple, on the healthy face of a revolutionary regime which simply "lacks the forms of workers democracy."

However, for those who genuinely seek to continue the revolutionary struggle of Leon Trotsky, it is not a question of "forms" or "little acts of cowardice." We do not counsel Castro and Brezhnev how to polish up their "honor." There is no honor among Stalinists, as the whole saga of Ramón Mercader graphically demonstrates. Nor do we call on the Eurocommunists of today—Stalin's gangsters of yesterday—to "rehabilitate" Trotsky as part of their efforts to prove their "democratic" credentials to the imperialist bourgeoisie. The assassination of Leon Trotsky will be *avenged* and revolutionary communist morals restored in the only way possible: through social revolution in the capitalist countries and workers political revolution to root out the Stalinist bureaucracies of the degenerated/deformed workers states, establishing throughout the globe *class* democracy of soviet rule.

Trotsky's dying words were those of intransigent combat: "I am close to death from the blow of a political assassin. Please say to our friends—I am sure of the victory of the Fourth International! Go forward!" This is our task today as we struggle toward an International Trotskyist League and the rebirth of the Fourth International. ■

Trotsky's Grave

"Whatever may be the circumstances of my death I shall die with unshaken faith in the communist future."

Labor Liberals Whine at Detroit Gabfest

DETROIT—Ever since United Auto Workers (UAW) president Doug Fraser walked off the presidential Labor-Management advisory group last summer denouncing the "one-sided class war" of American capital against labor, the reformist left has been slobbering over his every word. Fraser's criticism of Jimmy Carter, his often quoted anticipation of labor's "collision course with the Democratic party" and his call for a resurrection of the FDR liberal/labor/black coalition of the 1930's set many a fake-left tail to wagging. The Communist Party (CP) ballyhooed a "new day" for "labor independence"; the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) reprinted Fraser's "class war" speech in its entirety in the *Militant* and urged Fraser to take the "realistic" step of breaking with the Democrats to form a labor party.

When Fraser's much heralded liberal/labor summit meeting convened in Detroit's Cobo Arena on October 17, however, these reformist dreamers got a cold bath. Gnashing their teeth, the faithful bewailed the rightward plunge of the Carter administration and the Democratic-controlled Congress. But while none of the delegates had any solutions for the ever more evident bankruptcy of American liberalism, they had no desire to leave the altar of the Democratic Party. They adjourned the conference without having agreed on perspectives, plans or program, agreeing to confer again on their confusion at the Democrats' midterm convention in December.

Representatives of over a hundred unions, civil rights groups, women's organizations, environmentalist clubs and Democratic Party reform groups showed up. Though only three union presidents besides Fraser stuck their necks out to attend (the Rubber Workers' Pete Bommarito, Cesar Chavez and Plumbers chief Martin Ward), most of the liberal luminaries were there: Benjamin Hooks of the NAACP, Eleanor Smeal from NOW, Americans for Democratic Action honcho Joseph Rauh, Bella Abzug and her hat, and Michael Harrington of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, a co-thinker of Fraser and erstwhile anti-poverty advisor of JFK. Congressman and rad-lib darling Ron Dellums gave the morning keynote address, appealing for a fight to stop the rise of the "new right" how, he could not say.

One speaker after another whined about the slaughter of every piece of liberal legislation that came before the just-adjourned 95th Congress, the spreading right-wing tax revolt and the abandonment by Carter of the Democratic Party's 1976 platform. But unable to agree on a unifying strategy on how to eke out even the most meager reforms from the capitalist system, the delegates took to jealously pleading their special interests and jockeying for position. Naderites stressed tax reform while pacifists said cutting the military budget was the main priority. Farm workers, women and Chicano speakers each wondered if the "new coalition" was *really* committed to solving their oppression, while Russell Means lectured the delegates for 15 minutes on the primacy of the American Indian struggle.

By the end of the day, the only thing the delegates could agree on was to empower Fraser to set up committees to figure out what they had been unable to arrive at: what to do next. The only concrete motion passed beseeched Carter to veto the pro-rich tax bill, an admonition the president promptly snubbed, signing the bill.

There are those on the left so beguiled by their own illusions that they deny reality when their nose is rubbed in it. Thus, even after Fraser's display of flabby liberalism, the CP's *Daily World* (26 October) hailed the conference as an "extraordinary trade union initiative," "a bold lead" and a "clear-cut effort to change the nation's political direction."

Unlike the timid reformists in the CP, SWP and assorted social democratic groups, who pin their hopes on some section of the labor bureaucracy, revolutionary Marxists know that the struggle for a workers party must be waged *against* the pro-capitalist labor takers. The concern of the labor liberals, exemplified by Doug Fraser, is simply to redirect the growing discontent of the union ranks back into the dead end of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. Proof needed? Fraser told a press conference just before the Detroit meeting what he has said many times before: "We're not in favor of a labor party. We don't think it's feasible. We don't think it's a viable idea ... it just simply cannot work." And that, despite the reformists' wishful thinking, is that. ■

WV Commentary...

(continued from page 8)

the Trotsky assassination. It is noteworthy, for instance, that Campa's complaint is not that such an assassination was an abomination (in fact, he and Lahorde calmly and carefully analyzed the proposal and concluded it was unnecessary), rather he criticizes the damage caused by "the interference of foreign comrades" and promises that the PCM will maintain its "autonomy and independence." It is not to the international workers movement that Campa is appealing here but to the Mexican bourgeoisie, which is naturally mistrustful of a party which simply does the bidding of the Kremlin.

This self-serving partial confession is not an isolated phenomenon but part of the broader Eurocommunist phenomenon. It is significant, for example, that the newspaper of the French Communist Party, *L'Humanité*, prominently published this chapter of Campa's memoirs. And it comes after the publication of *Eurocommunism and the State* by Santiago Carrillo, in which the leader of the Spanish CP says Trotsky represented a tendency within the workers movement and it was wrong to treat him simply as a Hitler agent. What are Trotskyists to make of such statements?

Ernest Mandel, perhaps the best known figure claiming to represent the traditions of Trotskyism today, treats them as the "positive aspect" of what he sees as the "contradictions" of Eurocommunism and crows that Carrillo's book "represents a formidable historic vindication of Trotsky and Trotskyism" (*Inprecor*, 12 May 1977). And in a public meeting in London against Healy's slanders over the murder of Trotsky, Mandel called on the Eurocommunists to "immediately, openly and publicly rehabilitate all the victims of Stalin, all the victims of the Moscow trials," and to call on the Spanish Communist Party to expel Trotsky's assassin.

This seemingly innocent appeal is wrong in every way. In the first place pressuring Moscow to "rehabilitate" Trotsky et al implies a perspective of bureaucratic self-reform. Genuine Trotskyists know there can be no vengeance per se for the assassination of the founder of the Fourth International. Trotsky's historic vindication depends centrally upon a Leninist workers party leading a political revolution to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracies in the Kremlin and the deformed workers states and replacing them by authentic soviet democracy of the working people. Secondly, it fails to recognize that reformists—whether Eurocommunist or unregenerate Stalinist—*cannot* restore Trotsky to his rightful place in revolutionary history. Unlike Zinoviev or Bukharin, Trotsky represented a revolutionary program and mortal threat both to the Stalinist regimes and the bourgeoisie. That is why Moscow to this day refuses to rehabilitate him, and that is why when Carrillo or Campa feel obliged to distance themselves from Stalin's assassination of Trotsky they nevertheless continue to justify their own violent opposition to him 40 years ago. The historian Pierre Broué, a leader of the French OCI, nicely captured the quality of the Eurocommunists' "rehabilitation" of Trotsky in a review of the Campa memoirs published in *Informations Ouvrières* (9-23 and 23-30 August 1978): "And so all the half-lies become half-truths."

But above all, we do not appeal to the Stalinists and Eurocommunists because *we do not call on the assassins to rehabilitate their victims*. And every one of them is up to his elbows in the blood of valiant militants cut down by Stalin's counterrevolutionary terror. Campa's responsibility has been mentioned. Carrillo was an active member of the political bureau of the Spanish CP which ordered the detention of Andrés Nin (later assassinated in an NKVD prison in Spain). Even the author of the introduction to Campa's memoirs in *L'Humanité*, Georges Fournial, was one of the GPU agents, trained in the Spanish Civil War, who were sent to Mexico to participate in the assassination of Trotsky.

Healy Rehabilitates Stalinist Slander

On the other hand there are the likes of Healy, who in the flamboyant style of the London gutter press publishes "exposé" after "exposé" accusing Joseph Hansen and George Novack, leaders together with Mandel of the United Secretariat, of being "accomplices of the GPU" in the murder of Trotsky. Their latest despicable installment in this utterly discredited slander campaign has Hansen no longer merely complicit in "covering up" alleged GPU infiltration in the Trotsky household, but being a former "collaborator" of Ramón Mercader ("Is Trotsky's Assassin Really Dead?" [!!] *Bulletin*, 24 October). (Interestingly, there *was* a GPU cell in the SWP in 1941, the Sobel-Soblen group; how come Hansen missed braintrusting them?) This vile character assassination not only shows that Healy & Co. will stop at nothing in their vile GPU-baiting, but it aids the real assassins in reviving the long-dead slander that "his own people" killed Trotsky.

A year ago, when Santiago Carrillo visited the United States in the hopes of gaining the blessing of the State Department—for which he was willing, even eager, to cross a picket line of striking Yale University workers—*Workers Vanguard* confronted this class traitor at a press conference at Harvard University. Challenging Carrillo for his responsibility in the murders of Nin and Trotsky (Mercader was a member of the Catalan Communist Party, the PSUC), *WV* demanded to know if Carrillo continued to deny his complicity. He responded:

> "Ramón Mercader was a member of the Communist Party in Catalonia until 1936. In 1936 he disappeared and has not returned since to the party ranks. If, as is known, he participated in and was the protagonist of the assassination of Trotsky, the Communist Party bears no responsibility for this.
>
> "I would like to remind you that in London, I believe it is, there exists a committee which accuses the Fourth International [shout by *WV* journalist: "That's a lie!"] Well, you can believe what you want, but there's a committee that says Trotsky's bodyguards were agents of the KGB... The Communist Party of Spain is not responsible."

* * * * *

On 28 August 1940 some 1,500 people attended a Trotsky memorial meeting in New York where they heard James P. Cannon say farewell to their comrade, teacher and martyr:

> "We do not deny the grief that constricts all our hearts. But ours is not the grief of prostration, the grief that saps the will. It is tempered by rage and hatred and determination. We shall transmute it into fighting energy to carry on the Old Man's fight. Let us say farewell to him in a manner worthy of his disciples, like good soldiers of Trotsky's army. Not crouching in weakness and despair, but standing upright with dry eyes and clenched fists. With the song of struggle and victory on our lips. With the song of confidence in Trotsky's Fourth International, the International Party that shall be the human race!"

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Debate...

(continued from page 5)

Heights. That change allies you with the most reactionary elements in New York City. *It is not true as the Spartacist League claims that there was a march against a synagogue that took place in Crown Heights* [general uproar]

Shaffner (CP): "The question is not directed to me, it's an internal debate between two people that are arguing amongst themselves and not trying to affect the needs of working people."

* * * * *

Milner: "... The question of Crown Heights. We see it as a movement of black people to defend themselves. We say cops out of the black community. We say independent organization of self-defense in the black community to organize itself and to defend itself."

* * * * *

Milner: "... Now just a factual thing about the demonstration in Crown Heights. It started at one police station and ended at another police station. That's just the fact of the situation. [Spartacist heckler: "And what was in between?"] They had two rally sites. The first rally site was on Eastern Parkway near the Hassidic synagogue. See, that was a tactical mistake [uproar in the audience]. We don't judge a movement also by its leadership. We judge a movement of the masses by what they are trying to accomplish.

"... The Spartacist League has not come to one meeting of the Black United Front and sold their newspaper. We spoke against the remarks that were made by a number of the leaders. But we don't go there and try to straight-on take on any reformist leadership in any movement that we run into. We think it's a question of figuring out tactically how to approach those struggles. ..."

Shaffner: "... The question of Crown Heights. I think we should tackle the question seriously. That there is no division between the black and Jewish community in Crown Heights. At the same time, the question of demonstrating in front of a synagogue is not what the Communist Party would do. But that doesn't mean we would attack a movement of the people. ..."

* * * * *

Sler: "I'm a member of the Spartacist League and I want to speak a little on Crown Heights. I was there and I saw what happened. You are lying and you are lying [pointing to Milner and another SWPer] to say I wasn't there because I saw [inaudible]. Besides the anti-Semitic remarks that went on there I also saw the presence of black cops. And none of you from the SWP raised the demand 'get the cops out of the community' at that time.

"Okay. And as far as it not being an attack against Jews, Daughtry explicitly said he wanted to call for counter-vigilante force against the Hassidic patrols. He said, 'when the people of the black long coats meet with our men, let them see what will happen.' Okay. And that is not an attack against Jews, that is not pitting blacks against Jews? You of the SWP or the Communist Party don't understand what will happen in a fight like that. *It's going to be a genocidal defeat.*

"You called for federal troops to Boston to protect black people at that time and then today you get up and say, we all know that the cops are the enemies of the working class.... You don't understand the difference between black vigilantism and black defense....

"Daughtry was calling for black vigilantes against the Hassidic vigilantes. He was calling for a race war of blacks against Jews. And we of the Spartacist League have a different alternative. *We don't pit blacks against Jews but class against class*, and that's why Marjorie's running this campaign, to fight for that. We want a socialist fight. We do not support the Democratic Party as Daughtry did and as the Socialist Workers Party did at that time by allying with him.

"And you, Ken Milner, and [another black SWPer supplies his name] were signing a paper signing up for the patrols and don't say you didn't because I saw you. You wanted to look like you want to support the black community so this is what you do. You do not want to lead. In a race war blacks are going to lose and with the support of you people, you're no help to the black community."

Milner: "... When Daughtry used formulations that we don't totally agree with, that doesn't change the nature of the movement that is taking place in Crown Heights. Yes, you were at that meeting. You never went to a meeting before that and you never went to a meeting after that [shouts of "liar" from the audience]. You talk about leadine but all your criticisms are ad excenses to *abstain from struggle*. You said that the only force you need is the working class. But when you're saying that I mean, in general what Marxist could disagree with that? but when you're saying that, you're saying it in the context of subordinating the national struggles that are taking place in this country to the abstract class conception. ..."

Shaffner: "I would agree the question is not one of blacks vs. Jews. ... In order to forge the unity of blacks and Jews the influence of the Hassidic community and of Zionism in general has to be curbed. That doesn't mean that one is for a black vs. Jewish struggle. I would also agree with the sister that if there is any race vs. race struggle, and anyone who advocates such a struggle or a go-it-alone posture, they're also advocating genocide. I would also like to ask people to be considerate of people. ..."

* * * * *

Sler: "The problem here is that these two candidates never present anything different than the ethnic pork-barrelling politics of the Democratic Party.

"We stand accused tonight of not participating in a struggle. What's going on in Crown Heights is ethnic communal warfare. *We plead guilty.* We don't want to be a part of that 'struggle'! Sometimes the masses move and they move in the wrong direction. And what's key then is leadership. And *communal bloodletting is not half a step toward class struggle.* It's in fact *counterposed* to that. And when we look at that movement, yes, we judge it by its program, we judge it by its goals. And what we find in Crown Heights was that they were not marching against police brutality. Because if you will read the text of that leaflet for that demonstration and if you would have opened your ears at the synagogue, you would have seen that what they were fighting for was not the cops out of the community but an end to Hassidic control of the cops. That's what they're talking about – 'Jew power.' It's a big myth in this country that the Jews are the ones that run it, from Koch on down to the cops. And that's what Daughtry stood for, that's what that mobilization was about out there. So what's brewing out there is race war, not class war....

"That could have been a situation that went against the cops, that was a mobilization against the cops, against the city government, against the capitalist politicians. So why did Daughtry link the murder of Miller and Rhodes? Because he had a message: the Jews are the enemy.... And why did he do it? Because he was competing for the poverty program and the spots on the community boards... So he led the blacks against the Jews instead of against capitalism that *created* that ghetto. And it was you guys that marched in tandem, right with him...

"Now I think it's real interesting that all of a sudden when we have a situation of an ethnic tinderbox, on the verge of race war, all of a sudden you're champions for self-defense. I want to know where you guys were in Boston where it was racist terror squads in the streets against the blacks. You were howling in the pages of your newspaper for the federal government the racist federal government to come in and 'protect' the black people [cheers, hoots, applause]. There is a message there. I'd just like to complete my sentence. It's that both of you are saying that this government is the friend of black people and that the labor movement is racist and will never defend black people. And it's the same thing from affirmative action to the teachers strikes. You're saying that the racist government and the corporations are the friends of blacks. We're saying no. There has to be a fight to throw out the racist labor bureaucracy and make the workers movement, *make the working class take up the fight for black rights.*"

Milner: "... I know it's hard for you to understand, but we do not classify a movement on the basis of the leadership, or even necessarily by itself the program of that movement.... Yes it's true that a lot of black people in Crown Heights made a link between the murder of Arthur Miller and the beating of Victor Rhodes. ... We think it's a very understandable thing that when black people link racist violence against one black person with racist violence against another black person. We say they *should* be linked. ...

"And you criticize us for our Boston position and you counterpose to that a phony conception of black and trade-union defense because you know that at this time that means *no* defense.... We thought when federal troops went into Mississippi, we thought that was good. We thought when federal troops went into Little Rock we supported that. You would have opposed that. And only an idiot who can't see beyond his nose would compare federal troops in Little Rock protecting black children, or Mississippi protecting black children, to troops in Vietnam."

* * * * *

Stamberg (SL): "... *The CP calls for a popular front with the bourgeoisie at the ballot box and the SWP for it on the streets of Boston.* Now let's clear up the record here on federal troops because in U.S. history the only time that they've ever come in to black communities is *after* the black community has organized. And that's the classic example of Birmingham.

"... There are some movements that we do not participate in. So we do not march on synagogues even if the masses are marching on them. ..."

Reformism vs. Revolution

The CP and SWP reformists attack the SL for an "abstract class conception." But there is nothing "abstract" about it. Concretely, the CP and SWP are an *obstacle* to the development of revolutionary consciousness among the masses. Leninists are the only effective fighters for reforms, for they build the only sort of "movement" that can actually win them: mobilizing the oppressed under the leadership of the working class and its vanguard. Fighting for reforms does not impede revolutionary struggle, but *reformism* does. For reformism pits the sections of the oppressed against each other in competition for partial or even retrograde interests. And reformism teaches the masses to rely on their class enemies to "protect" blacks and "democratize" the unions—spreading illusions in the "neutrality" of the capitalist state and the "progressive" capacity of the liberal bourgeoisie. This false consciousness hampers every struggle of the working masses, from reform struggles to the fight to protect and extend the workers' conquests: the only way possible: socialist revolution.

These sellout artists are constantly propounding old recipes for defeat as "new," "flexible," "practical" "strategies." At the debate, the CP spokesman exemplified this method:

> "Our election platform is geared to New York in 1978. Some of you may think when an election platform is developed for a left alternative, a socialist alternative, a revolutionary alternative, that it's going to be a catch-all of every slogan that has applied to one part of the world or another at various times since 1917 and before. ... Just because something wasn't tried in the Soviet Union doesn't mean that our grappling with the problem to build a meaningful people's coalition united against monopoly capital. ..."

Of course, that "something" was indeed tried in the Soviet Union in 1917– by the Mensheviks! The CP's formula of a "meaningful people's coalition" of subordination to the "progressive" bourgeoisie was precisely the Menshevik recipe for class betrayal.

Of course neither the CP nor the SWP will admit to Menshevism. Revisionism means claiming to be Leninist while fighting tooth and nail against the Leninist strategy of class against class. The CP has plenty of experience in this practice and plenty of experience at the "strategies" that the SWP has only lately discovered, from seeking positions of influence as the pro-Democratic business unionists' lackeys in the labor movement to covering for anti-communist bourgeois liberals in organizations like the NAACP and NOW.

So when at the debate a former SLer now in the MLC orbit explained he would support Stamberg because she made no bones about the impossibility of achieving "practical solutions" under capitalism, the CP spokesman adeptly talked out of both sides of his mouth:

> "Well maybe you'll vote for us. Because I would say that the problem of unemployment is not going to be solved under capitalism. Well I said it. I hope you'll consider voting for our candidate [laughter]."

But the SWP speaker could only quibble:

> "What I said was put forward practical proposals for action. That's what I said. Not practical solutions. I never said that. I said practical proposals for action. That people could organize themselves. ..."

If the SWP can best-build enough "independent" reformist marches and left-cover enough union backs to acquire some *real* base to sell out, it too will learn the wisdom of breaking strikes without boasting about scabbing, of paying lip-service to unity while dividing the working people, of calling black Democratic hustlers without striking up the band for race war. The CP has made these cynical tricks its stock-in-trade for fifty years, and the SWP has amply shown its appetite to learn to do the same.

But the working class will learn nothing from these people. Only the proletarian, revolutionary, internationalist program of Trotskyism offers the way forward for the working class and put an end to exploitation and oppression once and for all. ■

Corrections

In *WV* No. 216 (6 October), the article entitled "Activists vs. Stodgy Cold Warriors in SPUSA" states that the California Peace and Freedom Party fused with the SPUSA. We have been informed, both by the SP and the Peace and Freedom Party, that this is incorrect. However, there are reportedly a significant number of dual members. In the same article, we wrote that the SWP and SP had endorsed each other's electoral campaigns in Milwaukee this year. However, while the SWP has endorsed the SP campaign, the reverse is not the case.

In our last issue the report on the successful conclusion of the 1978 *Workers Vanguard* sub drive contained an arithmetical error in the figures for New York. Rather than 106 percent, the New York local's final total was 140 percent of their quota; this changes the overall total from 135 percent to 141 percent nationally.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Mounties Raid Union Offices, Leaders Arrested

Trudeau Tramples Canadian Postal Strike

TORONTO—For nine days this month, 23,000 striking members of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) kept Canada's postal system shut down from coast to coast in the most dramatic labor showdown with the capitalist government since the Quebec general strike of 1972.

The combative postal workers maintained militant picket lines in defiance of strikebreaking back-to-work legislation rushed through Parliament and threats of heavy fines, jail sentences and mass firings. On October 25 Canadian Mounties staged gestapo-like raids on CUPW offices, seizing files, records and union minutes; the courts issued arrest warrants for a score of CUPW leaders, and strikers were served with dismissal notices as Postmaster Gilles Lamontagne threatened to reopen the post offices with scabs. It was at this point, when outraged support for the postal workers was sweeping the Canadian labor movement, that left-talking CUPW president Jean-Claude Parrot called off the strike.

The following day Parrot was arrested and ordered by the Ontario Supreme Court to recant his earlier defiance of the government's back-to-work law. Parrot complied, declaring the union's strike "invalid." But even that was not enough for the vengeful administration of Prime Minister Elliot Trudeau, which is proceeding with criminal charges against Parrot, four other members of the CUPW national executive board, lower-ranking union officials and rank-and-file militants, including 31 members of the Vancouver local.

The postal strike hit a raw nerve of the Canadian bourgeoisie. Trudeau's vicious strike-breaking measures, designed to insure continuance of the mail, are reminiscent of similar shows of force undertaken by capitalist governments threatened by crippling of crucial centers of commerce, transport and communication—such as the British miners strikes of 1926 and 1974 or the American rail strike led by Eugene Debs in 1894. Thus, from its inception, the success of the CUPW strike necessitated its being spread to other decisive sections of the workforce, most importantly workers in the transport and communications sectors. The firing notices and Canadian Mountie raids clearly placed a general strike on the agenda. The failure of the entire trade-union bureaucracy to implement these crucial measures of solidarity insured the defeat of this important battle.

The furious assault on the CUPW strike is the spearhead of the Liberal Party's stepped-up attack on all of Canadian labor. A growing wave of strikes has swept Canada as workers have attempted to recover the losses they suffered under three years of Trudeau's wage controls, which expired last summer. The government is pushing Parliament to pass Bill C-28, which would reimpose wage controls on federal workers, and the use of overt strike-breaking measures is on the rise. Brief strikes by Toronto transit workers and Marine Engineers (which tied up shipping on the Great Lakes) were ended with emergency legislation, and 13,000 Ontario hospital workers face the possibility of court orders forbidding even a strike vote.

But the postal workers, the most militant and best organized of Canada's public workers, were the big target. Last month postal management avoided the possibility of a joint strike by CUPW and the other major postal union, the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC). Knuckling under to the mere threat of no-strike legislation, LCUC leaders called off their rotating strikes after only four days and signed a contract well within the proposed Bill C-28 wage limits.

The CUPW ranks had been kept working without a contract for 16 months by the Parrot leadership. During that time mechanization, speedup, harassment and the growing use of non-union labor provoked wildcats at postal centers across Canada. Parrot finally called the national strike under the pressure of "premature" walkouts in his home base, Montreal, and other cities.

The postal workers' courageous stand against the government's strikebreaking measures evoked widespread sympathy in the rest of Canadian labor. Solidarity statements poured in from unions and labor federations. Canada's largest union, the 231,000-member Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE), offered financial assistance and the use of its offices. Even the national director of the traditionally conservative Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC) called for backing up CUPW with a general strike if necessary.

CUPW pickets outside Toronto post office. Spartacist Canada

The majority of LCUC members respected the picket lines, and the strategic Toronto LCUC local passed a motion calling on the Ontario Federation of Labor and Canadian Labor Congress (CLC), which was maintaining a discreet silence, for solidarity strike action with CUPW. Militants in United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 303 at GM's plant in Scarborough circulated a petition calling for contingents of mass pickets to strengthen the CUPW lines and demanding that the CLC call a general strike if the government fined, fired or jailed CUPW strikers. These motions were passed at a local executive meeting on October 24. In Sudbury 100 striking International Nickel miners left their own picket lines to help beef up CUPW's.

The police raids and arrest warrants for CUPW leaders further electrified this broad-based labor support. Even the most conservative pieards could see their own necks on the chopping block in the not-too-distant future. "I'm getting a little scared," said CUPE national president Grace Hartman, speaking for many union leaders. "I can almost hear the thunder of jackboots."

Word that the strike had been ended provoked an uproar in CUPW locals across the country. In Toronto a mass meeting of the CUPW local erupted in a thunderous roar of outrage and disgust when local president Arnold Gould announced Parrot's back-to-work order. Denied even the right to vote on whether to end their strike, angry postal workers stormed out of the meeting screaming "sell-out" and "our National Executive knifed us in the back."

Parrot's initial defiance of Trudeau's strikebreaking measures distinguished him from other trade-union leaders who quickly folded up their strikes under pressure from the government, and initially he was enormously popular on CUPW's mass picket lines. In the end, however, the militant business unionist Parrot proved just as incapable as the rest of the labor bureaucracy of providing a strategy to undercut CUPW's isolation and to defeat the government's assault.

A winning strategy for the postal strike was uniquely championed by the Trotskyist League of Canada (TLC), sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency. The TLC aggressively intervened in the postal crisis, mass-distributing two leaflets on the picket lines, at mass meetings and at key industrial work locations. The first stressed the necessity of bringing the other public-sector unions out on strike with CUPW in order to bury Bill C-28. On the day the Mounties kicked in the doors of CUPW union halls, the TLC immediately issued a second flyer, calling for a general strike against government union-busting. It was this kind of militant solidarity that could have prevented the serious defeat inflicted on the militant but misled postal workers ■

Spartacist Candidate Debates CP, SWP on Crown Heights...4

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 219 — 17 November 1978

Workers Must Lead Iranian Revolution!

Down With the Shah! Down With the Mullahs!

Oil Workers Strike Paralyzes Economy

NOVEMBER 13—Iran is at the boiling point as a massive wave of popular hostility has combined with a concerted Islamic opposition to bring the hated Pahlavi monarchy almost to its knees. But the future is by no means clear—the shah has called in the military, there is open talk of a "Pakistan solution" in which clericalists in the army would seize power in the name of the "popular will," and mass demonstrations under the leadership of the *ulema* (Muslim religious hierarchy) clamor for the imposition of an Islamic state.

Since troops opened fire on unarmed demonstrators in the September 8 Bloody Friday massacre in Teheran's Jaleh Square, mass demonstrations drawing upon every sector of the population have convulsed the country. In response, the shah turned to his sole remaining base of power domestically, the army. With the imposition of a military cabinet headed by General Gholam Reza Azhari, the imperial murderer on the Peacock Throne hopes to check the rapid disintegration of the regime's authority which has escalated dramatically over the last month.

Only the strength of the military has kept the shah in power this long. Repeated demonstrations by crowds numbering in the hundreds of thousands have left Teheran strewn with rubble, barricades and wrecked cars and troop transports. The universities have been transformed into botheds of agitation by Muslim and leftist students. The bazaars remain closed, with artisans and shopkeepers attendent to the signals of the exiled high holyman of Shi'ite Islam, Ayatollah Khomeini.

But it is the workers' strikes which have brought the political climate in Iran to the fever point. Hundreds of thousands of state employees and teachers remain out on strike in political opposition to the shah. On October 31 Iran's 37,000 oil workers staged a sit-down strike and have defiantly withstood government threats and direct military attack in demanding the release of political prisoners, the firing of corrupt officials and the expulsion of foreign supervisors. Iran's oil production under management and troop operation of the wells is down to 1.5 million barrels a day from a normal figure of 6.5 million barrels.

Students confront riot police at Teheran University during recent anti-shah protests. Abbas/Gamma-Liaison

With their oil flow threatened and their local linchpin in danger, the imperialists have closed ranks around the butcher shah. Gone are the heart-rending concerns of the bourgeois press for the violation of "human rights" in Iran. Carter rushed to endorse the Azhari cabinet and, of course, added his vacuous praise of the shah's "liberalizations." The press has been unanimous in endorsing the shah's rule, raising the sole criticism that perhaps he has lately been too lenient with the opposition. Every day the *Wall Street Journal* has been publishing articles worrying about the current state of world oil supplies sharply affected by the strike.

As we go to press, the news reports the arrest of strike leaders, army occupation of the refineries and fierce resistance by the workers to this attempt to finally crush the strike. As the imperialists and the shah prepare for a showdown with the proletariat and as the mullahs cast about for the military leader who will establish the "just rule of Islam," the program of revolutionary Trotskyists becomes all the more urgent: Victory to the Strikes! Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs! For Proletarian Revolution in Iran!

Teheran Is Burning!

The immediate catalyst for summoning the generals to power was the massive rebellion which raged through the streets of Teheran on November 4 and 5. The previous week the regime had moved to shut down the universities in an abortive attempt to prevent a planned week of student protests on behalf of the victims of the shah's white terror. This only served to further inflame the students and Teheran University was reopened on October 29.

High school students in the capital demonstrated against the exile of the anti-shah Muslim leader Ayatollah Talaghani on November 4. Joined by students from the university, they then marched on the house of Ayatollah Taleghazi, another prominent opponent of the regime recently released from prison. At the gates of Teheran University the marchers toppled a bronze statue of the shah. Imperial troops then moved in to disperse the crowd and opened fire, killing dozens of students.

The following day hundreds of thousands of enraged demonstrators attacked and sacked stores, banks and government offices. In addition to four hotels, the Ministry of "Information" was torched and the shah's propaganda chief seized and beaten. Tanks prevented the protesters from storming the U.S. embassy after they had crashed through the iron gates of the British embassy and firebombed it. On Monday the new government declared that all "inciters" would be rounded up and that the soldiers would gun down any gathering of more than two persons. Troops

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MAC Wins Big in S.F. Phone

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Castro Exports Stalinist Betrayal

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SWP Bows to Khomeini

88-Day NYC Press Strike Ends

Union Saved, Jobs Slashed

The 88-day-old New York City newspaper strike ended on November 5 with a settlement which, while far from the *Washington Post*-style union-busting defeat hoped for by the publishers, will leave the Pressmen's Union with an estimated 30 percent fewer members by 1984. The pressmen's stubborn stand and the solidarity, precarious as it was, of the other printing trades unions snapped a string of broken strikes in the industry. But the acceptance of job losses through attrition by the New York pressmen conforms to the dangerous pattern of setbacks imposed on printing trades workers throughout the country.

The strike reportedly cost the publishers perhaps $150 million in advertising and circulation losses. On the issue which both sides had seen as the key question in the dispute, manning levels in the pressroom, the publishers were forced to settle for the terms proposed by the pressmen in writing the day before the strike began on August 9. This means that "unit manning"—the assignment of a fixed number of pressmen to each press—will remain intact although the number of men per press will drop from 12 to 11.

More important than the manning settlement, however, is the agreement extracted from the pressmen's leaders to allow the union membership to be slashed through attrition. As pressmen die or retire they will not be replaced. There will be no new apprentices and the number of such "fly boys" hired for each shift at the *Times* will drop during the six-year contract period from the current 68 to somewhere between 18 and 38, the exact number to be fixed by arbitration. Moreover, casual pressmen have no guarantee of any work at all.

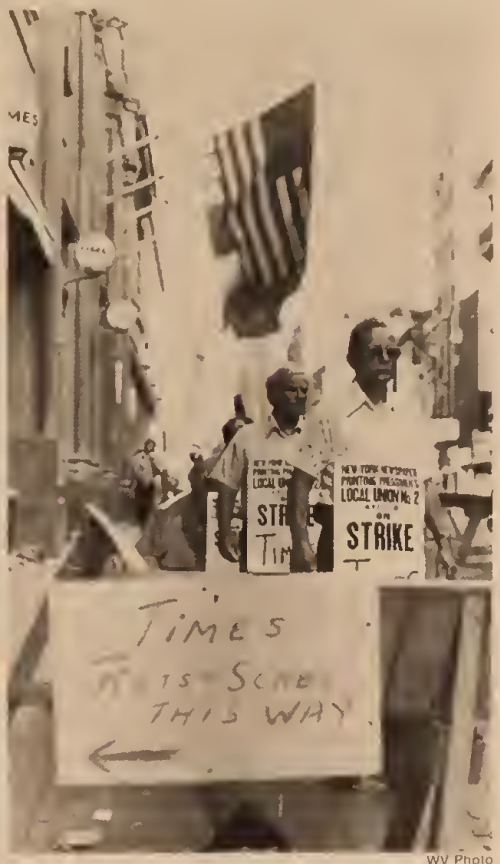
In exchange for bargaining away hundreds of jobs and casting a shadow over the future of the union, negotiators for the pressmen won guarantees of full-time work for 1,508 pressmen and apprentices through 1984. But the attrition clause in effect gives the publishers what they really wanted, cheaper labor costs in the pressroom. Although attaining this goal will take longer and will be more expensive than they had hoped, by 1984 the publishers' payroll expenses will be running $10 million less per year.

When they forced the pressmen out on strike August 9 by posting new work rules that would have slashed the number of pressmen's jobs in half, the publishers figured on a quick victory. They were sure that, as at the *Washington Post* in 1975, the other unions would scab on the pressmen. But their calculations were off. Building on the union solidarity established on the picket lines during the Newspaper Guild strike at the *Daily News* in June, the strikers won the support of the Allied Printing Trades Council and of the key independent Deliverers Union and hung tough. The pickets were still there on Labor Day. They were there on Columbus Day, too, and by then the publishers' hopes of a cheap strike during the August advertising slump had disappeared.

The first to cave in to the pressure of the strike was not any of the unions but the head of the Publishers Association, *Post* publisher Rupert Murdoch. Murdoch moved to cash in on his competitors' hard-line stance and resumed publication on October 3 under a "me too" agreement binding him to the terms of whatever settlement was reached with the *Times* and *News*. Murdoch's opportunistic maneuver strengthened the unions' bargaining position and sharply upped the pressure on the two remaining dailies.

But if union solidarity kept the strike alive, the extreme precariousness of that solidarity prevented a real victory. The picture which emerges, as the inside story of the bargaining comes out, is one of continual backstabbing threats to scab on the pressmen by Deliverers Union boss Doug LaChance and Allied Council head George McDonald. At a key October 25 meeting, the *Times* account reveals, Pressmen's Union leader William Kennedy "spent three hours being yelled at by the other union leaders, who told him, in effect, that they were going to cross his lines if he did not settle that day on a formula for pressroom manning" (*New York Times*, 7 November).

Charles Wiesenhahn



WV Photo

Press idled by strike at the New York Post (left). Pressmen picket the Times at the beginning of strike (right).

While the other union bureaucrats leaned hard on the pressmen, they practically gang-raped the Guild unit at the *Times*. When on November 4 it became clear that the other unions were about to settle, the *Times* Guild moved to declare its own strike over unresolved issues and threw up picket lines at 7:00 Saturday evening. By 3 p.m. the next afternoon they had been taken down under the threat of the Allied Council to scab, and despite the anger of the Guild members (121 of 347 of them voted to strike alone) the 1978 New York press strike was over.

Some Guild members charged that the union bureaucrats had stepped up the pressure to settle in order that the *Times* would appear before the November 7 election day with an endorsement of Democrat Hugh Carey for governor. Carey had the union tops' backing despite the pro-publisher position which he took in the first week of the strike, a position made clear in the *City News* headline: "Gov to Unions: It's Your Fault."

The New York newspaper strike demonstrated that even "tough" craft unionism, as exemplified by Kennedy's hard-nosed stand, is not enough to decisively defeat the nationwide union-busting drive of the publishers. None of the craft union leaders has a strategy to deal with the massive increase of automation, particularly in the composing room, or with the proliferation of runaway job shops and papers in the suburbs. These rapid changes in the industry, mandated by the bosses' profit drive, have placed enormous pressures on the remaining jobs of the big city printing workers. Lacking a policy of fighting for a shorter workweek at no cut in pay and organizing the newer shops up to their own standards, the parochial craft unions have taken their stand on increasingly narrow grounds. The 1974 typographers settlement at the key NYC dailies, as well as this year's settlement for the pressmen, shows that even the strongest unions have acceded to the publishers' job-slashing strategy, casting a deep shadow over the future of the trade unions in this industry.

The Spartacist League was unique in calling during the recent strike for a *labor daily newspaper*. Such a paper could have served to give *political* focus to what was indeed a major battle between labor and capital, one in which the newspaper unions needed all the support they could get. A paper sponsored by the labor movement could have rallied the entire working population to the side of the strikers. Refusing capitalist advertising, it could have put the squeeze on retailers, who would have pressured the press lords, in turn, for a quick settlement. And by providing employment (at full NYC union scale) to other newspaper unions it would have revealed the parasitic "interim" papers, published with the connivance of the struck dailies, as scab rags—and thus laid the basis for shutting them down, whether at the Jersey printing plants or as the trucks rolled through the Holland Tunnel.

A labor daily could have served as the organizing center of a drive to smash the publishers' offensive by transforming the strike against the three dailies into an industry-wide strike to organize the unorganized and raise wages and manning standards to a uniform high level throughout the New York-New Jersey area. The threat which the hundreds of unorganized cold type shops in Manhattan itself and low-wage union shops across the Hudson pose to the New York unions cannot be combated by narrow craft-union means. Such a militant campaign would inevitably have pointed to the need for a genuine industrial union in the printing trades.

However, these policies will never be implemented in the printing trades without a resolute struggle to oust the Kennedys and La Chances—backstabbing bureaucratic misleaders who are always angling for a "deal" with the bosses—and replace them with a leadership committed to militant, united class struggle. ■

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Jane Margolis Wins 42 Percent in Plant

Militant Action Caucus Wins Big in S.F. Phone

SAN FRANCISCO, November 11—In what was reportedly the largest turnout ever for elections of Local 9410 in the Communications Workers of America (CWA), Militant Action Caucus (MAC) candidate Jane Margolis was resoundingly elected as Plant Executive Board representative of the largest CWA local in northern California. Margolis' 372 votes represented a powerful *42 percent* of union members who balloted in the plant division, placing her second in a field of 13 candidates.

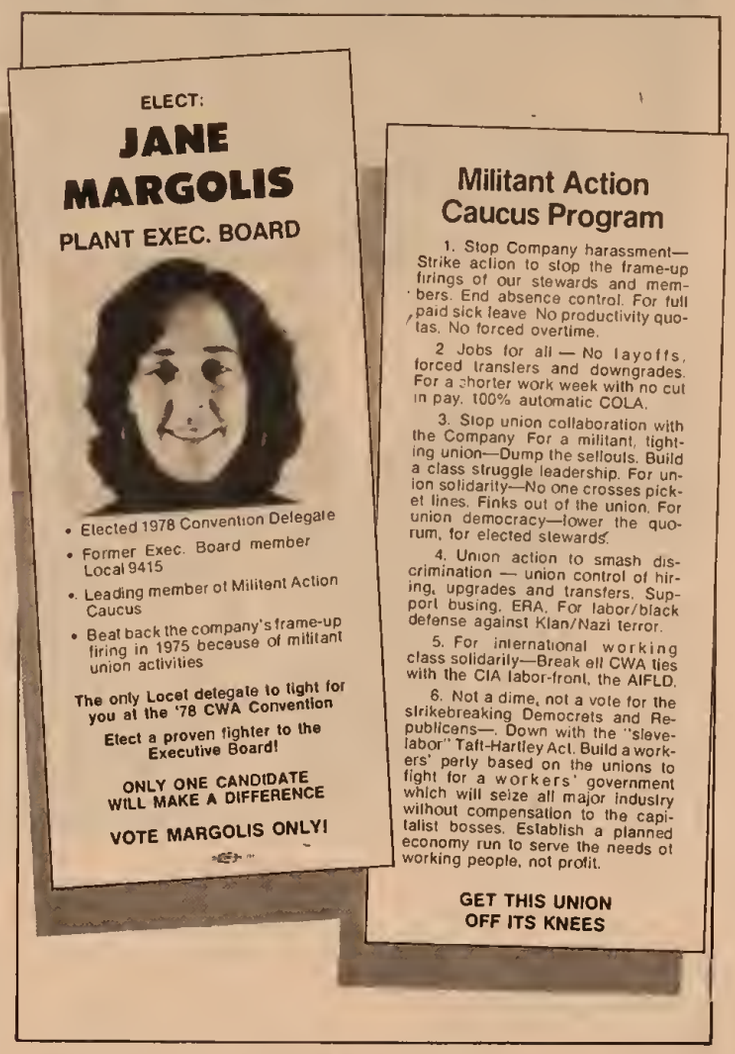
The election itself was marked by the dumping of many incumbents, who were rightly identified with the massive defeats which the union membership has suffered. Local president Jack Whitehouse, running for re-election in a three-way race, finished last with under 200 votes. Jack Dempsey, whose clique has actually controlled a majority on the executive board, was also defeated, losing to Jim Imerzel. Significantly, the MAC vote included approximately 65 phone workers who "balloted" their ballots, voting only for Margolis for executive board. These workers represent a core of militants who are not only fed up with do-nothing union bureaucrats, but have consciously turned to MAC as the only force in the local determined to wage a militant struggle against the company. Moreover, it was the second election within a year in which MAC has been victorious, demonstrating that it has won a *consistent* following within the membership.

Margolis, who is a former executive board member from the East Bay's CWA Local 9415, told *WV* that even compared to her successful campaign for convention delegate this April, MAC's vote totals increased appreciably. She pointed out that the company has noticeably escalated its attack in recent months, and that there is a broadening realization that only MAC has fought to mobilize the union in response. When the local leadership sat on its hands after 12 operators were fired last fall, the company was then emboldened to go after the plant division. This summer two stewards were fired. MAC initiated a hard-fought defense campaign. With the stewards structure and the membership's right to union representation at stake, some 40 stewards and executive board members responded to MAC's call by endorsing a demand for a local strike authorization vote. But the struggle for strike authorization was throttled by a combination of active opposition and criminal passivity from the leaders of all three bureaucratic cliques in the local.

The Margolis campaign linked the attacks on Local 9410 to an industry-wide assault by Ma Bell: 100,000 jobs lost in 4 years; brutal enforcement of the company's medieval "absentee control" policy, under which even phone workers who miss work for documented medical reasons can be disciplined; forced overtime, forced transfers and downgrades. The MAC campaign leaflet reprinted verbatim two speeches by Margolis at the 1978 CWA convention. It was Margolis who got up to lead off the fight against the dues hike proposed by CWA International president Glen Watts, not to curry favor with the usual popular resentment to such increases, but to demand that the union counter the company offensive with effective, nationwide strike action and end its support to the strikebreaking Democratic Party: "I am for money to build a strong, militant union, but not one more cent for inaction and yielding to the phone company."

For years the CWA's policy of supporting the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD)—a bloc of unions and "multinational" corporations which sets up company unions in Latin America) with the aid of CIA funds, had gone unchallenged. It was Margolis who at the 1978 convention issued the call for the CWA to break from this murderous appendage to U.S. imperialism: "Thousands of trade unionists have been executed and tortured in Latin America, as we all know; in Chile by military juntas. And I want no stain of this on the banner of our Union." Once again it was MAC which at the convention initiated a fight to end the International's veto power of the local right to strike—winning endorsement from 58 delegates, including many local presidents.

Not one of the other Local 9415 delegates to the CWA Convention, from any of the three bureaucratic slates, raised a peep in protest to Watts' class collaboration that has crippled the union. Indeed, not one said a word about anything! Even the usual phrases about "democracy mouthed by aspiring bureaucrats at election time were rendered hollow by MAC's hard-hitting campaign. Thus it MAC, and only MAC, which championed consistently such elementary demands as the membership's right to elect its own stewards—a point which was dramatically evidenced earlier this year when a petition signed by 150 plant workers demanding that Margolis be appointed shop steward was blocked by the bureaucracy. The Imerzels, Dempseys and Whitehouses—all of whom have run on the same slates in the past—were left to squabble among themselves over who had stolen more from the union treasury, a tawdry affair which only drove home MAC's point that there is no fundamental difference among these phonies.



Campaign leaflet for MAC candidate Jane Margolis.

Militant Wins in L.A.

MAC also heralded the election of Gary Adkins to the executive board of Local 11501 in Los Angeles. Margolis told *WV* that Adkins, an area steward in the central switching complex in L.A. and the instructor for the Local's introductory stewards school, received 114 votes for exec board, finishing second out of 12 candidates. Adkins' successful campaign had been endorsed by some ten stewards in his local. Atkins ran on a program which included such demands as strike action to win a shorter workweek at no cut in pay, nationalization of the phone company without compensation, for labor/black defense guards to smash the fascist scum, and a workers party based on the unions to fight for a workers government. Noting that delegate Adkins had introduced the MAC-initiated resolution for the unrestricted local right to strike on the floor of the 1978 convention, Margolis pointed out that the emergence of tested militants like Adkins, committed to a clear program of class struggle, represented a real, if modest, step forward in laying the groundwork for a real, fighting opposition throughout the CWA.

In its several-year history in the CWA in the Bay Area, MAC has been witch-hunted both by Ma Bell and the union bureaucracy. Margolis herself was fired in 1975 and only won reinstatement a year later after a hard-fought campaign. Meanwhile, most of the fake-militant oppositions in the CWA have been driven out by the company, become demoralized, or simply been discredited by their false policies. Thus in the Local 9410 elections John Smreker, who supported Jack Whitehouse in 1975 and who ran as a candidate of the Committee Against Racism, which is supported by the Progressive Labor Party, received a paltry 40 votes in his bid for local secretary. In contrast, MAC's powerful showing demonstrated an increasing receptiveness on the part of the membership to support real class-struggle militants possessing the dedication and drive to stand up both to Ma Bell and her labor lackeys.

This summer some 4,500 Long Lines CWA members struck all across the country in defense of phone workers disciplined for respecting the picket lines of operators in Nashville. This was the first militant nationwide action in the CWA for years and demonstrated that the phone workers' will to fight has not been sapped by decades of class collaboration practiced by the union tops. It is groups like MAC which must provide the nucleus of a fighting leadership that can direct the membership's combativity to victory over the bosses. MAC's task in the next period must be to consolidate its hard-won authority and to begin to reach out to other militants who are seeking to build a class-struggle opposition in the CWA. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 219 17 November 1978

Black Demagogue Sidetracks Anti-Cop Protests

Daughtry vs. Koch: Feud in the Democratic Party

On November 6 some 500 predominantly black protesters streamed across the Brooklyn Bridge on their way to the concrete canyons of Wall Street chanting "We're Fired Up, Can't Take No More!" The marchers were celebrating Black Solidarity Day. In the front lines many carried pictures of Arthur Miller, the black community leader whose strangulation-killing by the cops last summer was the catalyst which brought the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn to flashpoint.

The demonstration had a militant air, at least by late '70's standards. A jaunty Rev. Herbert Daughtry flanked by his green-jacketed bodyguards of the Crown Heights "black community patrols" headed up the march. Conjuring up the mood of the sixties, the crowd was sprinkled with red, black and green nationalist flags. Several marchers carried flags depicting still-imprisoned ex-Black Panthers Assata Shakur (Joanne Chesimard) and Geronimo Pratt. Outside the Stock Exchange Daughtry denounced "white capitalism"; black people, he said, had exhausted their appeals to Koch and the courts and were now marching on the real seat of power.

But November 6 was not only, or even mainly, Black Solidarity Day in New York City. It was also the day before election day. And the Black United Front (BUF) demonstration was a long-planned campaign event to bring out the black vote for a wide range of black Democratic Party incumbents and hopeful candidates. From start to finish the march was a carefully orchestrated pressure tactic, part of an ongoing patronage war within the Democratic Party between the black elected officials and what they see as Mayor Koch's Jewish mafia.

That this was the case became crystal clear later than night when the second part of the celebration, the "Anti-Koch Rally" got under way. More than 1,000 Brooklyn black people turned out at New York Community College to hear five hours of long-winded speeches. Even the cultural part of the program brought no relief—several of the poetry readings were so wretched they had Stalinist hack Amiri Baraka (Leroi Jones) visibly cringing. Represented on the platform was the full spectrum of black-nationalist activists from the "Marxist-Leninist" Baraka to the hard-core cultural nationalists of Jitu Weusi's "The East" to a gaggle of three-piece-suited clubhouse pols.

The thrust of the rally was intended by Daughtry to be an election-eve platform for the black Democrats. Brooklyn Assemblyman Al Vann was a no-show, but State Senators Major Owens of Brooklyn and Carl McCall of Harlem were there to pitch for votes. While McCall urged votes to black Democrats "who are committed to you," Owens apologized for being too busy campaigning on behalf of a black city council candidate to attend the earlier march. But he praised the BUF for its "sophistication" in not only "marching when it's time to march" but endorsing black candidates as well.

Former state senator and head of Brooklyn CORE Sam Pinn, along with Dr. Vernal Cave, former black member of the Health and Hospitals Corporation, and Cenie Williams, Coordinator of the City-wide Coalition of Black Organizations, all added their voices to the struggle to "put a black mayor in City Hall." Finally, a rather subdued Daughtry finished off the evening asserting it was time for blacks to begin to "run our own candidates."

WV Photo

Rev. Daughtry speaks at Wall Street rally surrounded by bodyguards.

WV Photo

Black United Front marchers on Wall Street November 6.

Black Democrats vs. the Jewish Mayor

The present lash-up of black Democrats against the Koch administration began forming late last winter, soon after the mayor's inauguration. Koch, the epitome of the 1960's "reform Democrat," rode into office last year on the crest of a racist backlash with his advocacy of the death penalty and echoing the vicious "Night of the Animals" press hysteria which followed the July 1977 black-out. Nevertheless, after making the point that they carried some electoral clout by running out-going Manhattan borough president Percy Sutton in the primary, the black Democrats loyally swung their support to Koch. Now, like the AFL-CIO bureaucracy which handed the key labor vote to Carter only to get the shaft, the black politicos have been screaming "betrayal."

But Koch had made his two-point program—get the unions and get the blacks—clear from the beginning. Once in office he simply proceeded to carry it out. Declaring all-out war on what he called the "poverticians" he began wholesale firings of black administrators and a massive "reorganization" of the poverty programs themselves.

With all Koch's ranting about "getting tough" with welfare chiselers it was no surprise that the first blow-up with the black Democratic leaders came over his appointment of Blanche Bernstein to head the city's Human Resources Administration. Bernstein quickly distinguished herself as the first welfare commissioner ever to come out against an increase in welfare! Next came the forced resignation of Koch's human rights commissioner, Patria Nieto-Ortiz, when she insisted on reviewing the city's own record of minority hiring. And on April 6 four black ministers sat in at Koch's office demanding more summer jobs for youth. Koch promptly ordered the cops to haul them off to the slammer.

Following these preliminaries Koch proceeded to go after two of the big poverty programs. He simply canceled the city's $4 million contribution to the Addiction Services Agencies. Then he "reorganized" some $6.3 million in federal funds out of the Model Cities program while drastically cutting back its staff some 80 percent! Shortly afterwards two important black leaders, Harlem Congressman Charles B. Rangel and State Senator McCall (another featured speaker at Daughtry's rally) took Koch to court to try to stop any more "restructuring" of the city's poverty programs.

In an article, "Black Leaders Sue to Stop a Koch Move," reporting on the Rangel/McCall suit the *New York Times* (May 25) commented on what it characterized as the "rapidly growing, deep antagonism between the Mayor and [an] important segment of the city's black political leadership." In addition to the earlier mentioned beefs the black leaders cited a Koch plan to distribute federally funded summer youth jobs through a computerized lottery system instead of through the black churches, as well as complaints about the Mayor's lily-white "Silk Stocking" district inner circle. But to these charges mayoral aides replied to the *Times*:

> "Under previous administrations, the Mayor's people say, black leaders—and particularly their antipoverty programs—had been made a part of the political clubhouse system and that these leaders are now upset at the loss of money, jobs and power."

As the months progressed the feud between the black pols and Koch found its reflection in the noisy press war between the liberal muckraking *Village Voice* and the black liberal *Amsterdam News*. With Percy Sutton a 37 percent stockholder, it was predictable that the black paper would be annoyed when the *Voice* lauded Koch's moves against the poverty programs. But the sparks really started to fly when Jack Newfield's April 10 article, "'Amsterdam News' Sells out Harlem," documented the paper's owners' extensive personal stake in the city's poverty programs.

Thus, according to Newfield, *Amsterdam News* publisher John Procope was a partner in the insurance-brokerage firm which held a $10 million city contract to insure the day care centers, Head Start centers, senior citizens' halls and so forth. And the chairman of the paper's board of directors, John Edmonds, was (Newfield alleged) up until 1973 director of Harlem Model Cities, as well as attorney for the $5 million federally funded corruption-riddled United Harlem Drugfighters.

The *Amsterdam News* counterattacked the next week, saying that the Murdoch-owned *Village Voice* was in no position to sling mud. Newfield and the rest of the white liberals at the *Voice*, said the black paper, just played into Koch's hands with their exposés. A 15 April article, "Newfield Apologizer for Koch," railed

> "Why has the *Amsterdam News* come under so vicious and unprincipled an attack by the liberal left? Mr. Newfield is concerned about the Mayor's 'commendable' plan for reorganizing the anti-poverty program.
>
> "His problem is that the *Amsterdam News* understands the implications of the plan, nothing less than the consolidation of all federal funds for New York City in the hands of one omnipotent super poverty-pimp, Ed Koch."

Flashpoint

In the midst of the brewing patronage battle, on June 14, Arthur Miller was strangled to death by the cops, a

particularly grisesome crime even for the "guardians of law and order" who regularly shoot down unarmed ghetto youth in the streets. Miller was an enterprising black capitalist, the owner of a small construction firm as well as an active Democratic Party politician and founder of a local anti-poverty project. For the black politicians he was one of their own. The Crown Heights community was seething over the slaying of Miller; a furious crowd marched on City Hall demanding a stop to police brutality and the prosecution of his killers.

Then a strange thing happened. When, two days later, a black teenager, Victor Rhodes, was severely beaten by a Hasidic vigilante squad, Daughtry and the black politicians turned the protest away from the cops and onto the Jews. The black Democrats had, at last, found a way to increase their political clout—by cynically manipulating the uproar over the Miller killing. If the black poverty programs were being cut, it was because the Jews were getting too big a piece of the pie. The Hasidim, said the BUF, got "special treatment" at the hands of the Jewish mayor. "Every group," said Daughtry, "looks out for its own. Koch rewards his own kind." Organizing the "black community patrols," he threatened: "When the people of the long black coats meet our men, let us see what will happen."

On July 16 some 4,000 blacks marched on the Crown Heights Hasidic synagogue, shaking their fists and jeering. And while the black Democratic Party politicians cynically fanned the flames of ethnic hatred, bringing the Crown Heights tinderbox to the brink of a bloody race war, virtually the entire NYC left tailed after them. First to the Hasidic synagogue, then to the steps of the police precinct where Daughtry denounced not killer cops, but "Hasidic domination" of the police.

The Hasidic vigilante squads inevitably committed racist abuses. However, they are not the KKK—rather, they are the communalist response to black lumpen crime. The Hasidic community is neither a white oppressor caste nor is it a reactionary political group like the JDL with a political program to deny blacks their democratic rights. A marginal religious sect, they are simply a couple of rungs higher on the economic ladder than the West Indian blacks in the neighboring ghetto. Daughtry's "solution" was to organize counter-vigilantes, which simply escalates the likelihood of race war in Crown Heights. In such a situation of intercommunal hostility the only possible communist response is to call for breaking the vicious cycle of ethnic vigilantism. But the Spartacist League was the *only* organization with the courage and the Marxist program to take this position.

Since the summer the anti-Koch campaign of the black Democrats has continued. For the moment the BUF has ceased marching on synagogues. Nonetheless, Daughtry & Co. continue to fuel the flames of black anti-Semitism as a club with which to beat the Koch machine. At the November 6 demonstration Daughtry declared Koch ought to "be selling bagels on the street corner." And while at an October 31 planning meeting for the demonstration, attended by most of the participating left organizations, Daughtry focused on the demand "Justice for Arthur Miller," that same afternoon he announced the demonstration's goals:

> "In a press conference on the City Hall steps Daughtry also called for an investigation of the Crown Heights Hassidic community which he called, 'kind of a Ku Klux Klan organization....' Daughtry pledged to dramatize his demands with a march on Wall Street next Monday...."
>
> —*New York Daily Press*, 31 October

The Ten Demands

As the Black Solidarity Day marchers came across the Brooklyn Bridge a TV reporter asked Daughtry whether the demonstration was just about the Arthur Miller case. Daughtry said no, it was about the same ten-point program he had posted on the door of City Hall on September 28. And a BUF leaflet, "Why We March," distributed on November 6 said of the ten demands: "These demands dealt with basic human needs, jobs, housing, hospital care and protection."

So who could object to a program demanding jobs, housing, hospital care and protection? Take a closer look. Demand number two, for instance, protests "White Racist Terror Attacks upon Blacks and People of Color." And what does this mean? The blurb in the right-hand column makes it explicit. "Hasidic Jews' vicious attack on Victor Rhodes . . ." In other words, the same blacks-vs.-Hasidic-Jews ethnic vigilantism which very nearly provoked communal riots last summer.

Or take demand number three, protesting "Inhuman Treatment of Blacks and Poor in the Human Resources Administration." This turns out to mean "Commissioner Blanche Bernstein must Resign or be Fired." And demand number four protests "Mayoral Control and Manipulation of CAP and Model Cities Programs." The right-hand column explains, "Koch has taken over poverty programs used to organize the poor and will now use them as his personal political patronage."

But for all of Daughtry's "anti-capitalist" rhetoric outside the Stock Exchange, the BUF demands do not call for a single new job! They simply call for changing the color of the faces of those distributing the "personal political patronage." As Baraka's CAP used to say, "black faces in high places" will not liberate the oppressed masses. Who would claim that blacks are better off in Tom Bradley's Los Angeles, Coleman Young's Detroit or Kenneth Gibson's Newark?

What serious black militants who want to struggle against the oppression of racial minorities in capitalist America must understand is that Koch's racist program of gutting the poverty programs and dumping the black administrators is not simply a patronage grab by a new gang in power. The mayor is simply carrying out on a local level the decision of a unanimous ruling class to go after the inner cities. The black populace and the programs thrown to them as sops during the turbulent 1960's are victims of the same attack which brought the axe of Big MAC and the EFCB down upon the city unions. And while virtually every one of the gains of the 1960's has been gutted or is now presently under frontal attack, instead of putting up a program to mobilize the masses to defend and extend what has been won, the Daughtrys, the Vanns, the McCalls and the Pinns are only out to save their own hustles.

In contrast to the ethnic pork-barreling which has been the name of the Democratic Party game in New York since the days of Tammany Hall; in contrast to the black clubhouse politicians and the reformists who seek to redivide the shrinking capitalist pie, in our recent electoral campaign the Spartacist League fought for a mobilization of NYC labor to lead behind it all sections of the oppressed in a powerful struggle against the loss of every single job, every single dollar of social services. We fought to link these demands to the need to go beyond the confines of the decaying capitalist system and fight for the victorious socialist revolution. Thus our campaign brochure demanded:

> "Triple welfare! Unlimited unemployment compensation at full union wages! Free quality health care for all! Restore and expand rent control—Expropriate the real estate corporations! Free mass transit! Billions to save the subways!"

Integral to this program was the struggle against the kill-crazed NYC cops who shoot down unarmed black youth in cold blood, who regularly gun down turnstile jumpers for the price of a token. But what did Daughtry & Co. do when on October 25 a Brooklyn grand jury cleared the killers of Arthur Miller, ruling that his strangulation death was "accidental" since the cops were using regulation procedures? Did they march on the court house demanding the killer-cops to be jailed? Did they march on City Hall? No—when there was a chance to mobilize thousands of people in the streets, Daughtry and his BUF simply called for a federal investigation *while keeping the black population out of the streets*. Do nothing, they advised. Stay at home for the next two weeks, and come out to the day-before-the-election rally!

For over six months the Arthur Miller case has refused to die. From the grizzly slaying of Miller last June to Koch's promise that there would be no whitewash to the court ruling last month that Miller's death was "accidental," the case stands as a living symbol of the racist "justice" in capitalist America. Yet for the careerist black Democratic Party politicians the case is being cynically manipulated as they push a well-orchestrated operation to further their own careers. It is a telling measure of the extreme crisis of leadership within the black population that this lash-up of patently self-serving, warmed-over black nationalists and Democratic hacks can pose as champions of the oppressed black masses. ■

Remember this Tradition?

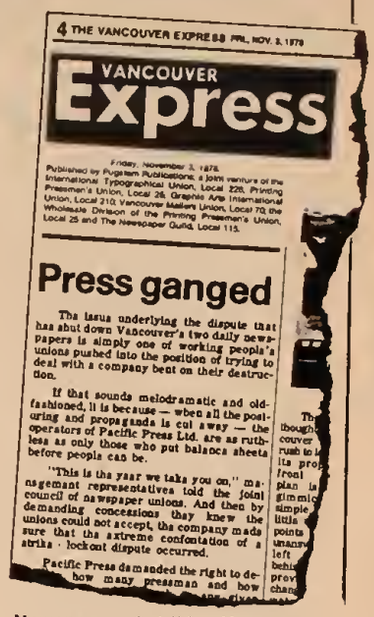
REPRINTED FROM SPARTACIST CANADA, NOVEMBER 1978

VANCOUVER, November 3—The first issue of the *Vancouver Express*, published by the six newspaper unions on strike against Pacific Press, hit the streets today. In its editorial, "Press ganged," the *Express* tells the strikers' side of the story and exposes the publishers' union-busting drive.

The strike against Pacific Press, which publishes Vancouver's two daily newspapers, the *Sun* and *The Province*, is the latest battle in a long war waged by newspaper publishers against the printing trades unions. "It's not just a strike—it's war," said Phil Needham, the co-chairman of the press unions' joint bargaining council. Needham also pointed to the bitter 1975-76 *Washington Post* strike which broke the pressmen's union and strengthened the newspaper bosses' union-busting campaign. "Now the battleground is in Vancouver," he said.

The major issue in the strike is management's attempt to drastically cut the union's manning scale—the same job-slashing attack which provoked the New York newspaper strike. Reportedly, the publishers even offered to *buy* the union's manning clause out of the contract for a cool *one million dollars* (the money was to be spread out in a package deal to the pressmen). This deal to gut the newspaper unions was flatly rejected. The newspaper bosses' other tactic to break the unions is to exclude jobs from union jurisdiction through re-classification.

The Vancouver press unions have dug in for a long battle. The *Express* story on the strike reported that "the picket lines will remain up until all unions have ratified new collective agreements." The strikers have already taken an important step toward turning the tide on management's union-busting drive and winning public support for their battle by putting out their own newspaper. During the 1970 strike against Pacific Press the *Express* (which is published three times weekly) was Vancouver's only newspaper for three months. Stop the newspaper bosses' union-busting drive! Victory to the Vancouver press strike! ■


4 THE VANCOUVER EXPRESS FRI., NOV. 3, 1978

VANCOUVER Express

Friday, November 3, 1978.

Published by Pugsley Publications, a joint venture of the International Typographical Union, Local 226, Printing Pressmen's Union, Local 25, Graphic Arts International Union, Local 210, Vancouver Mailers Union, Local 70, the Wholesale Division of the Printing Pressmen's Union, Local 25 and The Newspaper Guild, Local 115.

Press ganged

The issue underlying the dispute that has shut down Vancouver's two daily newspapers is simply one of working people's unions pushed into the position of trying to deal with a company bent on their destruction.

If that sounds melodramatic and old-fashioned, it is because — when all the posturing and propaganda is cut away — the operators of Pacific Press Ltd. are as ruthless as only those who put balance sheets before people can be.

"This is the year we take you on," management representatives told the joint council of newspaper unions. And then by demanding concessions they knew the unions could not accept, the company made sure that the extreme confontation of a strike · lockout dispute occurred.

Pacific Press demanded the right to decide how many pressman and how

Newspaper of striking Vancouver pressmen.

Vancouver's Labor Newspaper

Here is some welcome news from Canada's Pacific coast—a labor battle in which the workers haven't started out with both hands tied behind their backs. In New York the leaders of the pressmen's union from the beginning agreed to manning cutbacks and argued only over how many jobs should be lost. But the Vancouver unions are demanding no tampering with their manning scales as the precondition for serious bargaining. This demand, if firmly maintained, poses the possibility of a real victory against the cost-cutting publishers instead of yet another setback, however qualified.

The Vancouver unions also have armed themselves with a potentially powerful weapon in publishing their own newspaper. Though bogged down by capitalist advertising (which it has cornered despite a boycott being urged by the Board of Trade, Canada's Chamber of Commerce), the Express *can present the unions' side of the story, fill the void for the newspaper-reading public and cement union solidarity by providing jobs for strikers and those respecting their picket lines.*

During the New York press strike, the Spartacist League championed the call for a labor daily newspaper, printed at NYC union scale and mobilizing the rest of the labor movement for financial support rather than relying on capitalist advertising. The Vancouver Express *is not so bold and audacious an effort, but with solidarity on the picket lines and determination by the strikers not to relent to takeaways, it could help turn the tide against the continent-wide assaults of the profit-hungry publishers.*

The defeat of imperialism in Angola is the heaviest blow which it has suffered in the West in all of history," wrote well-known Colombian author Gabriel García Márquez, giving the credit to the Cuban leaders, whom he praised for "the speed and calmness with which they acted, fully realizing the consequences." Even allowing for literary hyperbole, the historical evaluation is rather out of proportion. But García Márquez' enthusiasm for Fidel Castro's "revolutionary mission" in Africa is characteristic of a whole spectrum of left-wingers who have been searching for a popular cause ever since the end of the Vietnam War.

Although this reaction was most typical of "Third World" nationalists and Stalinist fellow travelers, it was also reflected in those claiming the revolutionary heritage of Trotskyism. Among the leaders of Ernest Mandel's misnamed "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec), the most starry-eyed was the voluble armchair guerrilla Livio Maitan, who proclaimed, "Cuba's decisive commitment to a crucial anti-imperialist battle has few precedents in the history of past decades. . ." (*Inprecor*, 18 March 1976).

But even the social-democratic, reformist wing of the USec, led by the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP), leaped to Castro's side. In the 28 July 1978 *Militant*, the introduction to a major centerfold article by veteran SWP leader Joe Hansen on "Cuba and

PART III OF WV SERIES

STALINIST RULE IN CUBA

Africa" proclaimed that one thing that had not changed in the 20 years since the Cuban Revolution was "the Castro leadership's support for anti-imperialist struggles around the world."

Hansen's article is now the introduction to a book collecting his writings on Cuba, *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1978). In it he poses the latest turn in Castro's foreign policy as a striking confirmation of his (and the USec's) longstanding description of Cuba as a healthy, non-Stalinist workers state and of Castro as a revolutionary Marxist. Hansen asks:

> "What does Havana's rising influence in African affairs show about the present status of the Cuban revolution? Has a parasitic caste become entrenched in Cuba? Has the revolution degenerated to such a point that it must now be said that a Stalinist regime has usurped power? With the wisdom of hindsight must it now be acknowledged that the Cuban revolution was Stalinist-led from the beginning? Or do the new developments speak otherwise, indicating continuation of a policy to extend the revolution internationally, thus cutting across the Stalinist policy of 'peaceful coexistence' with the imperialist powers and their capitalist system?"

His answer:

> "But in Africa, Cuban activities have greatly increased instability at the expense of the imperialist powers. Castro has followed a course that closed off rather than invited a deal with American imperialism. This fact alone speaks decisively against the contention that the events in Africa offer proof that a hardened bureaucratic caste has taken over in Cuba."

Some of Hansen's arguments are downright ludicrous, such as his attempt to claim independent initiative by Castro in Africa on the basis that the Kremlin could have used Latvians, Poles or Czechs instead and "Cuba is the farthest from the scene." Others are blatantly anti-Marxist, such as his "constructive criticism" urging Castro & Co. to "go all the way" rather than limiting Cuban foreign policy to "anti-imperialism":

> "The Cubans seem to be primarily interested in bolstering the *anti-imperialist* aspects of the upheavals in these areas [Angola and Ethiopia]. But to overlook the struggle for *socialist* goals can only prove counter-productive."

This sharp distinction between anti-imperialist and socialist goals is a direct reflection of the Stalinist shibboleth of "two-stage revolution." The Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution holds that in the present epoch a struggle against imperialism is impossible without directly challenging capitalist rule.

In order to claim that his early 1960's analyses had withstood the test of time, Hansen is forced to engage in direct historical falsification of past USec positions. In accord with the SWP's post-1969 turn away from vicarious guerrillaism (more recently joined by the Mandelite USec majority), in his introduction he criticizes the Guevarist line of continental guerrilla war as "based on a misjudgment of both the Cuban experience and the possibilites for its repetition":

> "The general conclusion to be drawn from this turn of events is that more effective means than a guerrilla band is required to lead the struggle for socialism."

But back in 1963, in the first flush of petty-bourgeois radical enthusiasm for Castroism, *the Usec was founded on the basis of support to guerrillaism*. One of the main lessons to be drawn from the Cuban and Chinese experiences, wrote the SWP in the USec's founding document, was that "guerrilla warfare conducted by landless peasant and semi-proletarian forces. . . can play a decisive role in. . . precipitating the downfall of a colonial or semicolonial power" ("For Early Reunification of the World Trotskyist Movement"). Another document from the USec's reunification congress spoke of the possibility of "coming to power even with a blunted instrument" in backward countries.

This rewriting of history is not accidental, for in order to portray Castro's foreign policy as "anti-imperialist" the USec has systematically distorted and covered up the actual policies of Havana. Thus in answering Joseph Hansen's "Trotskyist" apologies for Castroism it is necessary to look at the facts. The early period from 1961 to 1965 is analyzed in our article, "Castro's Search for Hemispheric Detente" (WV No. 141, 21 January 1977). Here, in reviewing the zigs and zags of Cuban foreign policy since the "heroic period" of Guevarism in the mid-1960's, we shall show that despite a frequently more militant flavor—the consequences of Cuba's situation as a besieged island outpost—Castroite policy throughout has been fundamentally nationalist, circumscribed (where not directly dictated) by the détente policies of its big brothers in the Kremlin bureaucracy.

From the Tricontinental to OLAS

Hansen argues that in the early years the Cuban government "both politically and materially" aided attempts to spread revolutionary guerrilla struggles throughout Latin America, culminating in the 1967 OLAS conference. Other USec leaders have similarly praised Guevara's talk of a continental revolution:

> ". . . this concept, which is essentially Trotskyist and opposed to the false theory of 'socialism in one country,' has been adopted by the Fidelista leadership of the Cuban Revolution. The appeal in the Second Declaration of Havana and the resolution of the [1966] Tricontinental Congress calling on the Latin American masses to take political power are examples of this."
>
> Hugo Gonzáles Moresco, "The Cuban Revolution and its Lessons," in Ernest Mandel, ed., *Fifty Years of World Revolution, 1917-1967*

To begin with, the Tricontinental's theses do not endorse the permanent revolution any more than did the "Second Declaration of Havana" with its call for unity with "the most progressive layers of the bourgeoisie." The most "advanced" demands in the general declaration of the Tricontinental Conference were for:

> ". . . the right of national control of basic resources, of nationalization of the banks and vital enterprises, of state control of foreign trade and exchange, of growth of the public sector, of reconsideration and repudiation of spurious and anti-national debts. . . , of the realization of a true agrarian reform which eliminates feudal and semi-feudal property."
>
> *Tricontinental* No. 3, November-December 1967

There is absolutely nothing here that "African socialists," Latin American nationalist generals and other "Third World" populist demagogues could not endorse—and a good number of them did sign it, including the likes of Guinea's Sèkou Touré and Cheddi Jagan of Guyana. The conference also included a number of the most right-wing Latin American Communist parties, and by a vote of 31 to 9 it endorsed the Soviet line of "peaceful coexistence" (Adolfo Gilly, "A Conference Without Glory and Without Program," *Monthly Review*, April 1966).

The most dramatic confirmation of the Stalinist character of the Cuban leadership at the Tricontinental conference was Castro's virulent attack on Trotskyism. His tirade was directed against the Posadas tendency—a hysterical split-off from the USec which after a decade and a half of marginal existence has since fractured and disappeared into the shadowy fringes of the Latin American left—denouncing the Posadistas' claim that Castro had crushed a Guevara faction and "eliminated" "Che." The "jefe máximo" dragged out the time-worn slanders that Trotskyists are "known to be at the service of Yankee imperialism, as is the Fourth International." And he bitterly denounced the Guatemalan MR-13, which had ties with the Posadistas and called for socialist revolution, while praising the rival FAR, led by the Guatemalan Stalinists and calling only for "democratic" revolution.

The response of Hansen ("Adolfo

Specchio

Fidel greets Leonid Brezhnev at Havana airport.

Gilly, Fidel Castro and the Fourth International," reprinted in *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution*) was to mildly rebuke Castro for "repeating" Stalinist slanders, express the hope that his attack on Trotskyism would only be "an episodic step backwards," and spend most of the article taking the *Posadistas* to task, among other things for the latter's charge that Cuba supported Kremlin-style peaceful coexistence. (In the early 1960's, when Castro had the Cuban Trotskyists arrested and the printing plates for an edition of Trotsky's *Revolution Betrayed* smashed on the presses—Hansen & Co. maintained a criminal silence.) Not until old-line Stalinist hack Blas Roca—the "Earl Browder of Cuba"—did Hansen really open up his guns, and even then he was extremely cautious lest any of his words be taken as an attack on "the Castro team," which of course includes the likes of Blas Roca.

Coming out of the Tricontinental were two Cuban-led international organizations, the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America (OSPAAL) and the Organization of Latin American Solidarity (OLAS). OSPAAL soon proved to be stillborn and did little more than publish its magazine. In contrast, the Cubans at first made an attempt at building OLAS, including setting up national committees. It even held a conference in 1967 which Hansen hailed as "an encouraging achievement and step forward for the world revolution." Two years later a congress of the fake-Trotskyist USec voted that its Latin American work would henceforth be based above all on: "Integration into the historic revolutionary current represented by the Cuban revolution and the OLAS" ("Resolution on Latin America," *Intercontinental Press*, 14 July 1969).

By that time Hansen had gotten cold feet about Guevarist guerrillaism and opposed the resolution of the Mandel majority. But that was hardly the tack he took in 1967. In a glowing report ("The OLAS Conference: Tactics and Strategy of a Continental Revolution," reprinted in his latest book), he began by trying to butter up Castro by "explaining" the latter's anti-Trotskyist diatribe at the Tricontinental. According to the SWP leader's disgusting apology, this "was taken by all vanguard elements with any real knowledge of the Trotskyist movement as at best a mistaken identification of Trotskyism with the bizarre sect of J. Posadas and at worst nothing but a belated echo of old Stalinist slanders, the purpose of which remained completely obscure." He went on to prettily the conference itself:

> "... the political meaning of the OLAS conference is absolutely clear. It registered the fundamental differentiation of the Cuban revolution from the old Communist parties and their class-collaborationist policies."

Lefort/Gamma-Liaison

Couret/Gamma-Liaison

Above: Ethiopian dictator Mengistu hosting Fidel on recent visit to Addis Ababa. Below: Cuban troops in Ethiopia.

Sigma

Castro with Pinochet during the Allende regime.

To justify this interpretation, Castro's attack on the Venezuelan Communist Party was blown up into a break with all the "right-wing CP currents." In the first place, Castro did *not* break with all right-wing CP currents; except for the CP's of Argentina and Brazil, every other Latin American pro-Moscow party attended the OLAS meeting. And as for the crime of the Venezuelans, he only demanded that it return to its 1962-65 policy of supporting the MIR guerrillas.

Hansen goes on to generalize that, "The question of armed struggle was thus taken at the OLAS conference as the decisive dividing line, separating the revolutionists from the reformists on a continental scale. In this respect it echoed the Bolshevik tradition." Nonsense. The Bolsheviks considered the Russian anarchists and narodniks (who certainly believed in "armed struggle") as "liberals in disguise." And any number of reformist/nationalist/populist currents have been willing to engage in guerrilla warfare under particular circumstances. J.V. Stalin himself was not notably reluctant to "pick up the gun." Hansen's line is nothing but Maoist-Castroist contrahand, an apology for "Third World" Stalinism.

Bolivia-Prague: Castro's Right Turn

Furthermore, it was not long after the OLAS conference that the Cuban regime itself put down the gun, if only temporarily. The disastrous adventure of Che Guevara in Bolivia, while testimony to the dedication of the courageous band so vilely assassinated by the CIA and their Bolivian cohorts, was a political and military fiasco from every standpoint. In an emotional speech to a crowd in Revolution Square Castro put the blame on the Bolivian Communist Party for not coming through with promised reinforcements. But then it was the Cuban leadership that decided to rely on the Kremlin's Bolivian waterboys—who only did what came naturally—just as they built the Tricontinental and OLAS conferences on the participation of the Latin American CP's, and bitterly broke with the Guatemalan guerrilla group (MR-13) which refused to accept Stalinist domination.

Moreover, taken together with the annihilation of Castroite and Maoist guerrilla groups in Peru, as well as the difficult straits of the Venezuelan FALN and the Guatemalan FAR, it was obvious even to crass empiricists that the whole Guevarist strategy of peasant guerrillaism was a failure. (This wisdom did not, however, extend to the USec, whose tailist appetites are so strong as to blind them not only to Marxist principle but even to simple fact. In 1969 they proclaimed rural guerrilla war as the axis of Latin American struggles for the coming period; when *not one* such struggle occurred, they concluded in 1974 that "armed struggle" should include urban guerrillas as well; and when these disappeared as well they concluded late last year that they had misjudged the rhythm of events. To say the least.) The Cuban regime evidently concluded that the massive Pentagon/CIA counterinsurgency programs had worked, and consequently cut off the meager arms supply to the bedraggled bands of their supporters strung out along the foothills of the Andes.

Still under considerable pressure from the Yankee imperialist colossus to the north (Castro once remarked that U.S. politicians went into a frenzy because Cuba was only 90 miles from Florida, they should think what he must feel like with the world's most powerful imperialist state a mere 90 miles from Havana), the Cubans apparently also decided to mend their fences with Moscow, in return for stepped-up Soviet military and economic aid. So when on August 23, 1968 Soviet tanks rolled into Prague, Castro went on the airwaves *to support the Kremlin invasion of Czechoslovakia*. This speech was a rude awakening for many a Latin American Castroite, and should have shaken even the USec. But so inured had these ex-Trotskyists become to excusing the inexcusable, that Joe Hansen wrote a lengthy article ("Fidel Castro and the Events in Czechoslovakia," reprinted in this collection) in which he "regrets" in passing that Castro did not see the Czech invasion as one of the Kremlin's worst crimes ever ... and then goes on for pages in praise of Castro's criticisms of peaceful coexistence!

Aside from the introduction, the last article in *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution* was written in 1970. Thus more than half a decade of Cuban foreign policy is not even mentioned in Hansen's book. It is not accidental that this is the period when some of the most egregious opportunist acts were committed by the Castro regime—betrayals which the USec would like to wish away. During this time Castro sidled up to every even mildly nationalist populist in Latin America, with a special affection for military regimes, praising their "anti-imperialist" and even "revolutionary" credentials. Meanwhile, the remaining guerrillas were left to fend for themselves. Douglas Bravo, leader of the Venezuelan FALN, when he broke with Havana in 1970 denounced the Cubans for "concentrating exclusively on strengthening their economy and suspending all aid to the Latin American revolutionary movements" (*Le Monde*, 15 January 1970).

Castro's favorite during the early 1970's was the Peruvian military government of General Juan Velasco Alvarado. In 1969 he hailed the leftist junta in Lima as a "new phenomenon," namely that of "a group of progressive officers playing a revolutionary role" (cited in Carmelo Mesa-Lago, *Cuba in the 1970's: Pragmatism and Institutionalization* [1974]). Another of these "pistol-packing progressives" was General Omar Torrijos of Panama, who last year grabbed headlines by negotiating a new Panama Canal treaty with Jimmy Carter allowing the U.S. to retain control of the Canal Zone until the year 2000, and an unlimited right to reinvade thereafter so long as it claims a threat to canal operations. In addition to praising this U.S.-trained bonaparte as a revolutionary, Castro counseled patience to Torrijos, reminding him that the U.S. still controlled the Guantánamo naval base and adding, "We are not in a hurry" to recover it (*New York Times*, 13 January 1976).

Elsewhere in the Caribbean basin, the Cubans have been wooing Jamaican prime minister Michael Manley. Manley accompanied Castro to the 1973 Algiers conference of "non-aligned" countries, supported Cuban intervention in Angola against the South Africa/CIA imperialist attack, and reportedly has had elite police units trained in Havana (see "Political Gang Warfare Escalates in Jamaica," *WV* No. 118, 16 July 1976). And showing that "bygones can be bygones," in the last couple of years Cuba has been on the friendliest of terms with Guyanan prime

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Trotskyist Politics on NYC Street Corners

From left to right: SYL supporter in garment district, Gene Herson of the seamen's Militant-Solidarity Caucus, Stamberg supporting striking pressmen and speaking at Sheridan Square, unionist addresses rally at supermarket and Stamberg discusses Spartacist program at NMU hall

WV Photos

Stamberg Campaign...

(continued from page 12)

against the same Democratic incumbent, on an "independent" line with the active support of the CP and "community control" advocates of Spanish-speaking Chelsea. When he received 4.6 percent, it was noted as one of the best showings for any radical candidate anywhere in the U.S. that year.

Stamberg's impressive showing was not merely part of a general protest vote. In fact, there was less overlap among the votes cast for the left parties than one might have expected. Thus in many election districts Stamberg did well where the SWP/CP did not. In one Chelsea district, for instance, the Spartacist Party got 20 votes, the CP 8 and the SWP 2. Yet we campaigned hard in the ILGWU cooperatives and did not get many votes, whereas the CP rolled up most of its vote for the entire assembly district in these few blocks.

We ran an intensive campaign. Unlike the reformists whose primary purpose is to achieve credentials as a respectable "socialist alternative" electoral party, we run to make communist propaganda. So we ran for an office that did not require us to spend too much time collecting petition signatures. Instead, we revived the soap-box street corner rally, handed out thousands of pages of literature, pasted up posters on lamp posts and subway stations, gave interviews to local newspapers. From the first public act of the campaign—supporting the striking pressmen on their picket lines—we wanted the residents of the 64th Assembly District to know that here was a revolutionary socialist campaign going on.

We wanted to make people sit up and take notice. We wanted to show them that the program of socialist revolution bears no resemblance to rotten liberalism or to the reformism of the second-hand Democrats of the CP and SWP. In liberal Greenwich Village, we ran against all that liberals hold dear. Sometimes it must have seemed to them that we had a four-point program: for the dreaded Westway, against gun control, for the defense of the Soviet Union, down with Carter's "human rights" crusade. We attacked the liberals' most cherished illusions in the capitalist state, to which they look to "protect" black schoolchildren and "democratize" the unions. In the heart of the gay ghetto at Sheridan Square, we attacked not only the Democrats' assault on gays' democratic rights but also the dangerous illusions of "gay power."

We wanted to be visible and controversial. And we attracted a lot of attention. In *Gaysweek*, one of the most widely circulated gay newspapers in the city, a favorable article concentrated on the Spartacist League's program to fight the oppression of homosexuals and women. Even the punk culture vultures of the *Soho News* felt obliged to attack Stamberg's communist campaign with personal insult and "camp" McCarthyism.

Our biggest publicity "coup" was a sympathetic notice by *Village Voice* columnist Joe Conason (6 November). Explaining Stamberg was "campaigning simply to raise the consciousness of voters against the capitalist system," he presented excerpts from the Spartacist Party program:

> "Her program puts forward little-mentioned solutions to the city's difficulties, some of which have a distinct appeal: expropriation of the banks, Con Edison, and New York Telephone (where Stamberg worked); restoration of free admission to the city university system; and the abolition of the Emergency Financial Control Board."

Of course, he singled out for criticism Stamberg's opposition to "petty-bourgeois" ecology faddism.

At the election night celebration, Stamberg noted it was the enormous effort of the New York Spartacist League that "put us on the map in this city." The election campaign was "not so much more than we usually do, but much more visible."

The Truth Doesn't Hurt

The campaign confirmed much of what we knew was true about political life in America, reminded us of some things we hadn't thought much about for a while, and taught us some things.

Our anti-electoralist bias nearly pushed us into some mistakes early on. As Stamberg said after the election: "For us it seemed right for everyone to go out and vote for the central committee of his choice." In the process we almost forgot to publicize our candidate. Finally we realized we had to strike a balance between our program and the candidate who carried it.

It is axiomatic in American bourgeois election campaigns that politicians lie. In fact, in common parlance the words "campaign promises" are understood to mean "cynical lie." And the reformists play the same game; they just lie about different things: that the bourgeois government can be "pressured" into fighting for working people, that whatever is popular is right.

Just how powerful the truth can be was demonstrated in a central campaign debate when the Spartacist League confronted the CP and SWP (see "Race War or Class War," *WV* No. 218, 3 November). While the SWP lied to cover for the black Democratic pork-barrelers in Crown Heights, Brooklyn, we told the truth about what happened—that a protest which should have been mounted against killer-cop brutality marched instead on a synagogue.

During the campaign, we were struck by the depth of electoralist illusions among the American public. (In fact, many people take voting so seriously that they gave our candidate a hearing that we might not otherwise get.) It is a testament to American backwardness that so many workers are deceived by the electoral process, an exercise in illusion-mongering controlled by the ruling class (and junked when capitalist expediency requires). And we were disgusted by the extent to which the reformists add to these deadly illusions.

With strikingly similar programs and aims, the CP and SWP ran quite similar campaigns. During one televised round-table of minor candidates, the moderator asked the CP's Jarvis Tyner and the SWP's Dianne Feeley "what the differences are between the SWP and the CP." There were no takers. Finally Tyner told the moderator that if he listened "carefully" he could "detect" a difference between the parties' programs, adding quickly that of course they shared "the same general approach." Evidently the SWP isn't too embarrassed by its overt kinship with a party it still formally characterizes as reformist. On another TV appearance, Feeley said the SWP liked "some [!] of Trotsky's ideas"!

Marjorie Stamberg did not win the election. But the Spartacist election campaign was a bolshevik victory for those who believe in Trotsky's ideas and fight for his program of international proletarian revolution. ■

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Castro...

(continued from page 7)

minister Forbes Burnham. This is the same man who in 1964 ousted former Castro crony Cheddi Jagan from power with the aid of the CIA!

Most treacherous of all was the Cuban leader's political support to Salvador Allende's Popular Unity (UP) government in Chile. USec leaders lavished praise on Castro for his 1967 denunciation of the Venezuelan CP's support for a "peaceful road" to revolution; but when three years later the Chilean popular front came to office through elections, the historical protagonist of guerrilla war had nothing but praise for Allende's UP. In fact, when Castro visited Chile in November 1971 he said in a speech to the trade-union federation: "...there was never any contradiction between the concepts of the Cuban Revolution and the paths followed by the left movement and the workers' parties in Chile" (*Fidel in Chile* [1972]). Castro reportedly voiced "confidential" criticisms to Allende about the lack of mass mobilization, but the popular front government publicly hailed by the Cuban leader meanwhile was politically disarming the workers by preaching faith in the "constitutionalist" military and "democratic" bourgeoisie. The price of this treachery: more than 30,000 dead, 500,000 exiled, a revolutionary opportunity smashed.

Cuba in Africa

In a manner similar to China during the period before Nixon's 1971 foreign policy shift, the rulers of the Cuban deformed workers state have followed a somewhat more aggressive foreign policy line than their Kremlin mentors, without however ceasing to base themselves on the narrow nationalist considerations of a Stalinist bureaucracy. "Reformism under the gun," we called it in the case of the Maoists. And when an opportunity presented itself to regain an aura of revolutionary militancy while doing a favor for Brezhnev, Castro & Co. leaped at the chance. The opening was the battle over Angola which followed the end of Portuguese colonial rule in late 1975.

It is Cuba's new role in Africa that has elicited panegyrics from all the tired radicals of yesteryear, now respectable but still yearning for a good cause. As Washington debates whether Castro is merely a pawn of the Russians, the pseudo-Marxists follow suit. Author Garcia Márquez, who when he ventures into politics is a sycophantic adulator of Fidel, has published a lengthy interview with his *comandante supremo* in which he describes how Cuba independently decided to aid the Angolan MPLA against the South African/CIA assault. Hansen also concludes that "the Castro regime exercised a certain initiative in bringing Cuban influence to bear...." Perhaps it did, although it obviously could not have acted without Soviet agreement (all the weaponry and most of the transport supporting Cuban troops in Angola and Ethiopia are Russian).

To buttress his thesis that Cuba is a non-bureaucratized workers state with a revolutionary leadership (albeit rather dull-witted—after all, Castro has been an "unconscious Trotskyist" for well-nigh 20 years now according to the USec), Hansen tries to argue that Castro's policy is to "extend the revolution internationally, thus cutting across the Stalinist policy of 'peaceful coexistence' with the imperialist powers...." Here he has clearly struck out, for the Cubans insistently maintain that their policies in Africa are in consonance with détente. Indeed, at the first (!) congress of the Communist Party of Cuba in December 1975, while the fighting in Angola was proceeding at full tilt and thousands of Cuban troops were aboard troop carriers in mid-Atlantic, the Castro leadership formally adopted détente as official party policy.

Why is the SWP so eager to rush to the support of Cuba's African ventures? Most likely for a variety of reasons. One is indicated by Hansen's curious remark: "A new aspect of this involvement is its legality.... In responding to the appeal [of the MPLA], the Cubans acted in accordance with international law." Contrary to Hansen's remark quoted earlier, there was a significant sector of the U.S. bourgeoisie which saw Castro as a *stabilizing* influence in Africa. Unwilling to tie American fortunes to the doomed Rhodesian regime and hated South Africa, they saw Cuban troops as preventing a bloody, inconclusive civil war in Angola and restraining the unpredictable demagogue Mengistu in Ethiopia. Thus U.S. ambassador to the United Nations Andrew Young noted on a television interview that "there's a sense in which the Cubans bring a certain stability and order to Angola" (*New York Times*, 3 February 1977). Hansen is remembering the days when the SWP made a political bloc with the defeatist wing of the Democratic Party over Vietnam.

Another reason is certainly to cover up its own infamous neutrality during the heat of the 1975-76 South African invasion. At that time the SWP refused to take sides between the Soviet/Cuban-backed MPLA and the CIA-financed FNLA or South African-aided UNITA. In a National Committee report in the 23 January 1976 *Militant* (the South African invasion was launched in late October 1975), SWP spokesman Tony Thomas speculated:

> "If the imperialist intervention increases, as seems quite likely, we may decide to favor the victory of one or another of the groups on tactical grounds, but of course without giving it any political support."

In point of fact, the SWP never got around to adjusting its line while the fighting was going on, causing it some notoriety within the United Secretariat.

Hansen's former Latin American bloc partners (in the decade-long factional struggle in the USec), led by chameleon-like Nahuel Moreno, taxed the SWP for not giving military support to the MPLA at this crucial moment and for later twisting the facts to hide its position. The SWP even went so far as to republish a "finally edited" version of Thomas' NC report (in the book *Angola: The Hidden History of Washington's War* [1976]) which dropped the apologies for the FNLA and UNITA while adding post factum their revised line that imperialist invasion could/did change the character of the war. Having accomplished this sleight-of-hand they then published a dishonest internal document (Doug Jenness and Tony Thomas, "The SWP's Policy in Relation to Angola: 'Historic Error' or a Record to Be Proud Of?" SWP *Discussion Bulletin*, July 1977) claiming to be incensed at the Morenoites' accusation.

More recently the SWP has run into flak from the Mandel ex-majority (now formally dissolved, but still with its own international publication), which after being slightly camouflaged Castroites for eight years suddenly comes up with orthodox-sounding "Trotskyist" criticisms of Cuban foreign policy in Africa. The same issue of *Inprecor* (21 September 1978) which publishes a translation of Hansen's introduction also contains a counter-article by Mandelite Africa "expert" Claude Gabriel on "The Role of Cuba in Africa." After excoriating Cuba for the brutal repression of leftists by its allies in Angola and Ethiopia—something Hansen mentions only by-the-by—he notes:

> "It would thus be wrong to mechanically conclude from the existence of conflicts between Cuba and imperialism in Africa that the Castroite leadership is outside the framework of peaceful coexistence."

Both of these attacks on Hansen are essentially after-the-fact rationalizations. The Morenoites are quite experienced at cover-up and distortion themselves (having stonewalled it for several years over their scandalous political support to the Peronist government of Argentina in 1974-75) and simply want a factional club to beat the SWP. The more extreme Mandelites, on the other hand, have a case of sour grapes after getting burned in their guerrillaist fling.

Unlike the SWP—whose reformist capitulation before the imperialist liberals led it to adopt a pro-FNLA/UNITA "neutrality" during the 1975-76 imperialist power grab in Angola; and unlike the Mandel wing of the USec, which supported the MPLA in the nationalist feuding *before* the South African invasion changed the character of the civil war, the Spartacist tendency has maintained a principled policy of proletarian political independence from all the rival nationalists while calling for military victory to the Soviet/Cuban-backed MPLA against the imperialist drive (see "Smash Imperialist Power Play in Angola!" *WV* No. 85, 14 November 1975).

Hansen & Co. are forced to systematically distort Cuban policies—and even surreptitiously rewrite their own—because they long ago abandoned their formal Trotskyist program in favor of tailing after "Third World" Stalinism and later their "own" bourgeoisie. The Spartacist tendency has been *unique* in holding that the Cuban workers state was qualitatively bureaucratically deformed from its inception. Although a hardened bureaucratic caste had not been congealed at first, the predominance of a bonapartist leadership in the absence of soviet forms of workers democracy was *decisive*—as we wrote more than 15 years ago (see "Toward Rebirth of the Fourth International" [July 1963], in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9)—in determining the Stalinist character of the Castro regime.

While calling for militant defense of the Cuban revolution against imperialist attack, we pointed out that the hardening bureaucracy was programmatically incapable of leading the imperialist struggle which was its only hope of victory in the long run; it would have to be replaced through a proletarian political revolution. As Castro has become increasingly obviously enmeshed in the Kremlin's global maneuvers, abandoning its guerrilla supporters, lauding "anti-imperialist" generals and the like, it is our Marxist analysis that is confirmed over and over. Hansen's attempt to invent a mythical revolutionary role for Castro, whose African policies are simply part of a broader Soviet effort to gain a little elbow room within the framework of détente, is factually inaccurate, theoretically bankrupt and politically liquidationist.

And it doesn't explain Cuban policy in Africa or anywhere else. ■

NYC Press Covers Trotskyist Candidate

SWP Bows to Holy Man Khomeini

The Iranian masses have taken to the streets in opposition to the terror of the blood-drenched Pahlavi monarchy. The shah's absolutist regime, facing an enraged population, is now reduced to its two essential bases of support, the army and American imperialism. But rather than a plebeian mobilization threatening to deal the death blow to the shah's white terror, or even a bourgeois-led "democratic" movement, the current opposition is an amorphous movement led by the organized Islamic clergy.

The religious leaders' control over mass demonstrations has forced fake-leftists around the world to adopt all sorts of political contortions. For Stalinists, well experienced at dressing up everyone from Chiang Kai-shek to Nasser to even Idi Amin, portraying the revered leader of the opposition, the exiled Ayatollah Khomeini, as a "progressive" is second nature. But swallowing this line has apparently posed some problems for the ex-Trotskyists of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

The SWP has long paraded about as the most consistent tailists of the feminist movement on the American left. They also publish the works of Leon Trotsky. So when the SWP was faced with a mass-based opposition to the shah which at times stoned women for not wearing the symbol of medieval oppression, the veil, even these veteran cynics have had to go through some gyrations to claim that black is white, that the *ulema*'s Muslim fundamentalism is really "a step forward." But they have made the effort, nonetheless, for the mullahs have indeed achieved the SWP's one criterion for support: "mass action in the streets."

The obscene spectacle of an ostensibly Trotskyist organization (not to mention anyone claiming to be socialist, democratic or even secular) supporting a drive for a Muslim theocracy drew a critical letter from an ex-member, Marvin Garson, and a long response by SWPer David Frankel in the *Militant* of 3 November. The writer of the letter observed that the Muslim leaders' opposition to the shah was based on a hatred of alcohol, movies, women's rights and other "pornographic" aspects of Western culture and that the mullahs demand control over any parliamentary body in short that this was a *reactionary* mobilization. The letter further noted that "I saw nothing in your coverage, no facts that is, to counter that impression, especially on the crucial point of emancipation of women, which the revolt seemed to oppose."

Frankel's response is filled with the predictably opportunist talk of mass struggles irreversibly set into motion, of ever unfolding revolutionary "dynamics" and "processes," and so on. He tries to claim that the religious leaders don't determine the political thrust of the anti-shah movement, don't control this movement, are irrelevant to the future course of the struggle and in any case were "progressive" in the early stages of the movement. Anyhow, says Frankel, it's all been blown up by the bourgeois press anyway! Garson, however, had already homed in on the SWP's cynical tailism in his description of the *Militant*'s journalism: "So much on the *extent* of the fighting in Iran, and so little on the *character* of it" (emphasis in original).

The Ostrich Peers About

In order to portray the mullah-led movement as a democratic one, the SWP suppresses the Muslim preachers' unashamedly reactionary slogans. One would never know from the *Militant* that the followers of exiled Ayatollah Khomeini shouted for "Death or the Veil" in the streets of Tabriz; that the religious center of Qom is a city completely bereft of movies, non-religious literature, bars or women without the traditional *chador* (veil or cloak); that Khomeini is a staunch anti-communist who adamantly refuses any collaboration with the left; that the protesters' choice of targets is motivated by the "anti-imperialism" of the Koran: "usurious" banks, "immodest" movies, etc.

Amazingly, Frankel's article does not mention Khomeini's name *once*. Given Khomeini's role as the head of the religious opposition and his portrait which adorns virtually every demonstration, this ostrich-like posture is untenable. So in a subsequent *Militant* (17 November) we find the following brazen statement among its usual turgid rewrites of the bourgeois press:

> "It is true that Khomeyni has gained wide respect. He is the only prominent opposition leader who has not retreated in fear at the development of the mass movement and who has refused any suggestion of compromise with the shah. .
>
> "Although Khomeyni subscribes to a religious ideology, the basis of his appeal is not religious reaction. On the contrary, he has won broad support among the Iranian masses because his firm opposition to the shah's 'modernization' is progressive."

Muslim women protest the shah in traditional veil, carrying the portrait of Khomeini whom the SWP labels "progressive."

-IPA

How, one might ask, does the SWP come to determine that a religious leader claiming the time of the prophet (seventh century A.D.) as his sole point of reference is "progressive"? Simple. According to a speaker from the SWP's Iranian student front group at a November 10 New York City forum the proof is that Khomeini is "popular." As if Hitler's railings against foreign domination of Germany and hatred of Jews were not "popular," or the slaughter of Indonesian Communists and working-class militants in 1965 in the name of Islam. And what could be more "popular" in a Muslim country than an old-fashioned *jihad* against opponents of the Koran?

Frankel's head-in-the-sand defense of an Islamic-led movement is matched by the SWP's obviously embarrassed position on the question of women's rights. Only a year ago the SWP's co-thinkers in the Iranian Sattar League gave a central role *28 paragraphs* in their programmatic document to a long exposition on the women's movement in Iran. In a country still under the sway of medieval obscurantism they threw in every plank of the National Organization for Women's program down to 24-hour day care. Wrote the Sattar League: "Religious superstition and all the backward hierarchical social relationships will be challenged by the growth of the women's movement" (quoted in *SWP International Information Bulletin*, July 1977). But that was before Khomeini.

Now the SWP is confronted with a "women's movement" which serves as the auxiliary of a movement based on this very same "religious superstition" and social backwardness. And furthermore it is "popular." The SWP is forced to root through their news reports in an attempt to prove that unveiled women are the norm at anti-shah demonstrations. But unfortunately for this journalistic flim-flam, a leading member of the Sattar League is now enthusing that, "Women, organized in separate contingents and covered with their *chadors* [veils], led the fraternization with the army troops in Tehran..." (*Intercontinental Press*, 20 November)! Not only do veiled women recurrently appear in the mullah-led protests, but the religious opposition is re-imposing the wearing of the *chador* as a symbol of devotion to Khomeini.

In order to gloss over the reactionary/clerical character of the Khomeini-led religious opposition, the SWP tries to pass off the current strike wave as a mere part of the "movement" against the shah. Now in fact, prior to the last month the working class was not at all active in the demonstrations as a driving force. Instead it was the shopkeepers, merchants and half-peasant seasonal laborers who rallied to Khomeini's banner. When the workers' strike wave mushroomed, these petty-bourgeois elements demonstrated their hatred of the proletariat by *re-opening* the Teheran bazaar which had been shut down as part of a religious-led protest. While genuine Marxists seek to break the proletariat from the reactionary mullahs, the SWP seeks to tie them to Khomeini.

Where Reformism Leads

For years the SWP distinguished itself by its pacifist, civil-libertarian approach to the Iranian class struggle. Despite the shah's savage suppression of strikes, gunning down of leftist guerrillas and arrest and torture of student militants, the SWP's pet creation was a Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI)—a committee which hailed Iranian leftist opponents into U.S. courts to face deportation and which dismissed defense of the royal murderer's leftist opponents as subordinate to the question of what poetry was considered printable in Iran.

These sniveling social democrats even had the temerity to publicly polemicize against the call to smash the shah's blood-drenched dictatorship as being mere "wishful thinking" (see "'Down With the Shah'—SWP Says No," *WV* No. 191, 3 February 1978). And the SWP's studied refusal to raise any slogan demanding the overthrow of the shah hit paydirt when Ramsey Clark, formerly the U.S. bourgeoisie's top cop, became a prominent backer of CAIFI.

Today in Iran, however, the sacking of banks, offices, movie theaters, etc., and the calls of "Death to the shah!" are the handiwork of a bourgeois opposition which tries to pass itself off in the "respectable" trappings of "democracy." So now the pages of the *Militant* are supersaturated with uncritical enthusiasm for these Muslim-led protests. If a fundamentalist-religious opposition is willing to champion the 1906-07 Constitution for its guarantees of mullah veto power over all civil legislation, then the SWP is willing to praise these new-found "democrats" to the skies.

For several years now the SWP has been mucking around in the Iranian student movement in the U.S. trying to pass off liberal civil libertarianism as Trotskyism. Now that the question of state power is sharply posed, the Stalinist frenzy rises to a fever pitch against all those who fail to praise the currently popular theocrat. Hence the orchestrated campaign of Maoist-Muslim demonstrations against our forums throughout the U.S. And what does the SWP do? Like the rest of the reformists they bow to Khomeini.

For Trotskyists the intervention into the political arena of a massive proletarian strike movement spearheaded by the oil workers has the potential to break through the showdown between the shah and the clergy and open the road to a workers and peasants government in Iran. It is the Iranian proletariat, the most powerful in the region, which has the capacity to smash the shah's reign of terror and lift Iran from the centuries-long legacy of backwardness, poverty and obscurantism. ■

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Iran...

(continued from page 1)

occupied newspaper offices and radio and television facilities.

The shah tried to make the policy of the mailed fist more credible by announcing yet another purge of his underlings. A number of government and business figures including former premier Amir Abbas Hoveida were arrested on charges of corruption. The shah even rounded up more than a dozen officials of the dreaded SAVAK, his sadistic secret police, and former SAVAK head Nematollah Nassiri for "abuses."

While hoping that sheer military force on the streets of Iran would contain the protests, the shah began casting about for partners in a coalition government. The bourgeois liberals of the National Front were the natural choice, particularly since the current crisis would allow them increased leverage in wheeling and dealing with the shah. The establishment of a coalition government featuring a tame house opposition would permit an unbridled military crackdown on leftists and strikers.

The National Front, however, realized that hegemony over the crowds in the streets, the means by which to pressure the shah, is in the hands of Khomeini. So these bourgeois liberals have instead abased themselves before this "messenger of Muhammed." National Front leader Karim Sanjabi told *Le Monde* (1 November) that his "democratic, national and socialist government" is really the same thing as Khomeini's "Islamic government."

Unlike the National Front, Khomeini adamantly refuses all negotiation with the shah. Sanjabi thus shuttled back and forth between visits to Khomeini, exiled in France, and discussions with the shah's emissaries. In the end he yielded to the ayatollah's pressure and announced, "we will continue the struggle" and refused to enter a coalition with the shah. On November 11 he reaped the consequences of this decision when he and his aides were arrested in Teheran.

Oil Strike Shock Waves

Up until now the Pahlavi dictatorship has been able to weather the storm of protests led by Khomeini and the other Muslim fundamentalist leaders, despite their increasing size and intensity. But the current oil workers' strike threatens to cripple the Iranian economy and eat away the royal treasury.

Because of its strategic position at the lifeline of Iran's economy, the oil strike is the most dramatic expression of a strike wave whose demands have escalated from simple wage claims to assaults on the regime's barbaric tools of oppression. The month-old strike of government employees is still in full force. Employees at the Ministry of Finance parade through its halls chanting "Death to the Shah!" Some half a million teachers continue their two-month-long strike, demanding an end to martial law, freedom for the prisoners in the shah's dungeons, their own independent teachers union and the end of state censorship and SAVAK interference in the schools.

On October 28 the telecommunication workers struck demanding a union, the release of political prisoners and the investigation of the corruption and secret deals with American firms made by the industry. The employees of Iran Air raised similar political demands in their November 1 strike. Late October also saw strikes by railway and longshore workers, iron miners at Yazd and 150,000 textile workers.

One account vividly illustrates the strength of the workers' upsurge:

> "Many factories, while technically open, reportedly have become little more than meeting places for the disgruntled workers to hold political meetings and discuss new demands.
> "Some of the demands that have been accepted are extraordinary: paid meals, paid transportation to work, rehiring of employees fired during the last 15 years no matter what the cause, pay for travel time to work, and dismissal of some supervisors."
> —*Washington Post*, 4 November 1978.

But it is above all the oil workers who threaten the shah. On October 31 they staged a sitdown strike at the world's largest integrated refinery complex at Abadan. Soon the strike spread from the oil wells of Iran's southwestern province of Khuzistan to the petrochemical complexes of Bandar Shahpur and Bid Boland and refineries in Tabriz and Shiraz. The strikers vowed to produce enough oil for Iran's domestic needs, but even the distribution of this limited amount was hindered by a strike of loading and delivery workers.

Khuzistan was put under military governorship and troops attacked a strike meeting at the Abadan refinery. The oil fields were occupied by the army, and soldiers have even been sent in as scabs, although their lack of technical training makes them of little use.

No to Islamic Reaction!

Khomeini remains the undisputed leader of the opposition. One illustration of the extent of his authority is the printing of paper money bearing his portrait rather than the shah's. He is the idol of the petty shopkeepers of the bazaar. One *New York Times* account (13 November) quoted a hardware store owner as saying, "Khomeini said we won't work—we don't work. If he says we go back, we go back."

On the streets of Iran's cities, thousands of Muslim students are shock troops, expressing the movement's program of Islamic fundamentalism by attacking liquor stores, movie theaters and night clubs. These were again the targets (including a Pepsi Cola plant) in the recent Teheran revolt—once again providing stark evidence that their "anti-imperialism" is nothing more than an obscurantist hatred for Western culture and modernization.

Triunfo

Philippe Ledru/Sygma

Above, Ayatollah Khomeini prays with followers in exile in France. Below, striking refinery workers in Abadan.

Khomeini and the mullahs do have support from the unemployed, the textile workers and construction laborers, who are fresh from the countryside. Other sections of the proletariat are quite distant from this brand of Muslim fanaticism. The air line strikers, for example, steadfastly refused to fly some 20,000 pilgrims to Mecca. (The shah intervened to offer the pilgrims transport in air force planes in an attempt to refurbish his religious credentials.)

The workers' strikes were the first upsurge independent of the essentially petty-bourgeois Muslims in the anti-shah movement. In the last few months reports indicate that with the release of a number of leftist prisoners and the reopening of the universities the Iranian left has become a more vocal and organized presence.

However, the leftist students and striking workers seem united to the bourgeois liberals and Muslim clergy by a common "democratic" program directed against the shah: the end of martial law, freeing of political prisoners and replacement of the monarchy by a parliamentary regime. The Iranian Stalinists, furthermore, seek to cement this into the outright subordination of the proletariat in an "anti-imperialist" bloc. Many go to the extent of proclaiming the "revolutionary heritage" of Shi'ite Islam.

This is a recipe for a disastrous defeat for the Iranian proletariat. There is no common denominator between the demands of the mullahs and those of the strikers. The Muslims call for an *Islamic* republic. They support the Constitution of 1906 and particularly the added 1907 clause which explicitly guarantees clerical veto power over all legislation. The mullahs' opposition to the shah is a reactionary one, no matter how it plays on the crimes of the shah's dictatorship. The fanatical hatred of social advances since the time of the prophet Muhammed (the seventh century A.D.!) has its parallels in the military-based regimes of Pakistan or Libya and in the region-wide revival of religious obscurantism and its vicious oppression of women.

Parliamentary democracy is hardly the vehicle for this program of social reaction. One observer aptly summarized the real meaning of Khomeini's "Islamic social order": "a military adventure of the 'Pakistani' type, which under the cover of a religious facade, will endeavour to satisfy the mullahs by conducting a double fight against corruption and for the defense of Islamic values" (*Le Monde*, 5 October). Behind Khomeini's repeated appeals to the army to overthrow the shah is the specter of the suppression of the left and working class by a junta of "soldiers of Islam."

An Iranian Trotskyist party must join in the struggle for bourgeois democratic demands. But this is *inseparable* from an irreconcilable opposition to the mullahs' reactionary drive. The struggle for a sovereign, secular constituent assembly, land to the tiller, women's rights, smashing SAVAK and the monarchy and the right of self determination for Iran's oppressed nationalities are impossible without the independent mobilization of the working class.

This also requires a sharp political struggle against all those who seek to tie the working class to an "anti-imperialist united front," the "national bourgeoisie," etc. Only the intervention of an Iranian Trotskyist vanguard party can push the strike movement beyond its current demands and win the proletariat to a program for power: the revolutionary struggle for an Iranian workers and peasants government. ■

In a despicable act of political thuggery, a Young Socialist Alliance (YSA—youth group of the Socialist Workers Party) member assaulted a campus spokesman for the Spartacus Youth League at the University of Chicago today (November 14). Confronted over the SWP/YSA's capitulation to the political influence of the mullahs in Iran and the SWP/YSA's abandonment of its posture as best defenders of women's rights, the YSAer launched an unprovoked physical attack upon our comrade and had to be restrained by passers-by. This cowardly act is a disgusting affront to the principles of workers democracy. In adapting to the political outlook of the fervently anti-communist Islamic opposition in Iran, perhaps the SWP/YSA are now finding a kinship with their political methods as well!

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WORKERS VANGUARD

3.2 Percent Vote Spartacist in NYC Election

The Stamberg Campaign: A Bolshevik Success

NEW YORK CITY, November 14—When the Spartacist League undertook to run a bolshevik election campaign in New York in 1978, we were not expecting to get a lot of votes. The New Left/liberal heyday of the 1960's is long gone; even the Great Fiscal Crisis is already old news. So we took as the theme of our campaign nothing more "topical" than socialist revolution: "the sheer enormity of this city's problems leads inescapably to one conclusion *it will take a socialist revolution to save New York*."

Eschewing reformist "tax the rich" gimmicks, we squarely addressed the issues on everyone's mind and posed the perspective of a struggle led by the labor movement. Flying in the face of the predominant liberal crusades (like "ecological" opposition to a West Side expressway), we put forward solutions that made sense. We took the revolution as our issue and ran with it for two months—a visible, contentious, aggressively socialist campaign. Though we always said the future will be decided not at the polls but on the battle lines of the class struggle, nevertheless we were frankly gratified to find we made a lot of sense to a lot of the voters of the 64th Assembly District.

Stamberg campaign revived the soap-box, street corner rally. WV Photo

On election night, Spartacist Party "poll watchers" brought the news from 94 of the 96 election districts in the 64th Assembly District to an election night celebration of campaign supporters. The crowd, many of whom had spent part of the day meeting voters on their way to the polls with "palm cards" urging them to vote "For a Socialist Fight to Save New York," cheered the news that Stamberg had received 871 votes, more than 3.2 percent (see Spartacist Party Campaign Committee press release, reprinted in this issue). Having aimed our campaign not only against the capitalists and their Democratic Party but also against the reformism of the Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP)—denouncing their electoralism, their appeals to shift the "priorities" of capitalism—we were pleased to have outpolled the "twin parties" of reformism, whose gubernatorial candidates took an unsurprising 1.6 percent each in the 64th Assembly District.

In general, left candidates usually poll about one and a half percent or less. In this somewhat more radical district, which includes parts of Greenwich Village and Chelsea, the figures are often somewhat higher. In 1976 a *Daily World* staff writer, Amadeo Richardson, ran for the same office as Stamberg

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Spartacist Party Campaign Committee Press Release

NEW YORK CITY, November 10—The Spartacist Party announces that its candidate for NY State Assembly in the 64th A.D. (Greenwich Village-Chelsea), MARJORIE STAMBERG, received 871 votes in Tuesday's election (with returns in from 94 of the 96 Election Districts), amounting to over 3.2 percent of the total vote cast for Assembly in the district. In several Election Districts on the Lower East Side and in the West Village Stamberg tallied as much as 10 percent of the vote. This was a substantial showing for the revolutionary socialist candidate who ran against incumbent liberal Democrat William Passannante.

Stamberg's vote was actually higher than *two-thirds* of the Liberal Party assembly candidates in NYC where they ran as a third party instead of simply endorsing the Democrats, and exceeded the totals of ten Republican candidates as well. Yet the *New York Times* and other media which publish the vote totals of even the minor capitalist parties (including "Right-to-Life" candidates) uniformly fail to report the election results of the parties of the radical left. In the 64th A.D. the gubernatorial candidates of the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party received 457 and 459 votes respectively, or 1.6 percent of the total votes cast for governor in the district.

The Stamberg campaign received widespread press coverage in the *Village Voice*, *Gayweek*, *Soho Weekly News*, *Black American*, *Villager*, *Gay Community News*, *Columbia Spectator* and *Washington Square News*. Attention focused on the fact that Stamberg's campaign FOR A SOCIALIST FIGHT TO SAVE NEW YORK posed revolutionary solutions as the only answer to the city's problems. Spartacist Party campaign literature called upon the "powerful NYC labor movement to lead a united struggle on behalf of all the oppressed. Break with the Democrats, dump the union bureaucrats who helped the banks loot the city, and build a mass workers party which would fight for a workers government." *Village Voice* columnist Joe Conason wrote that he was disappointed because Passannante had refused to debate Stamberg; he would have liked "to watch a liberal Democrat answer the accusations of a tough Trotskyist."

The Spartacist Party campaign laid particular stress on the need for a working-class defense of democratic rights. Demonstrating for the passage of Intro 384, the NYC gay rights bill, Stamberg warned that the Democratic Party was leading an assault against democratic rights for homosexuals, as well as against women, blacks and other minorities. Two days after the election, the Democratic-dominated City Council voted down Intro 384. Against the background of the rising cycle of communal violence in Crown Heights, Stamberg called for an end to vigilante terror on both sides, blaming the pork-barrel Democratic politicians for sidetracking the felt outrage of blacks against killer cops into ethnic hatreds.

The Spartacist Party attracted attention in the district with its campaign against the parties of big business by reviving the old socialist tradition of street corner "soap box" rallies. This was not just one more "protest candidate." Stamberg rejected "reformist schemes of penny-ante municipal reform, tax the rich gimmicks and community control." She also spoke out against popular anti-Westway sentiment, pointing out that Manhattan needs adequate highway transportation *and* improved mass transit. Following the election, Stamberg explained the success of the Trotskyist campaign: "We offered the plain truth. If we rolled up twice the percentage of both our reformist political opponents, it may well be because a growing number of Americans are prepared to hear the revolutionary truth and are tired of the second-hand Democrats on the left."

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 220 1 December 1978

Joseph Stalin and Jim Jones

Cult Suicide in Guyana: Why?

Even the mass media's voracious appetite for the sensationally grotesque isolated event has been glutted by the Jonescult mass suicide in the jungles of Guyana. The bizarre die-in is delivered up in a mix of gory detail, pop psychology, titillating rumor and an utterly misguided search for "understanding" of cults in America. Unlike last year's crash of two jumbo 747 jets in the Canary Islands, this mass death was not an accident; nor was it simply tragic, but absurd and sick.

There was the counting of corpses. Corpses upon corpses; infants under their parents, sometimes three deep, rotting in the heat and humidity, decomposing hellishly in an atmosphere so putrid and forbidding that the original tally of the dead was underestimated by more than half as the body counters could not bring themselves to get close enough to the scene. It was reported first that 400 were dead and an approximately equal number had fled the mass suicide for the surrounding wilds. It was preferable to imagine the desperate families running into the jungle to face the poisonous insects and snakes, the crocodiles and piranhas, than to think of them accepting Kool-Aid and cyanide at the command of an insane cult leader. Then more bodies were found. Thus far, more than 900 bodies have been discovered in the open-air pavilion that was surrounded by armed guards. There were 250 children, and a few were found with their throats cut. It was mass suicide and mass murder on an unbelievable scale.

Then came the identification of the corpses. The hundreds of aluminum caskets flown to the graves registration center in Dover, Delaware, where the staff had been trained in the Vietnam war. Some may never be identified. But the collective identification was certain and striking: mostly black, but more integrated than nearly every neighborhood in the U.S.; disproportionately elderly or children; poor; Californian. Common images of American life were suddenly recast as theater of the grotesque—the clothes, the style, and they even did it with Kool-Aid. Saturday morning children's TV ads mixed with the image of the "people's doctor" and the "people's nurse" squirting death down the children's throats. The Madison Avenue image-makers for the General Foods conglomerate cannot purchase enough time and space to erase the horrible associations of that tin tub of Kool-Aid death at Jonestown.

Robinson/S.F. Examiner

Jim Jones: promised new life, delivered death.

Making Sense of the Senseless

In America it is the psychology of the cop, not the soldier, which is pervasive. Cops kill other people; soldiers put their own lives at risk. When the U.S. troops in Vietnam discovered they weren't going to be just dishing it out, but might actually get hurt, they fell apart. This characteristic contemporary American imperialist pig mentality contributed to the initial hesitancy about believing the Jonestown adherents had actually killed themselves.

The People's Temple mass suicide was a sick perversion of something the smug media pundits don't even understand. The American Indians understood it when they said, "Today is a good day to die." The "un-American" spirit of willingness to sacrifice oneself for what one believes is a noble impulse, but in this case perverted in the service of the ego of a Jim Jones. But the Jones follower who wrote in her suicide note, "I am more than tired of this wretched, merciless planet and the hell it holds for so many masses of beautiful people," added the real measure of dignity to a bizarre event.

Recoiling from the fact of mass suicide, the columnists and broadcasters have featured interviews with psychiatrists. Purported historical parallels and precedents have been uncovered, along with the banal details of the life of Jim Jones, speculation about motives, the sociology of cultism and the obligatory quotes from Durkheim on suicide and Robert Lifton on "brainwashing." But the historical parallels offered are false and the quotes irrelevant.

The *New York Times*, for instance, has presented the mass suicide at Masada as historical precedent, along with kamikaze pilots in World War II.

Johnston/Washington Post

Kool-Aid and cyanide.

But the 964 Jews of Masada who chose suicide in 79 A.D. rather than face torture and death at the hands of the victorious Romans are hardly comparable. Nor is a warrior cult trained to die in battle a basis for comparison with the Jonescult suicides.

Similarly the sociologists are busy trying to place the Jonescult on a continuum of cults that runs back to ancient times and across cultures, from the cargo cults of Melanesia to the Amish fundamentalist communitarians of Pennsylvania. All irrelevant. One particularly inane *New York Times* (26 November) article explains how the religious are wonderfully American: "The idea of going off into the wilderness to start a new way of life is a thoroughly American tradition ... the United States was, after all, founded by minority religious groups seeking freedom from persecution." Actually, from Wounded Knee to Vietnam, genocide—the mass murder of others—is more of an American tradition than mass suicide.

Of course there is a long history of millenarian religion. In the Judeo-Christian apocalyptic tradition it is not unusual for religious, political and economic motives to be interwoven in a visionary fabric of the total transformation of the world. The appeal of messianism to the oppressed is well known. Minority religious movements often go to extremes to mobilize the emotions and win new adherents. The annals of social psychiatry are filled with cases of "epidemic" dance frenzies, of medieval mass dances lasting sometimes for weeks. In the early period of the Reformation it was not so unusual

continued on page 4

Send Butcher Loan Back to Saigon!

The United States Immigration and Naturalization Service recently discovered that former South Vietnamese general Nguyen Ngoc Loan committed a war crime and should have his U.S. permanent residence status rescinded. The U.S. public will remember Loan as the Saigon police chief who ten years ago shocked millions of television viewers as they watched him execute in cold blood a "suspected Viet Cong sympathizer." Having killed this professional anti-communist killer out of Vietnam in 1975 and started him on a "new life" as a restaurateur in a suburb of Washington, D.C., the oh-so-moral U.S. government now finds it expedient to slap his hand for "moral turpitude."

General Loan executes Vietcong suspect in 1968.

Adams/AP

Presumably deep in juridical research for some years now, the INS dredged up a law of the puppet Thieu government which Loan violated. Liberal guilt and the *New York Times* may be satisfied by this discovery, but the very existence of the Saigon regime was a heinous crime against the Vietnamese workers and peasants. Justice demands at a minimum that such murderers as Loan be shipped back to Indochina to face the victims of their barbarous acts. And they should be joined by their American counterparts and masters, from the small fry like William Calley to the Kissingers, Nixons, McNamaras and Westmorelands who masterminded the whole business.

But, the INS now says, Loan will not even be deported, for the South Vietnamese government whose "law" he violated no longer exists. At most the Immigration Service will take away his green card, letting him stay indefinitely in the country.

The bourgeoisie's purpose in granting asylum to such mercenary killers is coldly political. The Vietnamese "boat people"—among them numerous torturers, drug pushers and brothel keepers—tug the heartstrings of the U.S. government. Yet in 1973, when thousands of workers and leftists were butchered in Santiago stadium, the U.S. refused to admit even one persecuted Chilean. Why? As we wrote three years ago of Washington's Vietnamese friends:

> "From Bangkok to Paris to New York, wherever this fleeing pack of poisonous rats goes, they will become a center of the most dangerous and vicious anti-communist activity. Worse than the gusanos who left Cuba, 'our allies' will be used by the CIA for the dirtiest of tricks against communists, labor and blacks."
> —BT No. 68, 9 May 1975

Already these imperialist killers are hard at work propping up dictatorships from Nicaragua to Zaire. Others, like Loan, are biding their time until the CIA and the Pentagon can put them to use again. Hitler-lover Nguyen Cao Ky, for example, now owns a liquor store in California and made the news last year when he watched the Nixon/Frost interviews on TV with his neighbor, former peacenik Tom Hayden! While the U.S. continues to protect the Loans and Kys, honoring Kissinger as a statesman of peace and allowing Nixon to make millions from his memoirs, we demand: *No asylum for Indochinese war criminals! Send the mass murderers back to Saigon!* ■

Somoza: Let Them Eat Less!

The OAS committee set up to "mediate" the Nicaraguan political crisis had just delivered its findings to President Anastasio Somoza. The three-member group (U.S., Guatemala and the Dominican Republic) endorsed the call of the anti-Somoza Broad Opposition Front calling on the dictator to resign and for the formation of a "government of national union." Moreover, all members of his family should be removed from the National Guard and the whole lot of them should clear out of the country. Pronto.

That was October 25. The next day the chief stockholder of Somozalandia, Inc. called a press conference in his concrete-walled headquarters (known even among his cronies as "the bunker") inside an army post atop a hill overlooking the capital city of Managua. As the foreign correspondents crowded in, Somoza announced to the hushed gathering "part of a program of great importance for the future of the country."

What was this momentous announcement? "After the heart attack which I suffered in the summer of 1977...," he began. Perhaps he was going to resign on the spot, "for reasons of health." Was a plane waiting nearby to whisk him off to Miami or Spain's Marbella, graveyards for deposed East European royalty and tinpot Latin caudillos? Not exactly. He went on:

Meisetas/Magnum

Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza.

> "...I realized that I was not eating well. So I tried to find out how to live better and avoid the dietary deficiencies that lead to coronaries, to diabetes and obesity. And I found a person who had studied nutrition in the country whose inhabitants eat the most in all the world: the United States."

Good for him. But what about the important program? That's it!

> "I have contracted with Doctor John Leonard of the Institute of Health in Tucson to set up a program designed to fight against overnutrition in this country."

Overnutrition?! And right there to answer the dumbfounded journalists' questions was the water-thin Dr. Leonard himself. Was he aware that the incidence of *under*nutrition in Nicaragua was among the highest in the world? Certainly, for a document distributed at the beginning of the press conference pointed out that over half of all children under six years of age in the country are affected. Had he tested his program anywhere else before? No. Nicaragua was going to be the test case, since the problem was only beginning there!

Marie Antoinette, at least, would have been amused. But in poverty-stricken Nicaragua, the tens of thousands now homeless and penniless following brutal bombardment of the main cities by the hated National Guard won't see anything funny in Somoza's professed concern for their nutritional standards. The obscene ravings of this petty tyrant, gorged on the blood of the thousands massacred by his praetorian guard, seem to prove the old adage that "those whom the gods wish to destroy, they first drive mad." In any case, the workers and peasants of this Central American fieldom can permanently solve Somoza's own overeating problem by rising up and throwing off the chains of capitalist-imperialist exploitation which he embodies. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 220 **1 December 1978**

Letter

SWP on Iran

Latham, N.Y.
Nov. 6, 1978

Spartacist League

Dear Comrades,

On the day before the elections, I wish you the best and regret that I can not vote for your candidate, Marjorie Stamberg. Perhaps, though, the small contribution that I enclose can assist you in your work...

Being isolated as I am here in Albany, your newspaper is the only correct perspective on what is happening in the world. I regret you had to curtail publication, but I understand the need and hope that in some way I may be able to help. As more things occur on the political scene, it becomes harder to keep track. And the SWP's *Militant* (?) gets worse each week. Take for example their reportage on Iran. They downplay the importance of the religious leaders and reassure themselves with simply noting it is a working class movement. The crisis in and need for revolutionary leadership is not the significant point of departure in their Nov. 10th issue, as they console themselves with, "Even if the shah manages to survive the current upsurge (Goodness! Isn't that where we should begin consideration?), the days of October 1978 will go down in Iranian History as the beginning of the end for the Pahlavi dynasty." How glib! How voluble! How jejune! Walter Cronkite couldn't have said it better. If not more elegant, surely more relevant is your closing remark in the 3rd Nov. issue: "Above all what is needed is an authentic Trotskyist vanguard party in Iran to lead the masses to victory over the jet-setting despot now in power and the apostles of the seventh century seeking to oust him." The difference in intent is clear enough and is appreciated. Keep up the good work.

Most comradely,
V.B.

Union Tops Knife California Teamster Strike

OAKLAND, November 23— The four-month-old strike of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) against the four major California supermarket chains ended in defeat today as the 3,500 striking drivers and warehousemen voted to accept binding arbitration of the unresolved issues with no amnesty for strikers.

In the bitterly fought strike the bosses went after the Teamsters with no holds barred, challenging the powerful union with the kind of frontal assault they have not dared to engage in for years. Directly enlisting the support of the cops, courts and strikebreaking thugs, the grocery store employers ripped up the picket lines. Court injuctions were secured limiting pickets. One striker, Randy Hill, was killed in August as he did picket duty. Scores of others were arrested and injured.

On October 26 even Jimmy Carter's Justice Department got into the act when the Organized Crime Strike Force raided the headquarters of IBT Local 70 and seized the union's records. Utilizing such policies of intimidation and violence, the bosses amassed a huge strikebreaking force of some 2,500 scabs. In the end it was the failure to make a sizable dent in this scabbing that drove the members to vote for an agreement that was even worse than the one they overwhelmingly rejected in August.

From the beginning, the Fitzsimmons bureaucracy of the IBT played a vicious role in the strike, initially denying strike sanction, then attempting to force sellout deals down the throats of the membership. They finally crippled the strike by withdrawing Teamster pickets from distribution centers in southern California and Denver and repeatedly denying the requests of the striking locals to extend strike action to Safeway operations nationwide.

The final settlement, worked out in Washington with Fitzsimmons and federal mediators, while reportedly requiring the bosses to get rid of the scabs hired during the strike, also allows the employers to fire Teamsters for "gross misconduct" during the strike. There are now reportedly 77 strikers on the bosses' hit list. Safeway's computerized speed-up plan, along with other important contractual issues such as cost-of-living formulas, reductions in night differential pay, starting time disputes and grievance procedures, are now all in the lap of an arbitrator. Thus, with the blessing of Fitzsimmons, the workers are going back without a contract and with some of the best militants fired.

WV Photo

Striking teamster stops scab truck at Safeway warehouse in Richmond.

The eight striking locals—and particularly militant Local 315 in Contra Costa County, which initiated the strike on July 18 in defiance of the International—courageously refused to bow to the bosses' violence and Fitzsimmons' cowardly backstabbing for several months. In the end, however, such isolated militancy was not enough. In the face of the massive strikebreaking, local union leaders had nothing to suggest except an impotent consumer boycott.

In particular, they took special care to obey court injunctions against mass picketing, limiting the pickets to four at a gate and seeking to avoid mass confrontations with the scabs brought in by the bosses. The few official mass pickets which did take place were token affairs designed to reinforce faith in the Democratic Party by rallies featuring people like Congressman Ron Dellums. Only by mobilizing the labor movement in effective mass pickets, not by pleading with the capitalist party politicians, could the strike have been won.

The California supermarket strike could well be a dress rehearsal for the upcoming negotiations for the Teamster master freight contract next spring. It is no secret that Carter regards this settlement as pivotal to the success of his wage guidelines. In preparing for this battle, it is crucial that Teamster militants learn the key lesson of the California defeat, the need to break from reliance on the capitalist government and the Democratic Party.

At a forum sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) on November 17, invited guest speakers included two members of Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU). TDU has in recent months picked up a certain measure of support in the Teamsters as the most vocal organized opposition to the Fitzsimmons bureaucracy. Its sub-reformist program, however, does not go beyond the traditional militant business unionism once espoused by Jimmy Hoffa.

A central cornerstone of TDU's strategy has been to call on the government to intervene in the IBT to "guarantee" democracy, a policy which only plays into the hands of the bosses. TDU leader Pete Camarata even testified before Congress, advising that Teamster officials ought to be jailed. Not surprisingly, the Carter government has seized on the issue of corruption for its own purposes. Several IBT officials have recently been indicted on criminal charges for mishandling of union funds, a hardly veiled ploy to blackmail the Teamsters into line in the upcoming contract dispute.

During the supermarket strike, TDU occasionally paid lip service to the need for mass picketing. But at no time were they willing to take on the anti-Fitzsimmons local officials they are busy wooing who refused to implement this policy. Nor did the TDU ever call for the election of democratic strike committees in every local in order to broaden the leadership of the strike.

One of the speakers at the SWP forum was Frank Grinnon, introduced as a steward in Local 315 and a member of TDU; Grinnon is also co-author of an article on the supermarket strike appearing in the 24 November issue of the SWP's *Militant*. Grinnon belatedly attempted to put on a left face, arguing in favor of a policy of mass-picketing the central distribution facilities. He hastened to assure the audience, however, that he was of course absolutely opposed to openly criticizing the leadership of the union which stood in the way of this policy. And this was borne out in the *Militant* article, which does not mention once the role of Fitzsimmons, IBT Western Conference leader Bill Grami, or the local Teamster leaders.

Attempting to squelch any criticism of its policies, the SWP blatantly refused to call on members of the Militant Caucus of the ILWU. However, the role of the Caucus in fighting for ILWU Warehousemen to hot-cargo scab products in solidarity with the IBT strike was well-known to several Teamsters present. One of the panel speakers, the elected chairman of the Local 315 strike committee, demanded that ILWU oppositionist Bob Mandel be given the floor. Mandel, a Militant Caucus leader and member of the exec board of ILWU Local 6, emphasized that neither Grinnon nor any other SWP supporter had the guts to confront the Teamster officials with the demand for mass picketing during the heat of the strike when it counted. Mandel also blasted the SWP for its support to trade-union bureaucrats of the Arnold Miller/Ed Sadlowski stripe and sharply criticized the scabbing by prominent SWP steel worker Andrew Pulley in Chicago during the rail strike.

Grinnon feebly attempted to justify such scabbing by claiming that it was a railroad workers strike, not a steelworkers strike. It was precisely such phony logic that was used by union officials on the West Coast who undercut the Teamsters strike by ordering retail clerks, butchers and other workers to cross the IBT lines. Such apologies for scabbing did not sit well with a number of militants, including one retail clerk who had been fired for respecting the Teamster picket lines, and who denounced the SWP's opportunism.

The SWP's recent enthusing over such two-bit advocates of union-busting court suits as the TDU is perfectly consistent with its support to bigger-name opportunists (Miller/Sadlowski) with the same policies. For its part TDU proved again during the California supermarket strike that it is no alternative to Fitzsimmons & Co. Only by rejecting all varieties of pro-capitalist trade unionism and grouping themselves around a program solidly based on working-class independence from the capitalist parties and state can Teamster militants arm themselves for the battles that lie ahead. ■

Spartacist Candidate Outdoes Reformists in NYC Vote

Official vote tallies released by the New York Board of Elections for the November 7 balloting show that Marjorie Stamberg, Spartacist Party candidate for State Assembly in the 64th District (Greenwich Village-Chelsea), received a total of 909 votes, or more than 3.2 percent of the votes cast for that office. Stamberg received more than 9 percent of the vote in three election districts and more than 6 percent in nine districts. These numbers represent a substantial showing for a revolutionary socialist candidate in the United States.

In 17 New York City Assembly districts the Liberal candidate received fewer votes than the Trotskyist candidate did in the 64th, and in only eight districts did a Liberal "third party" candidate exceed our total. In fact, ten Republican Assembly candidates' totals fell short of Stamberg's mark!

The Spartacist Party's revolutionary campaign actually won a far better response among the electorate than the reformist efforts of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Communist Party (CP). The SWP's two Congressional candidates, Sharon Grant and Ken Miliner, whose Brooklyn and Harlem campaigns covered several Assembly districts each, both received fewer votes than Marjorie Stamberg won in a single district. Grant drew only 560 votes and Miliner 612, or 1.4 and .99 percent respectively. The CP and SWP gubernatorial candidates, who garnered roughly 2,000 votes each in Manhattan, received their highest vote totals in the 64th Assembly District. However, the CP's Jarvis Tyner (470 votes in the district) and the SWP's Diane Feeley (449 votes) attracted only half the proportion of voters who cast their ballots for the revolutionary candidate Marjorie Stamberg. ■

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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Cult Suicide...

(continued from page 1)

for a bunch of believers to strip naked for the greater glory of god (and who knows what benefit for their libido) and dance around. It was an ecstatic tradition and—like the cargo cults' confrontation with advanced technology—not without its adaptive qualities. There has been plenty of Shaking, Quaking and Taking as well as a number of serious utopian communitarian experiments, particularly in the 19th century, based on the false notion that the world might be influenced by "good example."

But what has any of this to do with Jim Jones and the People's Temple? They were not Reformationist ecstatics nor was Jonestown a transcendental Brook Farm. Despite the best efforts of the sociologists and research journalists, the People's Temple is something new under the sun—mass paranoid suicidal madness. The researchers may dig up a few of the ecstatics who became hysterical and perhaps tortured a nun or two behind the walls of a convent, but mass suicide? Never.

Eastfoto

Joe Stalin and Jim Jones

The attempts to fix Jonestown in relation to the real world miss its special character. After all, cultist political revivalism is not so rare in the U.S. Why does this cult act in a way different from all other cults?

What does it take to be a cult? In the first place there is no cult without a cult leader, el leader máximo, the infallible definer of the profane outside the bounds of his control and self-totem. Also necessary is a rigidly authoritarian organizational command enabling the cult leader to effectively discipline the members to his will and drive out critics of little faith.

All cults maintain an ideology at variance with perceived reality and sometimes observable fact. This necessary element of cultism is the ritual test of membership: to say (and perhaps believe) that black is white because The Leader says it is. The content of this cult ideology can vary widely even within the same cult at different periods depending on the perceived needs of the leader. Thus a cult like the People's Temple can be racial integrationist do-gooders in one period and evolve into self-destroyers in another. The Labor Committee cult of Lynn Marcus can be rationalist technocratic crackpots of the left in one period and provocateurs of the political right in another. The method of the cult remains the same; the ideology changes in strict accordance with the mental state of the cult leader. True Belief in the cult leader is the sole determining method. The act of adhesion entails the agreement to view reality through the distorted lens of the cult figure.

This set of rough criteria obviously applies to a good many organizations, both religious and political. Yet none seems capable of mass suicide. Psychiatrists tell of the mental patient who has just slashed his wrists, not fatally; when asked why he did not make a deeper cut, he responds: "What do you think I am, crazy?" No other cult has been that crazy.

The numerous cults of the religious right wing, for instance, practice a brand of revivalism that looks something like a People's Temple of the right. But by comparison they seem sane and safe. All they seem to do to crack the boredom of their radio sermons and mail-order bible businesses is to get involved in some sexual or financial scandal every so often. Papa evangelist Armstrong removes son Garner Ted for the sin of decadent living. Or some diamond-studded preacher is exposed for embodying the financial aspirations of his poor congregation. Or some charismatic fundamentalist is caught in ecstatic frenzy with the wives of the faithful.

While such cults exist on the fringes of religious and political life, they are deeply embedded in that fringe. They are recognized as the outskirts on the fairly stable bourgeois ideological landscape. They involve themselves in enthusiastic campaigns against sin that are clearly reflections of mainstream bourgeois politics, differing only perhaps in motive and in intensity from important right-wing sections of the bourgeoisie. So in California when they try to whip up a good burning at the stake for the sin of homosexuality, or launch a stoning of mothers who slaughter the unborn innocents, they are only more hysterical echoes of bourgeois political movements like the Briggs Amendment claque or Right-to-Lifers. Even Billy James Hargis finds he is much too integrated into the ideological and political movements of the ruling class to allow for total eccentricity of the sort demonstrated in grisly fashion by Jim Jones. Hargis keeps bumping into reality; and he and others like him are shaped by the experience. Thus are set the limits of social madness.

Among cults on the left, points of contact with reality act as a brake upon the fantasy-into-reality games of the cult leader. Seemingly immutable forces pen him in, force him to redefine goals and merely pretend. Even where there is a strong component of irrationality or utopian nuttiness, the political left is in part defined by its relationship to class reality. Even the earlier Lynn Marcus could not control a world free of social constraint.

Even a cult leader on the grand historic scale, the megalomaniac Joseph Stalin and his Stalinist "cult of the personality," has its limits. Here was a monstrous self-mythologizing cult leader with an authoritarian bureaucracy. The author of hideous ideological distortions with terrible historical consequences. But just that recognition of the historical consequences of Stalin's cult draws the qualitative line between him and Jim Jones. Stalin was the gravedigger of the proletarian revolution. He had reactionary historical purpose, but historical purpose nevertheless.

It is one thing to propagate the false ideology of "socialism in one country" and even to force everyone but revolutionaries to agree to it, and quite another to actually rule a country based on the collectivized property of the proletariat. This was the contradictory brake on Stalin's cult. He could not turn Russia into a giant Jonestown. Like Jim Jones he could have his Stalingrad (and for a while everything else would be named Stalin as well), but Stalingrad existed in the real world, with a proletariat with a force of its own, and not as an emanation of Stalin's twisted spirit. Unlike Jones, Stalin's Caligula complex remained frustrated. And he knew it; according to one story, he was overheard to say, "Even I couldn't kill 35 million Ukrainians."

And Ye Shall Be Free

What separates the Jones cult fundamentally is that Jones broke free—he successfully cut his organization off from the pressures of the larger society. When he was a preacher in Indiana he looked like any number of social-uplift types who talked a brand of Christian brotherly love and social gospel. He was an integrationist. He was more politically effective than most cultists. In California, he made real inroads with bourgeois politicians and was able to turn out the vote for the Democrats. The letters from Rosalynn Carter and Mondale are testimony not to the bad judgment of those Democratic bigwigs, but to the relative respectability of the People's Temple congregation.

But the cult leader Jim Jones responded to the outside pressures of the world by withdrawing as much as possible from it. First to Ukiah, California and social-work projects like nursing homes for the elderly and the usual attempts to offer social "redemption" to slum dwellers, mainly in Los Angeles and San Francisco. Had he remained in California, Jones would have been just another cult leader, perhaps just a little more effective than most, in a country full of them. But precisely his political effectiveness allowed him to withdraw. He got the money and the recommendations, and off he went.

It is isolation in Guyana that made the suicide cult. There, cut off from the world, the members—many of whom had been attracted out of poverty to begin with—divested everything to the community. In a primitive environment, surrounded on all sides by real and imagined dangers, the ordinary rituals of cult life became overwhelmingly powerful. Like a tribal society where membership in the community means the difference between life and death, the initiate stands in terrible isolation, then enters recognizing that the community is all. Jim Jones becomes the incarnation of the spirit of the community, equated with life itself. From that moment on, events become random. Anything could happen. And it did. Jones made one of the possible choices available to him. It is not clear why, nor does it matter particularly. In this sense Jim Jones represents one of the maximum possibilities of human freedom within the status quo.

AP

Larry Schacht, "people's doctor." He served the people cyanide.

Jonestown and the "Me Decade"

The "freedom" to which Jones and his followers escaped may go down as a suicide footnote to a decade of escapism.

It is not surprising that with the decomposition of New Left student

Bantam Books

Manson and "Family."

Newsweek

UPI

UPI

Synanon cult leader Dederich (right): vipers for investigators.

radicalism a period of demoralization would follow. The radical visions of the New Left, which never attached themselves to the motor of the working class, dissipated and left a massive petty-bourgeois residue with no sense of the future. The decade settled into an obsessive concern for the present moment. Although things got worse, the recognized bonds of human solidarity became narrowed until they circled only the self. Self-fulfillment became the order of the day. The nearly exclusive concern with self-development in what Christopher Lasch characterized as "Narcissist America" had become so obvious that "new journalist" decade definers began to dub the 1970's the "Me Decade."

It has been a particularly fertile culture medium for the growth of every sort of religions and therapy cult. For while there was nothing except to be fulfilled and happy, yet they were empty and miserable. Enter the Hare Krishna, the Moonies, the Scientologists, EST, astrologers, the People's Temple. It was a heyday for pseudo-science and a general level of superstition more appropriate to a peasant community than a modern industrial society. This year the Gallup pollsters announced that "54 percent of all Americans believe in angels," six out of ten in flying saucers, and more than a quarter think their lives are governed by the position of the stars (*Newsweek*, 26 June 1978). The most hysterical evangelical practices have become so respectable that recently people who spoke in tongues convened to fill an entire Minnesota football field for an ecumenical babble.

But real life hadn't become any better. In fact, for a large proportion of the population—particularly ghetto youth—it had become considerably worse, more sterile, desperate and hopeless. It was from these demoralized milieus that most of the cults recruited. And in California, where rootlessness is institutionalized and violence individualized, the growth of cultism was especially favored. Craving for personal fulfillment blended with the residual earnestness of the 1960's to produce a most repulsive cultism. Even the governor, Jerry Brown, is some kind of Zen-Jesuit anti-sexual religious nut with desires to out-evangelize the ever born-again Carter.

It was in California that the New Left most clearly stamped its style on the petty bourgeoisie. And there was present in New Leftism enough romanticism that in its degeneracy it found some common ideological ground with the cultists. The hatred of society which took surreal and infantile fantasy forms were acted upon most gruesomely by Charles Manson and his "family" in the late 1960's. (It is worth noting that the vicarious terrorists of the Weathermen welcomed the murderer Manson as one of their own.) Then followed the killer cult of the SLA which added the glamor of ex-convicts and spoke in the social-work rhetoric of the New Left milieu as it carried out its murder and kidnapping missions in the name of the "people."

From Manson to the People's Temple, this cross-fertilization between the social-work style of the New Left and bizarre cultists has marked the decade with terror and death. Even the name "People's Temple" reflects the same mix of social uplift and asceticism. Jonestown had a "people's doctor," Larry Schacht, who mixed the poison. He wanted to "serve the people." He served them cyanide.

Patterns of Paranoia

The cults' pitch has been to the petty bourgeoisie, searching for self-fulfillment, and to the extremely poor. Hence the social composition of the People's Temple. The cults promised a private Nirvana club, with the stress on the privateness. In retreat from reality, the cults had an inherent tendency to paranoia. And the paranoia collided with another style of the 1970's: liberal muckraking. For the cults, it took the form of anxious relatives and private detectives, government agencies suspicious of financial chicanery, newspapers seeking new exposé sensations. A pattern emerged as the cults sank deeper and deeper into forms of escape from reality to protect their fantasy worlds from invasion.

Take, for instance, Synanon. Like the People's Temple, it was the darling of the liberals in the 1960's. It was the group that would solve the problem of drug addiction. Its techniques of humiliation were a little controversial at first, but the Synanon members sang that they would be junkies still were it not for their great leader, Chuck Dederich. The problem was that the addicts substituted addiction to the cult and had a hard time leaving its closed world.

When people did start leaving and ex-members began criticizing Synanon and calling for investigations, Dederich began to seal off his private world from the hostile "outside forces." And he meant to protect it with terror. Suddenly the pacifist, never-lift-a-finger-in-violence rehab cult was an armed killer cult. Dederich commanded his followers to shave their heads, take up a form of karate and begin a war against the enemy.

Recently lawyer Paul Morantz won a court decision against Synanon for clients suing for kidnapping. Then he put his hand in his mail box and was bitten nearly fatally by a rattlesnake which had had its warning rattles removed. The do-gooders of Synanon were no longer doing good.

L. Ron Hubbard's Scientology therapy cult has gone through a similar paranoid process. Formerly a gimmicky self-help eccentricity based on "engrams" to become "clear," in the late 1970's Scientology has gone over to trench warfare with the FBI. Hubbard, too, has had his exposers and declares he will not be uncovered, going onto the offensive against the "enemies without":

> "Never agree to an investigation of Scientology ... Only agree to an investigation of the attackers ... start investigating them promptly for felonies or worse ... start feeding lurid, blood, sex, crime, actual evidence on the attackers to the press.... Make it rough, rough on the attackers all the way..."
>
> —*Washington Post*, 16 August 1978

To make it "rough on the attackers" he is said to have sent some "moles" into government jobs.

On 8 July 1977 the FBI launched against the Scientology cult a search-and-destroy mission that may have been the most intense since the Palmer Raids:

> "134 FBI agents, armed with battering rams, chainsaws and sledge hammers, burst into Scientology headquarters in Los Angeles and Washington. They carted away thousands of documents, as well as a lock-picking kit, a blackjack, eavesdropping equipment, two pistols and even a vial marked 'vampire blood'."
>
> —*Newsweek*, 28 August 1978

How did this bland former science fiction novelist and cult therapist go off the deep end and get into a war with the FBI? Like Synanon and the rest, he was apparently responding to the desperate need to protect his private world by any means necessary.

Consider another cult which went off the deep end in the 1970's—the National Caucus of Labor Committees/U.S. Labor Party of L. Marcus. Once a faction in SDS, they became informers to the cops against "fabian terrorism" of the environmentalists. In wrenching his cult from the left to the bourgeois fringe right wing, he "deprogrammed" his membership. But torturing a woman in Washington Heights where she can drop an SOS note from the window is not the same as torturing her in Guyana. Who knows what would happen to the few hundred youth organized around the sterile fantasy life of Lyndon LaRouche in Marcustown?

WV Photo

Daily World

Lynn Marcus and NCLC "Operation Mop-Up": Gangster frenzy against the CP on the way out of the workers movement.

The pattern of escapism and paranoid counteroffensive is most fully realized in the Jonescult. They attained the fullest retreat from which to plan the doomsday defense of their privatized world. Typically their terminal course began when in 1977 disaffected members began to criticize the cult and threaten exposure. Some told stories of strange sexual coercion and the torturing of children, along with the usual kidnappings and brainwashing. *New West* magazine published an exposé, but Jones would not be exposed. He ran for Guyana and took his followers with him: having given away their possessions and abandoned their homes to go with him into the wilderness, they were at the mercy of his whim. He hired radlib lawyer Charles Garry to defend the cult in court and began to consider end-game plans.

But the liberal muckrakers came after him. Congressman Ryan and a team of reporters invaded his private world. Jones planned to assassinate Ryan. Finally, he chose the mass death of his brethren rather than exposure.

There is a reason why the cultists fear exposure. Their existence depended on having as little commerce with the world as possible. They ended with a simple syllogism: nobody investigates Jonestown and leaves alive.

The antagonists in these dramas shared the liberal illusions of exposure created in the post-Watergate period. To be investigated was to be destroyed: hadn't it happened to Nixon, the arch-paranoid symbol of the decade? For the liberal muckrakers exposure was the answer to everything. It was not in actual social struggle that political life went on, but in the media.

Unlike the anti-Communist paranoia of the 1950's, which was mobilized through McCarthyism to get public opinion behind the aims of U.S. imperialism, the paranoia of the 1970's was in part brought on by a deluge of exposures, from the dirty tricks of Watergate to the FBI/CIA machinations. A massive justified cynicism about the government set in. The CIA did try to kill Castro with poisoned shoe polish. It isn't hard to believe that in Jonestown many believed that the CIA was outside in the jungle about to slaughter them all. Those who pushed the conspiratorial view of history had a field day.

It is ironic that in Jonestown, the most prominent of all the spinners of conspiracy theories, Mark Lane, was on the spot as lawyer for Jim Jones. The Punch and Judy show put on by Lane and Garry at Jonestown provided ironic relief to the grisly affair. They have accused each other of knowing about the murder/suicide conspiracy and keeping it secret. Lane slid out from under the gun by declaring his loyalty to the cult and then explaining to the armed guard that somebody had to "live to tell the story." Then he ran. It certainly seems this paranoid cult got the right lawyers.

Cultism, Freedom and Necessity

For Marxists, one of the most irritating aspects of the Jonestown media event is to see it portrayed as some kind of socialist experiment. We read with disgust the headline in *The New York Times* (21 November): "Defectors Say Jones Told Them: 'You Will Be Dying for Socialism'." And now *Pravda* has incredibly played into this absurd anti-Communist propaganda campaign by praising the Jonescult. Meanwhile the sinister anti-Communist Moonies are claiming that the People's Temple was acting out the Marxist program. The bourgeois media is doing all it can to associate socialism with

continued on page 11

Eurocommunists, Eurotrotskyists Beseech the Kremlin

THE CAMPAIGN TO "REHABILITATE" BUKHARIN

You Can't Clean Up the Moscow Trials!

A campaign for the rehabilitation of Nikolai Bukharin, the most prominent Old Bolshevik to be dragged through the last and most grotesque of the 1930's Moscow purge trials, has been underway since this spring mainly among Eurocommunist and left social-democratic circles. Bukharin was shot on 15 March 1938 after being condemned by Stalin's hangmen as a spy, provocateur and would-be assassin of Lenin. He left behind a young wife and son, who spent many years in prison camps.

Since the early 1960's his widow, A.M. Larina, and son Yuri Larin have been appealing to the Soviet state to rehabilitate Bukharin. The current campaign in the West was sparked by an open letter Larin wrote to Enrico Berlinguer, head of the Italian Communist Party (PCI), in March of this year, on the eve of the 40th anniversary of his father's death. "I am approaching you, Comrade Berlinguer," wrote Larin from Moscow, "because you are the leader of the largest Communist Party of Western Europe and have thrown off this burden [of 'Stalin's crimes']." Larin detailed the failure of efforts to rehabilitate Bukharin within the USSR itself.

> "Beginning in 1961 my mother A.M. Larina and then I myself persistently raised with the highest Party-State organs of the country the question of the withdrawal of the monstrous allegations against N.I. Bukharin and his restoration to Party membership. This question was also raised with the Party leadership by the most senior of the Old Bolsheviks led by the former secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, F.D. Staseva. They died some time ago without receiving an answer and it was only last summer (1977) that we at last received some response... An official of the Commission of Party Control of the Central Committee of the CPSU informed us by telephone that the accusations made at the trial of Bukharin had not been withdrawn as the process of examining the documents relating to the trial had not been completed, the question of the restoration of his Party membership could not, therefore, yet be resolved. This means that 40 years after the execution of my father we have received an answer, which, in effect, confirms the monstrous charges of Stalin. My approach to the Courts (the Supreme Court of the USSR) has been fruitless; the simple truth is they don't answer me."
>
> quoted in Ken Coates, *The Case of Nikolai Bukharin* (1978)

Il Mondo

Nikolai Bukharin

This appeal has been picked up by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation in England, which has launched a campaign, mainly directed at the Communist parties of Europe, to get signatures to its appeal, which reads: "I appeal to the Soviet government for the re-opening of the case of N.I. Bukharin, his rehabilitation, and a public explanation of the circumstances which led to his wrongful conviction."

Aside from the predictable early signatories—such as Simone de Beauvoir, Louis Althusser, Jiri Pelikan, Howard Fast, Noam Chomsky and a number of British Labour MP's—in addition the national executive of the Communist Party of Australia and the British CP have also signed the appeal, as have prominent individuals associated with the PCI, notably historian Paolo Spriano and Giuseppe Boffa. Two signatures are of particular interest to Trotskyists—those of Ernest Mandel, leader of the self-styled United Secretariat of the Fourth International (USec) and Joseph Hansen of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

Can the Murderers Rehabilitate their Victims? Never!

The United Secretariat has for some time been pursuing a policy of adaptation to "Eurocommunism," claiming that this phenomenon has introduced "new and tremendously vulnerable elements" into world Stalinism, which can "have fairly big effects in favor of Trotskyism." So said Mandel at a reunion of the "family of Trotskyism" in London—called to refute Gerry Healy's Stalin-style slander campaign against Hansen and another SWP leader, George Novack, as "accomplices of the GPU" in Trotsky's assassination. The meeting also provided an opportunity for the various assorted opportunists on the platform to cement new alliances and re-orient themselves to yet another "new world reality"—this time seeing Eurocommunism as the wave of the future.

Mandel proposed that "all comrades present here, of all different tendencies, factions and organizations," should undertake a "common political campaign" to ask the European CPs to "immediately, openly and publicly rehabilitate all the victims of Stalin, all the victims of the Moscow Trials," and to call on the Spanish Communist Party to expel Trotsky's assassin. After all, he cynically concluded, "It can't hurt to ask" (see our article "London Meeting: Fake-Trotskyist Family Reunion," *IT* No. 141, 21 January 1977).

While at first glance this campaign may seem to be nothing more than a decent attempt to resurrect the truth about one of the most hideously slandered victims of Stalin's purges, nevertheless genuine Trotskyists cannot support it. We very much want to, and intend to, restore Nikolai Bukharin to his rightful place in history. The same goes for all those communists who perished in the great blood purges, and most particularly for Leon Trotsky and the Left Opposition. This commitment does not derive simply from the interests of historical truth, but from the burning political necessity of the Trotskyist program for putting the proletariat in power.

The real historical reckoning will only come as a result of the proletarian political revolution to oust Stalin's heirs, together with social revolution in the capitalist countries. For the purpose of the purge trials and mass executions, as Max Shachtman (then a leader of the SWP) wrote in 1936, was that "the assault upon those figures that symbolize the dread words 'World Revolution' to the international bourgeoisie, is Stalin's way of taking the blood-oath to the latter that the international proletarian revolution, so long as the Kremlin is concerned, has long been interred" (*Behind the Moscow Trial*).

All those who appeal to the Kremlin to reinstate Bukharin in the "Party" accept the legitimacy of that bureaucracy as the continuation of Lenin's Bolshevik party. But there is no communist party in Russia today! The Left Opposition drew this conclusion already in 1933—even before the final purges which physically annihilated every last surviving member of the Central Committee of 1917, except Stalin, as well as the Red Army top command and virtually the entire middle-level cadre of the party. Trotsky raised the call for a new party in the USSR, and a new International, following the catastrophic betrayal by all the Stalinist parties in allowing Hitler to come to power without a fight.

What called itself the CPSU was now seeking "peaceful coexistence" with, and therefore the survival of, Western imperialism. Rather than a political party of the working class, it was/is simply the political vehicle of the Kremlin bureaucracy, a parasitic petty-bourgeois caste which seized control only by politically expropriating the working class and destroying the Communist Party. To call upon the Stalinist apparatus today to restore its victims of yesterday is to accept these criminals, sworn betrayers of revolution, as judges of the Bolshevik leaders they murdered. To call on the Kremlin to "rehabilitate" Trotsky is to embrace a perspective of bureaucratic self-reform and abandon the struggle for an independent Trotskyist party to sweep the usurpers from power.

The Cult of Bukharin

While refusing to call on the Stalinist murderers to pass judgment

United Press

Khrushchev, Dimitrov, Stalin and Molotov review parade in 1937.

on their victims, while proclaiming their innocence and calling on the Soviet *working class* to restore them to their true role in history, we do not therefore glorify all those slain by the GPU as intrepid revolutionaries. In fact, those who were made to "confess" to the most absurd crimes at the Moscow Trials, then to be ignominiously shot after they had served their purpose, were one and all former right oppositionists, members of the Stalin faction or capitulationists. Many of them had already done years of dirty work for the Kremlin against the persecuted Left Opposition.

The current appeal is no doubt partially due to his family's latest efforts. But it is far from accidental that it is Bukharin—rather than, say, Zinoviev or Kamenev, not to mention Trotsky—who is the focus of the "rehabilitation" campaign. "Bukharinism" has been a popular current among sections of the East European Stalinist bureaucracy and among certain "socialist dissident" circles, as well as among Western liberals. Bukharin's biographer Stephen Cohen is representative of this viewpoint, as the concluding words of his book make clear:

> "If reformers succeed in creating a more liberal communism, a 'socialism with a human face,' Bukharin's outlook and the NEP-style order he defended may turn out to have been after all, the true prefiguration of the Communist future—the alternative to Stalinism after Stalin."
>
> *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution* (1971)

Those social and economic policies associated with Bukharin have exerted a widespread, if generally underground, influence among reformers in the East European bureaucratic/petty-bourgeois elite, from economists to top CP politicians. Alexander Erlich's *The Soviet Industrialization Debate* (1960) points out that: "It is astonishing to discover how many ideas of Bukharin's anti-Stalinist program of 1928-29 were adopted by current reformers as their own...." A later work by Moshe Lewin, *Political Undercurrents in Soviet Economic Debates* (1974), is devoted to the thesis that Bukharinism is *the* major "undercurrent" of economic thought in the deformed workers states.

Cohen, Lewin and others cite such figures as Ota Sik, the author of Dubček's economic program during the 1968 Prague Spring, and Hungarian reform Stalinist Imre Nagy, executed in 1958 by "de-Stalinizer" Khrushchev, as proponents of Bukharinist policies, albeit in guarded fashion. What appeals to these liberal Stalinists in Bukharin's economic ideas is his opposition to centralized planning and his advocacy of market-oriented autonomy for state enterprises and of a significant private peasant sector.

During the mid-1920's, the period of the New Economic Policy (NEP), Bukharin and his bloc partners Rykov and Tomsky represented the most conservative elements of the bureaucracy, those most conciliatory to the wealthier peasants (the kulaks) and petty capitalists (the Nepmen). Bukharin generalized the retreat, the "breathing space" which the NEP was intended to provide after the devastation of the Civil War, into a theory that reliance on the peasant private market was the only possible road to socialism. Hence his sensational 1924 challenge to the kulaks, "Enrich yourselves!" (This slogan, a direct translation of the admonition by Guizot, minister of France's "bourgeois monarch" Louis Phillippe in the 1830's—"enrichissez-vous"—was too much even for Stalin.)

Bukharin actually provided early on much of the "theoretical" justification for Stalin's pronouncement of the theory of "socialism in one country." In explaining his theory of "peaceful-organic-economic" growth he wrote in early 1924 that "*A victory in this type* of class struggle (we abstract here from the problem of the external order) is the final victory of socialism." Bukharin even developed an implicit theoretical justification for the bureaucracy. In a long article, "The Bourgeois Revolution and the Proletarian Revolution" (1922), he developed his thesis that the proletariat as a class, throughout the world, was "unripe" and "unable to prepare itself for organizing all of society" prior to seizing power.

While Stalin may have been a more sinister figure than Bukharin, the economic program of the Bukharin/Rykov/Tomsky Right Opposition was the more immediate and dangerous threat to the preservation of proletarian state power. As the 1927 *Platform of the Joint Opposition* pointed out, these policies led to "abandonment of the fundamental principle of Marxism that only a powerful socialized industry can help the peasants transform agriculture along collectivist lines." The logic of this conciliation of petty commodity production would pose the threat of counterrevolution: "capitalism, recruiting its strength in the country, will undermine the foundations of socialism in the towns."

It is these aspects of Bukharinism which are particularly attractive to liberal Stalinist reformers of the Dubček or Imre Nagy variety, because they simultaneously appear to provide for more "freedom"—actually more latitude for an educated technocratic elite, from which they are drawn—while claiming to avoid the harsh necessity of shattering bureaucratic domination by restoring workers democracy and soviets and extending the revolution internationally.

Photo Reporter

Alexander Dubcek with Leonid Brezhnev, left, in 1968.

Bukharin's Capitulation

Bukharin was hardly the staunch anti-Stalinist his supporters make him out to be. Actually he was a vital ally of Stalin in smashing the United Opposition of Trotsky and Zinoviev/Kamenev in 1926-27 at a crucial moment in the consolidation of the bureaucracy's power. Stalin found Bukharin's talents as a facile theorist and his popularity invaluable, and the lovable "favorite of the whole party" soon became one of the rabid polemicists against the left. Isaac Deutscher, in *The Prophet Unarmed* (1959), describes his "strange, almost macabre performance" at the 15th CPSU congress in October 1926, where his cynical sneers, vicious character assassination and sophisticated-sounding pyrotechnics caused even Stalin to laugh. "He does not argue with them, he slaughters them."

"You have done well to make up your mind—this is the last minute—the iron curtain of history is just coming down," Bukharin reportedly told Zinoviev and Kamenev after the break-up of the Joint Opposition and their capitulation in December 1927. Bukharin was to remain behind that "iron curtain" of Stalinism even after Stalin had dumped him and the Right had become the Right Opposition. All Bukharin's differences with Stalin over industrialization and collectivization were consciously contained within the upper levels of the Soviet bureaucracy, bounded by his acceptance of the fundamental tenet of Stalinism: that an apparatus ruling over the proletariat, not soviet democracy, was necessary.

And Bukharin soon capitulated, in a manner no less despicable than Zinoviev's and Kamenev's. Writing some time later, Trotsky insisted on the intra-bureaucratic nature of the Right Opposition's differences with Stalin.

> "There is an altogether different, but in its kind no less symptomatic, significance in the 100 percent capitulation of Rykov, Tomsky, and Bukharin. The political cohorts of these leaders spread far into the camp of class enemies. We predicted more than once that the sharpening of the crisis of the revolution must inevitably throw the tiny Bolshevik head of the Right Opposition against its hefty counterrevolutionary tail. The moment for this has arrived. Alarmed by the mood of their own followers, leaders of the Right Opposition crawled on their knees to the official leadership. They were able to go through with this all the more easily because no matter how acute the fight has become from moment to moment, it nevertheless remained a fight between left and right shadings in the camp of bureaucratic centrism."
>
> "Alarm Signal!" (March 1933)

Right down to his execution in 1938 Bukharin never again played an independent political role, functioning simply as an errand boy for Stalin, who allowed him to edit *Izvestia* for a while. He was also permitted to draft the notorious "Stalin Constitution" of 1936, then hailed as "the world's most democratic constitution." Bukharin was apparently proud of his role in producing this piece of sophistry, and the Russell Foundation devotes an entire chapter in Ken Coates' little book on the campaign to "Bukharin's Constitution." This is his "legacy" to the Soviet people, it seems, for:

> "The cry of a whole new generation of critics of the Soviet Establishment since 1956 has been, not 'overthrow the Constitution,' but 'enforce the Constitution'."

This amounts to a stunning criticism of the current generation of "Soviet dissidents." It would not have occurred to the Left Oppositionists jailed in the labor camps of Vorkuta and Siberia to appeal to Stalin on the basis of the "Bukharin Constitution." Nor, obviously, was it of much use to its author. But, then, neither were the rest of his voluminous writings on Stalin's behalf against the Left Opposition. There is never much point to ingratiating oneself with traitors.

As the miserable history of the Right Opposition demonstrates, "Bukharinism" was incapable of being any "alternative" to Stalinism as a "road to socialism." Bukharin's identification with the parasitic, bonapartist bureaucracy, and his recoil from the capitalist appetites of his base, completely paralyzed any independent struggle the Bukharinites could have mounted. Attempts by Stalinist reformers in East Europe to implement Bukharinist reforms have led only to increased class tensions and instability. The logic of "consistent Bukharinism" i.e., "socialism in one country" built through reliance on market forces, particularly private peasant agriculture, leads ultimately to unleashing the forces of capitalist restoration.

The *only* revolutionary alternative to Stalinist domination of the degenerated/deformed workers states is the program of Trotskyism for the reestablishment of workers democracy through political revolution; for centralized economic planning and collectivization of agriculture, controlled

continued on page 10

Stalinist cartoons depict oppositionists as Nazi agents. Left: Bukharin and Trotsky. Right: Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev.

FASH...

(continued from page 12)

maintaining industrial unionism, for the steel haulers, properly speaking, are not wage workers. The real danger lies in destroying the only established link between the owner-operators and the organized labor movement. FASH itself is not a trade union, nor would it be even if it officially "represented" the steel haulers with the carriers. It is essentially a trade association of small businessmen, in that sense resembling, for example, farmers' associations. Existing as an entity outside the trade unions, FASH would fall even more markedly under the domination of the small fleet owners and would be far easier to mobilize as a scab workforce against unionized Teamster drivers.

What policy, then, should Teamster militants pursue? It is not impossible to win the loyalty, or at least neutralize, the vast majority of the independents. A correct policy must take into account that large numbers of steel haulers strongly identify with the employed Teamster driver. Many haulers participating in the FASH strike are not centrally concerned with getting out of the Teamsters, they just want more money. A class-struggle Teamster leadership would seek drive a wedge among the independent truckers, winning over the genuine individual owner-operators and splitting out the small fleet owners, by fighting for demands that would insure that union conditions in the trucking industry cover all working drivers, including the operators.

The IBT bureaucracy however has done next to nothing to redress the just grievances of the owner-operators over long working hours, long and unpaid layovers, widespread violation of rules governing detention pay (which the drivers are supposed to get while their trucks are being loaded), etc. Rather, the IBT leadership has blocked consistently with the carriers and the government against even Teamster-organized independents, thereby fueling their hostility toward any affiliation with the labor movement.

From 1950 to 1967, for example, most of the steel haulers received only one rate increase, of about 5 percent. Long simmering discontent finally blew out in a strike in 1967 which began with a handful of drivers in Gary, Indiana and spread throughout the steelhauling industry, lasting 13 weeks and leading to the formation of FASH. In October 1969, FASH struck in Youngstown, Ohio and engaged in a bloody shoot-out with the Teamsters, leaving one IBT gunman dead and nearly 50 seriously wounded on both sides.

FASH struck nationally again in 1970, this time for nine weeks, winning both a rate increase and a separate vote on the steelhauling supplement. The drivers voted down the supplement three times in 1973 before it was finally ratified. In 1974, again over the opposition of the IBT leaders, the steel haulers joined other independent truckers in the now famous 12-day tie-up of the nation's major turnpikes, protesting the steep increases in fuel prices. Following a series of Labor Board and federal court wrangles, the steel haulers were stripped of their right to vote on their supplement, and in 1976 were saddled with a contract that *cut* their percentage pay over each of the last three years.

Hausner/NY Times

Truckers in Connecticut gather support for 1973 slowdown.

Lessons from Teamster History

The kinds of policies needed to reverse the dangerous and deteriorating cleavage between the Teamsters and independent drivers were practiced before in the IBT. In the late 1930's, pioneer American Trotskyists like Farrell Dobbs, the Dunne brothers, Carl Skoglund and many others led vigorous Teamster battles against the trucking companies, and drew the owner-operators into the fight. From their stronghold in Minneapolis, the Trotskyists spearheaded an eleven-state over-the-road organizing campaign and helped transform the IBT from a small, weak craft union into the powerful labor organization it is today.

In their organizing, the Trotskyists carefully distinguished between the drivers who owned only their own rig, who were aggressively recruited to the union, and the operators who were in fact small fleet owners, who were excluded. Key to the Trotskyist policy was to fight for union wages for the independents, plus the cost of maintaining their trucks, as opposed to a flat-fee percentage of the freight bill. This served to tie the interests of the owner-operators to the Teamster fleet drivers fighting to increase their hourly wages. It also acted to curb the ability of the carriers to use their leasing arrangements with the independents to undercut the union by compelling long hours of unpaid or underpaid driving.

The Minneapolis Trotskyists' campaign directed at owner-operators was successful, although the social character of this section of the workforce almost guaranteed that it would encompass some individuals with strong anti-union sentiments. Thus in 1938 five owner-operators in league with the employers filed a "fink suit" asking the courts to tie up the Trotskyist-led Teamster local's funds, to appoint a receiver over the union, to ban "illegal picketing," etc. Nevertheless, writing many years later in the *Militant* (12 April 1974), Farrell Dobbs was able to assert that, for the most part

> "In the major struggles of that period against the trucking employers generally, the union's owner-operator members served loyally. They volunteered their trucks to transport pickets and shared in the picketing. A significant number of our casualties in battles with the cops were from among this category of workers. After the union had been consolidated, they continued to play a constructive role. Like other members of the organization, they looked upon those of their own kind who took an antilabor stance as finks and dealt with them accordingly."

These early and successful approaches to the owner-operators were cut short by the 1941 purge of the Trotskyist leaders from the IBT by a vicious combination of federal prosecutions, jailings and bureaucratic attacks (in which, incidentally, Jimmy Hoffa played a key goon role). The Trotskyists were witchhunted because of their principled opposition to the then-impending imperialist slaughter of World War II, and a corrupt hidebound bureaucracy has ruled the IBT ever since.

Dobbs vs. SWP

The once-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has long since degenerated into a reformist organization that in no sense speaks for Trotskyism. But as recently as 1974, Dobbs, still an SWP spokesman, was able to give a correct assessment of the development of groups like FASH in response to the treacherous policies of the IBT bureaucrats:

> "Since then [1941] the Teamster bureaucracy has reversed the trends we had set into motion. Democratic procedures used by the union's area committee in the pre-1941 period have been replaced by dictatorial methods in the present-day IBT conferences. More concern is shown for the wishes of the employers than is manifested toward the needs of the workers. The problems of the fleet drivers are neglected in many respects. At the same time, there has been an increasingly pronounced growth of independent owner-operators; and the union officialdom has little inclination and even less ability to cope with the situation.
>
> "As a result, the owner-operators are ceasing to look upon the IBT as the organization through which they can undertake to alleviate the difficulties now confronting them. Those who remain members of the union are tending to organize themselves into factions, which act independently of the Teamster bureaucratsand, to an increasing extent, in cooperation with nonunion groups of owner-operators. Formations of this kind are springing up in various parts of the country. Cut loose as they are from trade-union influence, factors that cause individual owner-operators to dream of becoming small fleet owners assume greater weight in the shaping of their policies. The negative aspects of that outlook impair the interests of all over-the-road drivers at a time when the union has become enfeebled because of bureaucratic misleadership.
>
> "Under those circumstances it becomes possible for the big trucking firms to mount a major attack on the IBT by maneuvering to intensify the hostility of owner-operators toward the organization. To the extent that they succeed in promoting such anti-union bias, every worker behind the wheel of a truck—owner-operators and fleet drivers alike—will be the ultimate victims. Only the bosses will be the gainers.
>
> "This danger can be averted through a shift in union policy toward application under modern conditions of the basic course that was being shaped prior to 1941. That would block the bosses from splitting the owner-drivers away from the organized labor movement. Instead, the catch-all category of independent owner-operators could be separated into its component parts. *Individual* owner-operators could be brought back into effective alliance with the drivers of company fleets. Small fleet owners, who masquerade under the designation 'owner-operators' could be sorted out and placed in the employer category where they belong. Class lines within the industry would again become much clearer, and the workers would be in a better position to fight collectively in defense of their mutual interests."

A clearer statement of class-struggle policy toward the owner-operators would be hard to write. Yet in an article in the 1 December 1978 *Militant*, the SWP hails the current FASH strike and shamelessly supports the demand for "freedom" from the Teamsters. *Militant* staff writer Shelley Kramer cites Farrell Dobbs' policies toward organizing the owner-operators into the IBT in the 1930's at some length, only to support the misdirected movement of the independents now to get out! In three separate articles devoted to the steel haulers there is not one word suggesting policies Teamster militants might pursue today to keep the independents in the union or organize the two-thirds that are not.

Kramer predictably focuses on the "democratic right" of steel haulers to split from the Teamsters. Thus, using "democracy" as an excuse, the SWP advocates the owner-operators liquidate their ties with the organized labor movement, thereby reversing a historic gain of the trade-union movement and the only real protection that the majority of independents have against the increased immiseration that they face at the hands of the carriers and non-union fleet owners. And what about the supposed democratic right not to join unions, as embodied in section 14B ("right to work") of the National Labor Relations Act. For those who defend the gains of the labor movement, unlike Kramer and the rest of the SWP social democrats, the "democracy" of the capitalists must be subordinate to the interests of the working class.

This is hardly surprising from a group that enthuses over such trade-union bureaucrats as Miller and Sadlowski, as well as such dissident groups as Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) and the Professional Drivers Council (PROD), who similarly prate about "democracy" as an excuse to invite the capitalist government to intervene in internal union affairs. Thus the SWP cynically throws overboard the revolutionary traditions of the Minneapolis Teamsters of the 1930's, with their class-struggle orientation toward the owner-operators and their vigorous opposition to government snooping in the unions, as in the "fink suit" of 1938.

Decent hours and living standards for the independents will not be gained by groups like FASH, whose leaders not only want to decertify the Teamsters but boast of their readiness to scab on a Teamsters strike. Democratic union procedures and better contracts for Teamsters will not be found in Senate star-chamber exposés or federal courthouses. What is necessary is a new class-struggle union leadership, that would sweep aside both Fitzsimmons and his reformist opponents, and would unite Teamster warehousemen and working drivers, both owner-operators and fleet employees, in a united fight against the bosses and the Carter government ■

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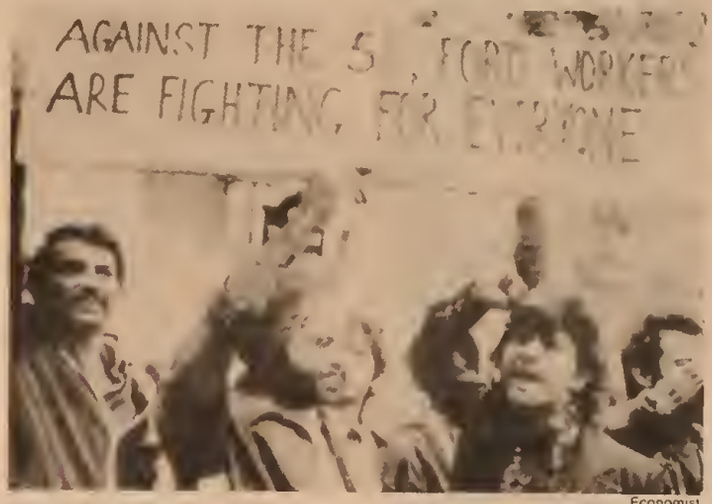
British Ford Workers Breach Wage Guidelines

LONDON, November 27—Fifty-seven thousand workers at Ford Motor Company plants in Britain returned to work last Friday after a nine-week strike won them a 9.7 percent increase on basic wages. The size of the pay hike, while not even enough to keep up with Britain's rate of inflation, was not good news for Prime Minister James Callaghan and his Labour cabinet—it is nearly double the 5 percent limit set under Phase Four of the government's wage control programme. Paying no heed to Callaghan's pleas for yet more "austerity" sacrifices, the Ford workers showed that workers *can* beat the Labour government's wage controls through determined strike action, whereas without a strike they would have gained nothing more than the government-approved 5 percent which management originally offered.

However, at bottom the strike result was not a victory but a defeat for the Ford workers—they could have won much, much more, had it not been for the treachery of the union bureaucrats "leading" the strike. Saddled with a strike which had been forced upon them by spontaneous mass walkouts from the plants on September 21, the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers and Transport and General Workers Union (T&GWU) bureaucrats throughout adopted a strategy of "containment." They managed both to prevent the strike from spreading to other workers and to sell out both of the key demands in the original claim. The first—a 25 percent pay rise, which would merely have brought workers' real wages back to where they were four years ago—was nowhere near attained; while the second, a call for a 35-hour working week, was completely ignored by the union negotiators after the first week of the strike.

The workers showed great militancy in the early days of the strike—militancy fueled by four years of vicious assaults on the standard of living of the British working class by the Labour government. But in the end Callaghan's cronies in the bureaucracy were able to force a demoralised workforce to accept a contract virtually identical to the one they had already rejected three weeks before.

This sellout need not have happened. The road to victory was clear from the start. Section after section of the organised union movement—from local government workers to tanker drivers, power workers, British Leyland car workers and the miners—had slapped down wage claims, scornfully rejecting Callaghan's 5 percent limit. Had they been brought out on strike alongside the Ford workers, Phase Four would have been smashed to pieces. But the bureaucrats feared above all else a wave of militant strikes which would have been a head-on challenge to the Callaghan government. Thus the Ford workers were criminally left to stand alone.



Economist

Ford workers protest government wage limit during recent strike.

T&GWU chief negotiator Ron Todd palmed the final offer off to the workers by claiming that it was "the best we can achieve." But the settlement contained the same 9.75 percent basic rise which had been rejected three weeks before—an increase even smaller than that won by Ford workers last year. The only "concession" supposedly won since the last offer was a "softening" of the provisions concerning the "attendance allowance" which knocked the total maximum package up to 16.5 percent. This "allowance" was really nothing more than the reintroduction of penalty clauses thrown out in 1969—a combination of the speed-up productivity deal and a no-strike "bonus" stopping "unofficial" strikes on the line.

Absolutely no one really believed that there were any substantial differences between the two offers. For the bureaucrats, the key issue at stake was the need to bring to an end a strike which posed a serious threat to the Labour government, in that it provided a potential rallying point for the tens of thousands of workers seeking to break the 5 percent limit. Demoralised, broke (strike pay was a mere £6 a week) and having no alternative leadership, the ranks voted to return to work, but there was no enthusiasm for the settlement—as one striker put it, "...we have the companies blacked out right through Europe. It's the best position we have ever got them in, and we could have got more" (*Guardian*, 23 November).

For the past two days Callaghan has been attempting to salvage his credentials as the bourgeoisie's best bet for keeping the working class in line. He has threatened to impose government sanctions on Ford, primarily as a warning to other companies which may be considering large wage offers. And, in the teeth of all odds, he is maintaining the Phase Four hard line—no wage rises above the 5 percent—despite failure to secure a new "social contract"-type deal with the Trades Union Congress leadership.

However, there are still large sections of the organised union movement which are pursuing wage claims far beyond the 5 percent limit. Late last week, the miners union reaffirmed that it would continue its fight for a 40 percent pay increase. It is therefore critical that the lessons of the bureaucratic sellout at Ford be hammered home.

In order for the working class even to recoup the losses in its living standards sustained in four years of Labour's wage controls, it is necessary for all sections of the workers who have wage claims pending—especially the miners, the Leyland workers and local government employees—to come out *together* in strike action. But the Ford sellout has shown, once again, that the cowardly pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucrats have not the slightest intention of leading such a struggle against the Labour government.

What is needed is a class-struggle leadership of the labour movement, capable of championing united working-class strike action as the way forward for smashing wage controls. Such a leadership would fight for a programme to provide a *proletarian* alternative to the endemic crisis of British capitalism: a struggle for the smashing of the capitalist state and the creation of a workers government. ■

Defend Gene Goldenfeld!

Gene Goldenfeld, a five-year member of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), has gained new support in his fight against victimization by U.S. Steel for respecting picket lines. The October 23 membership meeting of USWA Local 1014 at U.S. Steel's Gary Works, where Goldenfeld is a journeyman motor inspector, went on record backing his grievance against a 38-day suspension for refusing to cross the picket lines which striking railroad workers had thrown up at the Gary Works in late September. The pickets were part of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airlines Clerks' dramatic four-day tie-up of the nation's railway system, which was brought to an end by President Carter's invoking of the strikebreaking Railway Labor Act.

Goldenfeld told *WV* that 150 steel workers at the meeting voted unanimously to throw the local's full support behind his grievance (see motion in box). In addition, Goldenfeld said a petition endorsing the motion that was circulated prior to the meeting was signed by 135 of his co-workers, including five local officials.

When the rail workers struck and set up their picket lines, attempting to shut down the trains that carry iron ore and coal into the plant and finished steel out, Goldenfeld not only refused to cross them but distributed a leaflet urging that the leadership of the USWA instruct its members not to cross. He was charged by the company with "unauthorized absence" and promoting a work stoppage, allegedly in violation of the contract's no-strike clause. The 38-day suspension he was given sets him up for firing over the next minor pretext.

LOCAL 1014 MOTION IN DEFENSE OF GENE GOLDENFELD

WHEREAS brother Goldenfeld is being unjustly disciplined for honoring picket lines and for expressing his views on union policy; and

WHEREAS the company will seek to use this as a precedent to victimize others and to threaten the right of union members to publicly express their views; be it therefore

RESOLVED that Local 1014 lends its wholehearted support to the grievance of brother Goldenfeld, and demands that the company immediately grant the grievance and tear up the suspensions, granting full back pay.

Goldenfeld is waging a fight not only in his own defense, but for the right of all unionists to respect the most basic labor weapon: the strike picket line. In addition to mobilizing support within the union, Goldenfeld said he has also retained a lawyer and filed a charge against U.S. Steel with the National Labor Relations Board. In a leaflet distributed at Gary Works, Goldenfeld stated:

> "I have filed the NLRB suit in order to leave no stone unturned in the fight against the suspension. However it would be foolish to rely on the government to defend the labor movement's use of militant tactics, like picket lines, against the companies. On the contrary, the government undermines labor solidarity any way it can. Just in 1978, 'Peanut Boss' Carter has shown this to the hilt: he used his 'emergency powers' to break the coal miners' strike and the rail strike. And both of these nationwide strikes were powerful only because workers honored each others' picket lines!
>
> "The task of defending the picket line—a weapon of class struggle—rests with the labor movement itself. Labor must mobilize to defend its own whenever a strike is attacked, a picket line busted up, or an individual militant singled out for victimization."

To help defray legal expenses, a defense fund has been established. The Partisan Defense Committee has made a donation to the Gene Goldenfeld Defense Fund and *WV* urges members and supporters of the labor movement to do the same. Contributions should be sent to: Gene Goldenfeld Defense Fund, c/o Box 66, Gary, Indiana 46402. ■

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Bukharin...

(continued from page 7)

not by technocratic/bureaucratic elites but by genuine soviets; for economic integration of the workers states and extension of the revolution. And this requires the construction of a Trotskyist vanguard workers party irreconcilably hostile to all wings of the ruling bureaucracies.

Can the Stalinists Rehabilitate Bukharin?

Certainly of all Stalin's victims among the Old Bolsheviks, Bukharin appears to be the one whom the bureaucracy could most easily claim as one of its own. Moreover, partial attempts at his rehabilitation have already occurred. During Khrushchev's tenure Bukharin's widow was granted a private audience with him to discuss the question. And in December 1962 a leading CPSU spokesman was permitted to go so far as to admit in public that "Neither Bukharin nor Rykov, of course, was a spy or a terrorist."

There have been a number of indications that Khrushchev was prepared to go all the way and officially rehabilitate Bukharin and some other Old Bolsheviks. The most detailed evidence to this effect comes from a letter by Zhores Medvedev to the Russell Foundation. According to Medvedev, after Khrushchev's toppling from power he discussed the question in 1968 with the author of a play entitled *Bolsheviks*:

> "...Khrushchev began to explain that Bukharin and Kamenev were among the group of leaders whose rehabilitation was under consideration in 1958 after the 'elimination' of the Molotov-Malenkov 'anti-party' group from the Party leadership.
> "The resolution about the reconsideration of the Moscow show trials was already ready and it was decided to publish it in newspapers. A Special Commission of the Central Committee had already completed the work and recommended rehabilitation. M. Suslov and some others were against this rehabilitation, but the majority was in favour. Probably Suslov alerted some of the leaders of the European Communist Parties. Among them, only the Italian Party supported the whole process of rehabilitation and wanted it to continue. Maurice Thorez, however, urgently flew to Moscow and urged Khrushchev to postpone the rehabilitation of Bukharin, Rykov, Zinoviev and others. 'After the XXth Congress and the Hungarian events we lost almost half our Party,' said Thorez. 'If you were formally to rehabilitate those who were tried in the open trials, we could lose the rest. ... You can rehabilitate them, later, not all at the same time, but one after another, slowly.' 'These arguments influenced us,' said Khrushchev... "

While any rehabilitations of Stalin's victims pose certain difficulties for the Kremlin, the Eurocommunists are positively eager to take up the case of the right-Bolshevik Bukharin. The Italian Communist Party, in particular, has devoted much attention to the case. The PCI newspaper *l'Unità* (16 June 1978) published a statement by historian Paolo Spriano saying, "The need to do justice to this eminent representative of the international communist movement ... is ... a moral and political necessity." Earlier, on 26 March *l'Unità* ran a long interview on the same subject, as did the PCI's cultural journal *Rinascità*, and on 22 June PCI spokesman Aldo Tortorella said in an interview with *La Repubblica*, "If today we are fighting for Bukharin, tomorrow we shall fight for Trotsky."

Having remained silent for so long, the "moral necessity" felt by these veteran reformists is rather murky. But the political necessity is patently obvious. While allowing them to take up cudgels for a historic figure of the Communist International, and thus refurbish their leftist credentials, it provides an opportunity to distance themselves further from the Kremlin. The real pressure they are facing is that of the imperialist "human rights" crusade led by Jimmy Carter. In order to prove their respectability and "democratic" reliability, the Eurocommunists defend Bukharin ... along with the likes of Anatoly Sheharansky, who even the Pentagon admits is guilty of passing Soviet defense secrets to the West.

D. Seymour

Maurice Thorez

"Eurotrotskyists" Chase Eurocommunists

For the pseudo-Trotskyist revisionists of the United Secretariat, the Bukharin case is a glorious opportunity to speed up their chase after the Eurocommunists. For them it is another expression of their fundamental Pablo-ist liquidationism—the belief that somehow the Stalinist bureaucracies, or their Eurocommunist former cohorts—can be revolutionized, or at least "radicalized." Thus Ernest Mandel appealed to the Eurocommunist leaders in his essay on the 1976 East Berlin conference of Communist Parties.

> "They should demand the public rehabilitation of Trotsky, Bukharin, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Rakovsky, and all the Old Bolsheviks. They should demand that the works of these revolutionaries be freely published and distributed in the USSR and People's Democracies. Otherwise their pledges of socialist democracy have little credibility."
>
> —*From Stalinism to Eurocommunism* (1978)

So now they're doing it. Must we now conclude that these bureaucrats' claims of "socialist democracy" are now... credible?!

For some time now the USec has been shilly-shallying on the issue of Eurocommunism, now declaring it "contradictory," now issuing a more orthodox condemnation of it as a rightist trend. But whenever they smell an opportunity the Mandelites' opportunism soon comes out. The flagship of the USec line, the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), recently published an article directed at the French CP's *L'Humanité* fête (*Rouge*, 9-10 September), in which it declares that now that the Eurocommunists admit Stalin committed a few crimes "all the explosive questions of the day" can no longer be suppressed. *Rouge* exhorts, "We must seize on the debate which has now opened ... to the extent that this is a movement born in the fight against Stalinism."

The LCR insists that the Eurocommunist phenomenon is "contradictory" because of the West European CPs' preoccupation with "respond[ing], even if in a partial fashion, to the democratic aspirations expressed by the workers in their struggle." Of course, it notes, if only to cover its tracks, the Eurocommunists "feel compelled to historically rehabilitate the ideas of Trotsky while totally refusing to draw the political consequences"!! As for the LCR's own goals, *Rouge* puts them succinctly:

> "We battle for the rehabilitation of Trotsky and the assassinated Bolsheviks because we want to impose the recognition that Trotskyism is a current in the workers movement."

Just as legitimate as pro-capitalist reformism, you see. What a cringing, whining appeal: "Please, comrades Stalinists and Eurocommunists, just tell the workers we have a right to exist!" A clearer statement of political bankruptcy would be hard to find.

So today the "Eurotrotskyists" of the USec join the Eurocommunist reformists in scolding the Kremlin. But it is not only the Stalinist bureaucrats of the USSR who have dirty hands. The concern for workers democracy by the Mandelites and the SWP is highly selective. Following the lead of their former mentor Michel Pablo, who in the early 1950's split the Fourth International with his liquidationist program of "deep entry" into the Stalinist parties to pressure them to the left, the USec for years refused to defend the Chinese Trotskyists jailed by Mao in 1949-51, slandering them as "refugees from a revolution." And not only did they apologize for Castro, labeling Cuba a healthy workers state that merely "lack[ed] the forms of workers democracy," but they remained criminally silent when the Cuban Trotskyists were imprisoned in the early 1960's. Barry Sheppard, today SWP national secretary, dismissed them cynically, remarking: "There are Trotskyists and there are Trotskyists. But if I were in Cuba, I wouldn't be arrested."

Other Closets, Other Skeletons

The Eurocommunists would have us believe that Stalin's crimes were the result of a "cult of the personality," and in any case stopped with the death of the Secretary General in 1953. Like Mexican CP leader Valentin Campa, whose recently published memoirs detail how the GPU carried out the assassination of Trotsky, they seek to throw the blame exclusively on the Kremlin and "outside interference" in their parties (see "How the Stalinists Planned Trotsky's Murder," *WV* No. 218, 3 November 1978). But the infamous murder in Coyoacán, the shots in the neck in the Lubyanka basements, the mass executions in Stalin's Gulag were not the result of the individual perfidy of a megalomaniac. They were predictable and necessary to maintain in power a clique which precariously balances between imperialism and the working class, and thus furiously strikes out at every possible threat of revolution.

The Moscow Trials were part and parcel of the bloody logic of class collaboration, just like the 1927 massacre of communists in Shanghai or more recently the 1965 Indonesian coup, which left half a million dead, needlessly sacrificed on the altar of reformism. And the European Communist parties have plenty of skeletons in their own closets which they are having difficulty reconciling with their new-found "democratic" images. The most dramatic case is that of the Number One Eurocommunist, Spanish Communist Party (PCE) leader Santiago Carrillo, who was part of the PCE political bureau which approved of the arrest of Andrés Nin, who was assassinated in the cellar of a GPU prison in Spain in 1937. Carrillo also expelled scores of party members returning from the hellish Nazi concentration camps of Dachau and Mauthausen as "Gestapo-Trotskyite agents."

In order to build enthusiasm for the "rehabilitation" campaign, Ernest Mandel has played up various statements by Carrillo distancing himself from some of the most rabid Stalinist "excesses" of the 1930's. "He completely rehabilitates Andrés Nin after the infamous accusations made against him by the Spanish CP and the Communist International," writes Mandel in a review of Carrillo's book, *Eurocommunism and the State* (1977). Moreover, the PCE leader's talk of bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet Union represents, he says, "a formidable historic vindication of Trotsky and Trotskyism. It legitimizes, fifty years after, the heroic struggle of our Soviet comrades..." (*Inprecor*, 12 May 1977).

It is instructive to look at just how Carrillo deals with Nin and Trotsky, for it is instructive of the kind of "rehabilitation" that the Euroreformists will deal out to those who pose the threat of revolution. Carrillo, far from "vindicating" Trotskyism, rails against the Fourth Internationalists' attacks on the popular front: "... Trotsky's viewpoints about the Spanish Revolution of 1936-39 could not have been more wrong." As for Nin, he only says it was too bad the man was shot, but simply because the Republican courts didn't condemn to death other leaders associated with the Barcelona May Days workers uprising of 1937, which he labeled a "putsch" and "an act of high treason" which meant "opening the front to the Francoist forces." Some vindication!

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It should not be thought that just because they break with the Kremlin the Eurocommunists will no longer be capable of such vile crimes. Today the Italian CP is leading the "anti-terrorist" hysteria, calling for beefing up the forces of capitalist repression, while accusing anarcho-Maoist groups, in a language worthy of the Moscow trials, of being proto-fascist provocateurs and agents of foreign intelligence networks. The social democrats are just as capable of murdering revolutionists as the Stalinists—witness the bloody assassination of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg incited by the Scheidemann-Noske government in 1919. And the Eurocommunists' "rehabilitation" of the Old Bolsheviks will be about as meaningful as the West German social democrats' issuance of a stamp bearing the portrait of Luxemburg half a decade after they inspired her death.

We stand with Trotsky on the question of who will rehabilitate whom, and *how*:

> "The victorious workers will remove him [Stalin] and his gangster collaborators from under the debris of the totalitarian abomination and make them account for the crimes committed by them at a real court.... the victorious working class will look through all the trials, public and secret, and erect on the squares of the liberated Soviet Union monuments to the unfortunate victims of the Stalin system of baseness and dishonor."
>
> —"Cain-Dzhugashvili Goes the Whole Way" (March 1938)

Only Trotskyism Withstood the Test

Bukharin's supporters have portrayed his March 1938 trial, labeled by Stalin the case of the "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites," as the Bolshevik leader's "finest hour." By skillful use of Aesopian language, Cohen writes, "Bukharin did not really confess to the criminal charges at all." Instead he sought to make a mockery of Stalin and his ex-Menshevik prosecutor Vyshinsky by declaring, "I plead guilty to...the sum total of crimes committed by this counter-revolutionary organization, irrespective of whether or not I knew of, whether or not I took a direct part in, any particular act" -and then denying the specific allegations.

It is true that Bukharin did not grovel in the pitiful manner of the rest of the accused in this courtroom mockery. The *New York Times* correspondent wrote:

> "Mr. Bukharin alone, who all too obviously in his last words fully expected to die, was manly, proud and almost defiant. He is the first of the fifty-four men who have faced the court in the last three public treason trials who has not abased himself in the last hours of the trial."

However, while he was facing the inhuman (and very real) threat to murder his wife and son should he refuse to confess, and although he refused to admit many of the most ludicrous charges, acquitting himself well in his chosen Brechtian role, Bukharin did in fact confess. He thereby aided Stalin's monstrous Big Lie campaign to wipe out the remains of the Bolshevik general staff of 1917 with the device of extorted "confessions," and failed to stand by his condemned comrades.

Bukharin asked his wife to memorize a last statement, which for all his capitulations, rightist policies and identification with the bureaucracy, deserves to be placed on the scales of historical justice:

> "I have been in the Party since I was eighteen, and the purpose of my life has always been to fight for the interests of the working class, for the victory of socialism. These days the paper with the sacred name *Pravda* [Truth] prints the filthiest lie, that I, Nikolai Bukharin, have wished to destroy the triumphs of October, to restore capitalism. That is unexampled insolence, that is a lie that could be equalled in insolence, in irresponsibility to the people, only by such a lie as this. It has been discovered that Nikolai Romanov devoted his whole life to the struggle against capitalism and monarchy, to the struggle for the achievement of a proletarian revolution. If, more than once, I was mistaken about the methods of building socialism, let posterity judge me no more harshly than Vladimir Ilyich did. We were moving towards a single goal for the first time, on a still unblazed trail."

This is an honorable statement, though a private one, of a broken man. To those who see Bukharin as an anti-Stalinist oppositionist, we would cite the balanced assessment of his testament by the historian Roy Medvedev:

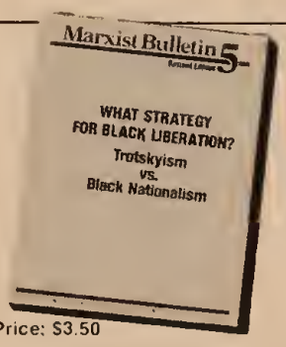
> "This letter reveals not only Bukharin's personal tragedy but also his failure, to the very end, to comprehend the frightful meaning of events. Bukharin defends only himself in his letter; he writes nothing about Zinoviev, Kamenev, Piatakov, and the other Party leaders who had already been arrested and shot. He writes that he knew nothing about the existence of Riutin's and Uglanov's secret organizations, but he does not question their existence. Above all, he stresses that he 'started nothing against Stalin'."
>
> —*Let History Judge* (1973)

And he ends with an appeal to "a young and honest generation of Party leaders" to reinstate his party membership.

Compare this to Trotsky's defense of the Old Bolsheviks on "trial" at the first of Stalin's Moscow frame-ups. "There are no compelling reasons for me to take upon myself any political or moral responsibility for Zinoviev and Kamenev," he wrote in December 1936. "Discounting a brief interval—1926-27—they were always my bitter adversaries.... Yes, they lacked sufficient character. These words, however, should not be taken too simplistically. The strength of any material is measured in terms of the forces operating on it and tending to destroy it.... But I have in my possession a sufficient number of documents and facts which are easily verifiable; I am so well acquainted with the participants, their characters, their relations, and the entire background as to be able to state with absolute assurance that the accusation of terrorism against Zinoviev and Kamenev is from beginning to end a contemptible, police-manufactured frame-up, without an iota of truth in it."

Bukharin can be "rehabilitated" by the Kremlin and Eurocommunists for the same reason that Trotsky never will: he did not represent a revolutionary opposition to the bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie. In the last analysis, it was not a question of individual heroics or personality. The Trotskyists maintained their integrity and were able to resist to the end because they were fighting for a program which offered a real answer to the bloody crimes of Stalin. This point was vividly made by Leopold Trepper, one of the most courageous Soviet intelligence agents operating underground in Nazi-occupied Europe during World War II. "Who did protest?" he asks:

> "The Trotskyites can lay claim to this honor.
>
> "Today, the Trotskyites have a right to accuse those who once howled along with the wolves. Let them not forget, however, that they had the enormous advantage over us of having a coherent political system capable of replacing Stalinism. They did not 'confess,' for they knew that their confession would serve neither the party nor socialism."
>
> *The Great Game* (1977)



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Cult Suicide...

(continued from page 5)

Jonestown, perhaps hoping the appeal of socialism will suffer the same fate as Kool-Aid.

In one of the more vicious attempts to "explain" the Jonestown death cult, *Village Voice* columnists Alex Cockburn and James Ridgeway link the Jones cult to the Black Panther Party. Inspired no doubt by the fact that both had Charles Garry for a lawyer, the *Voice* went on to note that the groups had in common a certain success in recruiting from the ghetto, support among rich guilty liberals and the use of gangster tactics. They might have added in their liberal smear of the Panthers that Eldridge Cleaver had offered the slogan of "revolutionary suicide."

But the Black Panthers did not commit suicide! They were killed by the government. The most militant expression of ghetto-organized left-wing black nationalism, the Panthers were hunted down, framed up, jailed and murdered in a campaign of organized secret FBI terror which in its rational murderous intent makes the Jonestown suicide look benign by comparison. Aspects of irrationality within the Panthers simply made the government's job easier. The Panthers' frustrated practice of vicarious terrorism—cartoons showing little black children and old people aiming automatic weapons at cops, with the slogan "Off the Pigs"—was part of an apocalyptic ghetto fantasy which provided an excuse for the cops to "off" the Panthers.

Certainly black nationalism in America has a strong component of utopian irrationality, for it is simply at odds with political reality. Sometimes this takes a more political form, as with the Panthers, while with the Black Muslims for example it is primarily religious.

The Panthers, the Muslims and Jim Jones recruited out of the same desperate ghetto milieu—the streetcorners and bars, the prisons. All deliver "rehabilitation" of drug addicts, petty criminals, prostitutes, all promise a better life. But for the Panthers the promise was "revolution in our lifetime"; when they decided that was hopeless, it was "revolutionary suicide" or a dive into the Democratic Party.

Desperate ghetto conditions produce visions of apocalypse. They also produce subjectively revolutionary men and women who want to strike out against their oppressors. Sometimes these elements get mixed up in the same organization. It is indicative that nearly every black mass leader has been deeply religious; M.L. King and Malcolm X are only recent examples. And there has been a certain traffic both ways between the religionists and the politicos: Malcolm X began a trajectory out of the mosque into radical political life, while ex-Panther Cleaver has become an imperialist for Christ.

But whatever the overlap, the People's Temple rhetoric about "socialism" and the fantastic elements of Panther ideology do not make an identity between these phenomena. The *Voice*'s cheap amalgam is at bottom an attempt to absolve the government's bloody destruction of the Black Panther Party.

Marxists could not be more estranged from the Jonestown nightmare. We ground our party in the realities of the life of the proletariat. For us human freedom is a goal to be struggled for in the real world. Our trade-union work is the struggle to become rooted in the very unfree life of the working class. It is unthinkable that a cult like the Marcusites, for instance, could maintain trade-union fractions; they are too full of themselves, too busy saving the world for their cult leader. Communists are rooted in the real world because they are working for the future. Unlike the self-developers who don't believe in a social future and would never waste their precious personal time on politics, revolutionaries are committed to a program for making our visions of social justice reality.

The horror of Jonestown recalls the most violent fantasies of the New Left. But even some New Left radicals—before so many became the humorless ascetics of the cults—understood the value of fantasy. If Jonestown seems like an episode out of the animated *Fritz the Cat* cartoon, the spirit of Fritz with his pragmatic sense of personal survival is missing.

For Marxists the alternatives are not madness or cynicism. It is through communist society alone that man will leave the realm of necessity for the realm of freedom. ■

Get the Witchhunters, Not the Witches!

So now the government cult-hunt will be on. Concerned parents of cult-ridden children will cheer, urging the FBI to destroy the nests of cultism. But a widespread government investigation will only add a witchhunt to the witches.

"Why has the FBI never investigated the People's Temple?" demand the mourning families and friends of the dead. "While the Jonescult runs around with end-game assassination squads, what is the government doing?" We can tell you what they are doing. The FBI is investigating us.

The secret police is not in the business of "protecting people," nor can it be. It is in the business of spying on, disrupting and sometimes killing members of the left, black and labor movements. Its sanctimonious talk about violence or the potential for terrorism is just the legal cover to maintain projects like COINTELPRO and the pick-up list for concentration camps.

The FBI has tens of thousands of pages of investigative reports on the Spartacist League, some of which we are beginning to recover through Freedom of Information Act inquiries. We notice that field office investigations are constantly discovering that the SL is not involved in illegal, conspiratorial or violent activities, and requesting that surveillance be discontinued. Of course, Washington inevitably overrules them.

For instance in Boston, the field office noted that "SPL [FBI code name for the SL] are not stockpiling weapons" and "it is not believed SPL...would consider such an action." Then the Boston office offered the following definition:

> "The SPL/SYL philosophy lends itself to a takeover by them (the working man) of the United States Government at some future time when the people as a whole want to do it. No statement of an armed revolution at this time or in the future was ever known to have been made."

But with such a definition, how would the FBI justify continued harassment of the SL? So Washington quickly wrote back to set the Boston office straight on "national priorities" according to "existing instructions." Similar discussions took place between Washington and its Milwaukee field office. And in Los Angeles the field office wanted to drop its spying on the SL altogether. Fat chance! Stamped on the FBI's documents on "SPL" are clear instructions. "Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification."

To hell with the cults. Let them kill themselves if that is their desire. Americans ought to turn their anger at the witchhunters instead of the witches.

WORKERS VANGUARD

FASH Seeks to Split Teamsters

Steel Hauler Strike in Midwest

Several thousand truck drivers who transport the output of the nation's steel mills began parking their rigs November 10, in response to a strike call from the Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers (FASH). So far, the strike seems to have had far less impact than its initiators expected. Though FASH chief Bill Hill claims that 60 to 70 percent of the steel haulers have joined the strike, that figure seems clearly exaggerated. Seven major steel companies are in court seeking injunctions against FASH pickets, but none of them say that more than 20 percent of their deliveries have been affected by the strike and no production cutbacks or layoffs have been announced.

The shutdown could still snowball. FASH claims that its first walkout, in 1967, started with only 20 drivers and grew within a month to encompass over 85 percent of the steelhauling industry. FASH spokesmen hope the current strike will spread in a similar fashion. In addition to picket lines being set up at truck entrances to some Midwest steel mills, steel haulers defying the strike call have been confronted with a number of other persuaders: nearly 200 violent attacks against rigs still on the road have been reported, including shootings, bricks thrown through windshields from turnpike overpasses, and tire slashings.

Some 30,000 independent truck owners carry over 50 percent of all finished steel products from the mills to fabricating plants. The drivers are required by federal regulations to lease their rigs to carriers who then pay the drivers a percentage of the fee charged for transporting the load, currently running about 70 percent. FASH has issued a 10-point list of demands, including a higher percentage, standard state regulations on truck weights and dimensions, elimination of state fuel and mileage taxes, federal license plates and uniform leasing arrangements. But FASH's central demand – as it has been for most of the group's 11-year history – is for independence for the steel haulers from the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT).

WV Photo

FASH pickets at U.S. Steel plant gate in Lorain, Ohio.

The Teamsters cover about 10,000 of the independent drivers through the steel haulers supplement to the union's Master Freight Agreement. Three times in the last 10 years FASH has unsuccessfully petitioned the NLRB to decertify the union. FASH's current strategy is to break the steel haulers out of the Teamster contract prior to its expiration next March 31, forcing the carriers to deal with it rather than the IBT. Denouncing the "slavery" of the "Mafia-dominated" Teamsters, FASH leaders in fact vow to work next spring even if the Teamsters call a nationwide strike, in effect offering to scab if the carriers will cooperate.

As could be expected, the FASH walkout is bitterly opposed by the Teamster leadership, which has ordered its members to ignore the "illegal" walkout and which is acting in collusion with the carriers, state police and federal law enforcement agencies in attempting to break the strike. Last week, IBT president Frank Fitzsimmons met with Attorney General Griffin Bell to urge harsh measures to end the strike and Bell has ordered U.S. attorneys and the FBI to "investigate." And Ohio Teamster leader Jackie Presser has called on the Labor Department to charge FASH with illegal interference with interstate commerce, pointing to permanent injunctions against FASH issued in 1971 and 1974.

Teamster spokesmen are upholding the right of the carriers to fire drivers who refuse to continue hauling and, in the case of at least two Pittsburgh-area steel mills, have dispatched Teamster members to help local police escort trucks through FASH picket lines. That the IBT so jealously aids the cops is both sordid and ironic in view of the fact that the Justice Department and a good number of grand juries are trying to put Teamster leaders behind bars on charges ranging from fraud and extortion to assault and murder.

The clash between the Teamsters and FASH raises important questions for IBT members, the labor movement and Marxists. Can owner-operators, who are properly speaking not workers at all but a petty-bourgeois stratum, intermediate between the working class and the employers, be successfully organized into the labor movement? And, if so, how?

In recent years the number of independent truckers has mushroomed, so that there are now about 100,000 carrying all kinds of freight – of whom only about 20 percent are organized into the Teamsters. This expansion has come at the expense of the predominantly unionized fleet companies. Major shippers have resorted increasingly to utilizing owner-operators because of substantial cost savings: the owner-operators work grueling 80 to 100 hour weeks at declining commission rates. While many make a fairly decent income, their hourly rates of compensation are in fact generally much lower than the employed drivers.

In addition, the independent himself bears the expense of purchasing and maintaining his own equipment, paying for fuel, insurance, etc. – factors which make it ever more difficult for them to make ends meet without working longer hours and ignoring basic safety standards. Under these conditions there is a fantastic turnover rate. Thousands of independent truckers go bankrupt every year and are replaced by new owner-operators willing to work on even thinner margins. As a result, the expansion of the owner-operator trade poses a serious threat to established union standards on wages, working hours and conditions.

Further, the independents are by no means a homogeneous layer. Many are not "owner-operators" but in fact more successful entrepreneurs who have become small fleet owners employing non-union labor. FASH spokesmen conceded to *WV* that it is not uncommon for its members to own up to five trucks, hiring non-rig-owning drivers to run these small fleets. It is particularly this group of small employers that identifies most strongly, not with trade unions but with capital, whose conditions of existence exploiting labor it shares. Depending on the policies pursued by the organized labor movement, this sector can exercise considerable influence over the rest of the independents in fueling anti-union sentiments.

There is an inherent contradiction between the economic basis of the trade unions, which seek to protect their members by raising wages and shortening hours, and the economic reality (and resulting mentality) of the aspiring owner-operator. In striving to become a small fleet owner, his successes are grounded on squeezing out his competition, his willingness to work longer hours under less favorable conditions.

The independent truckers are a volatile petty-bourgeois stratum that wavers between the working class and big business. At times, even the perceived interests of the independents who own more than one rig may correspond with those of the working class. Thus, the 1974 work stoppage protesting the sudden rise in fuel prices following the Arab oil embargo was a supportable action in the interests of working people generally, who were forced to bear the brunt of the Nixon administration's price-gouging policies. At the other extreme, owner-operators can be mobilized as shock troops against the workers movement. This was the case in 1973 in Chile, when the strike of independent truck owners was one of the main battering rams of reaction in toppling the Allende regime.

The demand raised by FASH to separate from the Teamsters is therefore particularly dangerous and reactionary. It is not even essentially a question of

continued on page 8

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National Guard escorting convoy of trucks during 1973-74 protest.

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For Workers Revolution In Iran!

Down with the Shah! Don't Bow to Khomeini!

DECEMBER 13—A million Iranians streamed into the streets of Teheran on December 10 and 11 in a mammoth display of opposition to the bloody dictatorship of Reza Shah Pahlavi. Two days earlier the regime had reluctantly abandoned its attempt to ban all demonstrations in the capital during the Shi'ite Muslim holy month of Muharram. Elsewhere in Iran, however, troops clashed with demonstrators, and a number of protesters were killed in Isfahan.

Opposition leaders had turned Muharram and especially the holiday of Ashura (the 11th) into a test of strength with the shah. The lifting of the demonstration ban in Teheran was a sharp setback to the military government headed by General Gholam Reza Azhari, which has unsuccessfully attempted to stamp out the massive anti-shah revolt that has rocked Iran for more than a year. The next few weeks may well see the end of the shah's 25-year reign.

Muharram is a commemoration of the death of Hussein (the legitimate successor of Muhammed according to the Shi'ites) during the 7th century civil wars which divided Islam into the two great camps of Shia and Sunni. The linkage of this period of ritual mourning, which includes acts of self-flagellation, to the drive against the shah is another indication of the Islamic fundamentalism which dominates the current wave of demonstrations against the shah. For the past year Muslim preachers (mullahs) headed by Ayatollah (religious chief) Khomeini have constituted the political leadership of the opposition movement.

The streets of Teheran, bedecked with funereal black flags and plunged into darkness as a result of a power workers' strike, witnessed the chilling spectacle of protesters clad in ceremonial white robes and chanting "allah akbar" ("god is great") being mowed down by machine guns. Equally grotesque was the shah's claim on December 2, the first day of protests, that several hours of this slaughter had produced only seven deaths. The actual casualties from the demonstrators' suicidal advances on the shah's troops ran to nearly a thousand by December 4.

Setboun/Sipa

Off your knees, for workers revolution. Anti-shah demonstrators pray during mullah-led demonstration in Teheran.

On December 8 the government gave in. The demonstrations had not ceased and the city remained shut down by a general strike. Striking bank clerks and government workers had been joined by the oil workers who thus deprived the regime of vitally needed revenue. The shah not only allowed the mass marches to take place but renounced any attempt to force the oil strikers back to work. Karim Sanjabi, leader of the bourgeois liberal National Front, had already been released from jail two days earlier.

The two mass marches provided dramatic evidence of the organizational control of the religious hierarchy. On the 10th, contingents reportedly sat down, stood up, stopped and started at the direction of the parade marshals. Nearly all of the women participants wore the *chador*, the head-to-foot black cloak/veil prescribed by Islam. On the following day the marchers, once again numbering a million or more, were less well drilled. But this was because some had abandoned themselves to religious hysteria, performing the traditional self-flagellation. The anti-shah movement is not some spontaneous outburst which just happens to have religious spokesmen: rather, Khomeini relies on the organizational network provided by the thousands of preachers subsidized by levies on the bazaar's merchants.

Khomeini continues to press his call for the replacement of the Pahlavi monarchy by an "Islamic republic" from exile in France. The bourgeois liberal National Front, the mullahs' junior partner, has reiterated its refusal to join any coalition government with the shah. As a result his abdication is now widely seen as the only alternative to bloody chaos. The bourgeois press is filled with speculation about possible "transitional governments," a regency or rule by a military junta

Breakdown of Military Rule

In mid-November it seemed for a moment as if the turn to direct rule by the general staff might save the butcher shah. Despite sporadic street demonstrations, the economically strategic oil workers had been forced to end their strike. But the military government's authority was badly damaged by a renewal of protests sparked by soldiers intruding into a religious shrine in Mashhad. After pursuing demonstrators into the building, the troops opened fire, killing and wounding several persons. Three ayatollahs then issued a call for a national general strike on November 26 because, "The holy shrine has been damaged and subjected to sacrilege and its holy courtyard made the scene of shooting" (UPI dispatch, November 25). As many as a million people reportedly turned out in Mashhad to heed the ayatollahs' call.

By the end of November it was clear that the working-class strike wave had been only temporarily slowed, not crushed. Strikes by bank and government employees alternate with work slowdowns. The battered Iranian economy now suffers from a currency

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Election of Bob Mandel Confirmed

ILWU Ranks Stop Bureaucrats' Dirty Tricks

OAKLAND, December 7—An attempt to oust Militant Caucus leader Bob Mandel from the General Executive Board of Local 6 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) collapsed today, under the pressure of an aroused union membership. The official Balloting Committee completed a hotly contested recount and confirmed that Mandel had indeed been re-elected for a third term to the warehouse local's executive board in an election held November 16.

The fact that an honest recount took place was testimony to the authority which Mandel and the Militant Caucus have won in the ranks of the union, and to a show of support that headed off the real threat of bureaucratic "dirty tricks" in the recount process. The background to the disputed recount made it clear that a section of the union bureaucracy was once again attempting to rid itself of class-struggle opposition in the union's leading body.

According to the account in the latest "Warehouse Militant" (4 December), published by the Militant Caucus, Mandel had won the tenth and last spot in the East Bay division of Local 6 in the November 16 balloting, with 295 votes, edging out local leadership loyalist Louise Dalton by one vote.

Mandel told *WV* that he approached Dalton and Local 6 secretary-treasurer LeRoy King on the afternoon the ballots were counted, stating his willingness to have a recount on the spot. But King declined the offer, ruling that there were no constitutional grounds for a GEB recount. Hence, the local's Balloting Committee correctly certified the elections and then turned the ballot boxes over to King. On Monday, December 20, the official Local 6 election bulletin came out listing Mandel as one of those elected. Then came a sudden switch:

> " . . . on Tuesday our original suspicions were confirmed. King informed Mandel that Dalton was demanding a recount and he was now granting the request, completely reversing his initial ruling! Checking with various union members on both sides of the Bay, it became clear that the motivation behind the recount move was purely political. We were told that various groups within the leadership want Mandel off the GEB, and have reportedly urged Dalton to pursue her challenge. We were told that these leadership groupings included the Figuereido/Ramos/Mercado circle who had led the unsuccessful attempt to have Mandel 'censured' in 1975. Dalton is a supporter of the leadership who earlier this year was appointed by the International as overseas delegate."
>
> —"Warehouse Militant," 4 December

This line-up of bureaucrats was not accidental—it was virtually the same group which pushed to censure Mandel at a GEB meeting in February 1975 because of Mandel's role in initiating mass picketing tactics in the KNC Glass strike of that year. When Mandel, then a newly elected GEB member, and other ILWU militants helped mobilize hundreds of union members to man the picket lines at KNC to turn back mass scabbing, the do-nothing ILWU tops and their lake-left lapdogs went into a frenzy. Well-known Communist Party (CP) supporter Joe Figuereido, a Local 6 business agent, insinuated that Mandel was a "provocateur," while then-regional organizer LeRoy King demanded Mandel's expulsion from the union. But the GEB censure motion was quickly overturned by an outraged membership at the following local meeting, with every Local 6 worker at KNC signing a statement opposing the censure and supporting the militant tactics used in the strike.

There were thus grounds for concern when it was learned that it was the same LeRoy King who now held the keys to the ballot box, stored for some days at the union hall. Even Vern Brown—a well-known supporter of the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party and a bitter foe of the Militant Caucus—later admitted in his capacity as head of the Balloting Committee that after the original count no real steps were taken to secure the ballots. But in slightly more than two days the Caucus got about 150 Local 6 members, including at least 13 stewards and three GEB members, to sign a petition which read:

> "Because of the dubious circumstances surrounding the Mandel/Dalton recount and in order to protect the integrity of the Local 6 election process, we call on Sister Dalton to withdraw her challenge and on the Secretary-Treasurer and Election Board to certify the already published totals as final."

In an interview with *WV*, Mandel described the wave of support that developed.

> "We know that members from more than 20 ILWU-organized houses protested to the union leadership once they heard about the planned recount. I've been told that even many of Louise Dalton's coworkers, including the chief steward at her plant, told her she should withdraw. On the day of the recount, King complained to me, 'My phone didn't stop ringing all Wednesday afternoon!'
>
> "The center of support came from houses where the Caucus has played a significant role in helping the membership make gains. Fourteen members from KNC including the chief steward led off the fight with a telegram to the officers flatly opposing the recount. Right behind them came a petition of support from approximately 30 members at Owens Illinois, circulated by the chief steward and his closest collaborator, who were the top vote getters in the election for the new GEB in the East Bay. Owens was the site of the critical fight over a year ago, where the membership in collaboration with the Militant Caucus successfully defended Local 6's historic tradition of never crossing another union's picket lines despite the leadership's order to scab.
>
> "Support also came from the chief steward from Safeway Preserves and at Rathjen Liquors, who had worked with the Caucus to stop ILWU shipments during the recent IBT grocery strike. In an impressive outpouring of support representing much more than simply anger at the leadership's dirty tricks, the response was from members who understood that the Caucus's class-struggle program can defend the union and win victories and demanded that these policies be represented on the GEB."

WV Photo

Bob Mandel

The abortive attempt to hump Mandel was the attempt of a shaky bureaucracy to tighten its control over the union's apparatus in the face of upcoming negotiations for the union's master contract, which expires next June. The Local 6 leadership has seen its authority severely eroded since a bitter defeat in the 1976 contract strike. The failure of Local 6 president Keith Eickman to honor all Teamster picket lines during the recently defeated supermarket strike—despite demands from ILWU members who were honoring the lines—was an ominous sign to the membership as the union faces its own contract struggle. It is widely perceived in the local that the bosses will wage the same kind of frontal offensive against ILWU warehousemen that was mounted against the Teamsters and that a hard-fought strike may be required even to preserve existing union standards.

Many local leaders have responded to this situation by simply jumping ship. Twelve out of 19 GEB members in the San Francisco and East Bay division of the warehousemen's section of the union chose not to even run for re-election. Also symptomatic of the collapse at the top was the recent resignation of well-entrenched business agent Evelyn Johnson, who left the union and went directly over to the companies, taking a management job at a company she previously bargained with.

Faced with this shakiness at the top of their union at a time when hard-fought battles are on the agenda, the local ranks responded in a generally conservative fashion in the recent election. Three fifths of the local members did not even vote. Though those incumbents who did seek re-election were returned to office, the membership voted for many new faces largely along ethnic lines, in a local that is divided almost equally between blacks, whites and Chicanos.

In the balloting, Mandel's own percentage of the vote was reduced (in 1976 he came in second, with 398 votes). But the mobilization of the membership in the recount fight, as well as the votes for other, lesser-known Militant Caucus GEB candidates, shows that the Caucus has a sizable base of support in the local. Caucus candidate Pete Farrugio got 252 votes, Peter Woolston 196, and Jack Dow 187.

Summing up his view of the elections,

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Letter

Editorial Board
Workers Vanguard

Dear Comrades,

I want to correct an error in *WV*'s otherwise adequate recent reply to the "rat groups'" anti-SL harrage ("Hate the Truth, Hate the Spartacist League," *WV* No. 217, 20 October). In quoting from the Landyites' polemic against my January 1977 speech, *WV* repeated their misquotation: "The Greek population exists by selling its children or selling Swiss watches to one another." Even according to the dishonest Communist Cadre pamphlet, my phrase was "exporting its children." This a protest against the civil war's devastation of the country—which outside the cities of Athens and Salonika has been hideously depopulated as economic necessity compels the young people to emigrate, ultimately calling into question Greece's survival as a nation—and the destruction of a people has been transformed into gibberish.

May I also suggest that a valuable adjunct to *WV*'s response to these attacks—which, as you pointed out, delete much of the political material in the talk—would be to republish that section of *WV*'s original article which presented the forum's central conclusion, the SL's regroupment program for left Pabloites.

Comradely,
Jim Robertson

WV replies: The following outline of key points of a draft declaration by Trotskyists driven out of the United Secretariat who now support the international Spartacist tendency is reprinted from "New York Spartacist Forum—Reforge the Fourth International!", *WV* No. 143, 4 February 1977:

- No political or electoral support to popular fronts; for conditional opposition to workers parties in open or implicit class-collaborationist coalitions;
- Uphold the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution; for proletarian leadership of the national/social struggle;
- For military support to petty-bourgeois nationalist forces fighting imperialism, but absolutely no political support to such forces; for Trotskyist parties in every country;
- For unconditional defense of all the deformed/degenerated workers states against imperialism; for political revolution against the bureaucracies; no political support to competing Stalinist cliques and factions;
- Against violence within the workers movement;
- For communist fractions in the unions, based on the Transitional Program;
- For the communist tactic of the united front from above; for the tactic of regroupment to unite subjective revolutionists in the vanguard party; for intransigent exposure of centrism;
- Rejection of the claims of ostensibly Trotskyist Internationals to speak for the Fourth International, destroyed by Pabloism in 1951-53;
- For the reforging of a democratic-centralist Fourth International which will stop at nothing short of the dictatorship of the proletariat

Blacks Fight Klan Terror in Tupelo

Tupelo, Mississippi has become the center of a fight by blacks seeking equality against the racist terror of the Ku Klux Klan. On November 25 an estimated 2,500 people from northern Mississippi and some cities in the North—many wearing "Justice for All" T-shirts—marched in this city of 25,000 under the banners of the United League (UL) of Northern Mississippi, demanding an end to police brutality and Klan terror and calling for jobs for blacks under "affirmative action" quota plans.

Continuing a months-long pattern of provocation, about 40 hooded terrorists of the KKK, brandishing their artillery, stationed themselves outside the FBI offices and the local police station where they could be assured of vigorous protection. The Klan has made Tupelo a target for its special brand of genocidal vigilante actions. Given the go-ahead by Jimmy Carter's "human rights" Supreme Court and with the legal backing of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), the Klan has organized its race terror on the streets of Tupelo in broad daylight and has stepped up its night-riding cross burnings throughout this rural area of the Deep South.

Vowing to "counter-demonstrate" every time the blacks of Tupelo march down the streets, the KKK poses a direct threat to the lives of any and all blacks who assert their democratic rights. In August United League leader Howard Gunn reported that he narrowly escaped death when Klansmen fired 17 bullets into his car; other UL members have been chased by the KKK killers as well.

The Klan has a long and murderous history in this region. It was near Philadelphia, Mississippi that the three civil rights workers Chaney, Goodman and Schwerner were killed at the start of "Freedom Summer" in 1964. And Medgar Evers of the NAACP was shot dead outside his home in Jackson in 1963. In fact, the Klan and the White Citizens Councils have been getting away with murder for years, and the local residents know that police departments are riddled with these shock troops of white supremacy.

UPI

Klan provocation on the streets of Tupelo, June 10.

The Tupelo Boycott and the KKK

The November 25 march was the latest action in an ongoing struggle in Tupelo that began in March when the UL organized a black boycott of white-owned stores, followed by nearly weekly "Marches for Justice" and "Silent Vigils." The black protests were sparked by the cop beating of a black man, Eugene Pasto, who drove through town with a white woman in 1976. The police captains poured salt in his eyes and beat a confession out of him for cheek forging, as well as forcing him to sign a waiver of his rights. The federal court overturned his conviction in 1978 but merely fined cops Dale Cruber and Roy Sandefer. The United League demanded that these racist sadists be fired and that the Tupelo merchants and city government hire blacks until their overall employment equaled their proportion (30 percent) of the city population.

The boycotts were explosive. By April Cruber and Sandefer had been fired, but then the Klansmen rode into the picture as the self-appointed champions of racist police brutality and as vigilantes for whites "victimized" by blacks and "carpethaggers." The Klan held rallies with Cruber and Sandefer as featured speakers. And while crosses burned in northern Mississippi, the city reinstated the two vicious cops.

On June 10 about 1,000 UL protesters were met by 300 Klansmen and hangers-on in the streets of Tupelo. The KKK was protected by the Tupelo cops, who were heavily armed with shotguns and rifles. The open mutual aggression pact between the cops and the KKK made public what every black in Tupelo has always known—under the white sheets are blue uniforms. When five Klansmen unmasked proudly before national TV cameras at a KKK rally, four of them turned out to be cops. The mayor of Tupelo had promised that there would be no more Klansmen on the police force "by November 21." It was a false promise, notable only for what it admitted about the reality of the Tupelo police force.

Jackson Advocate

The Democratic Party connection: Skip Robinson (right) urged his United League to support reactionary Charles Evers, (left).

Blacks have refused to be intimidated by the Klan, and the Tupelo boycott has gone beyond the intentions of its leadership in tapping the justified hatred of the black masses for the racist terrorists. The prayerful pacifism of the Martin Luther King marches carries very little weight these days with the Tupelo blacks who have to face the KKK. And while the UL has its share of preachers and describes itself as "non-violent," it has come to the Klan-filled streets of Tupelo prepared to defend its people against racist violence. League leader "Skip" Robinson says:

> "We are not going to get out on the street and demonstrate by lying down in front of an automobile. We think that there are people who are *waiting* for us to lie down.
>
> "We will have to protect ourselves because the law enforcement's not going to do it. The Justice Department's not going to do it. The FBI—you know, it came out that they were really working with the Klan in the '60's. They're still doing it. When we need a man to investigate a crime, they end up investigating us. They work completely with your local law enforcement agencies and from there, with the Klan. So we have to protect ourselves. Because we're non-violent, we're not cowards...we can't be fools."
>
> *Southern Struggle*, September-October 1978

Old Racism in the "New" South

The United League boycott has spread to other northern Mississippi towns, such as Okolona and Lexington, and the organization claims upwards of 60,000 members in 39 counties. Not surprisingly, the "New" South liberal establishment has become rather alarmed about Skip Robinson and his UL, viewing it as a potential threat to the passive liberalism of the NAACP and more established black leadership. A columnist in the Jackson *Capitol Reporter* (September 14) described Robinson's group as "rolling like a black cloud out of the northeast part of the state." And the same newspaper editorialized against the UL, reminding whites to be "thankful" for the "more rational, stable blacks whose objectives and methods are not radical"—organizations like the NAACP, the Urban League and the "black ministers and school teacher community." A McComb *Enterprise-Journal* (September 14) editorial entitled "Same Mistakes?" wailed that the "bad" old days of the civil rights movement seemed to be returning, and they were "too divisive, too violent, too self-defeating" to repeat.

It is interesting to note that the boycott tactics used by Robinson's group were also employed by the NAACP (of which Robinson is a member) in Port Gibson. But there a state judge ordered the NAACP to pay $1.25 million in damages to Port Gibson merchants for violating the laws governing "secondary boycotts." This attempt to bankrupt the NAACP was not lost on the United League, which hooked its boycott to demands for affirmative action in the stores it was boycotting, thus avoiding the charge of "secondary boycott."

But the UL's demands also grew out of the dead end experienced by the liberal-led civil rights movement of the 1960's. The liberals codified their reliance on the federal government into "affirmative action," which was used as a union-busting scheme, disastrously pitting black workers against white unionists. So while it is not surprising that the UL has adopted affirmative action demands, it should be understood that Tupelo, Mississippi is not New York or Detroit. And Robinson's demand to have the lily-white workforce integrated is the urgent necessity and basic democratic right of the Tupelo blacks. This is not the Nixon administration's "Philadelphia Plan" to bust the construction trades unions. The central fact of Tupelo is that there are virtually no unions in the area. The "affirmative action" demands of the United League reflect at bottom the just aspirations of Southern black people, so long forced to live as economic outcasts at the bottom of a racist caste system.

We support the drive to break the racist status quo in Tupelo. But the United League's quota scheme is not enough. The UL wants blacks to "be employed in business according to a percentage of black trade," or "that banks employ at least 50 percent Black employees until the ratio is equal." We want to harness the power of labor to bring down the whole racist structure. Quota schemes relying on the bosses' government will not make a significant dent in the high unemployment, low wage conditions of Mississippi. It will take a militant, labor-led fight for jobs and union organizing to begin to realize the needs and aspirations of the blacks marching in the streets of Tupelo.

Break with the Democrats!

A massive black equality/union organizing drive in the South is what is desperately needed. But the United League continues the most dangerous thread of the civil rights movement—the tie to the Democratic Party. And it does so through one of the more sinister and reactionary politicians of the state—Charles Evers. Evers, brother of slain civil rights activist Medgar Evers, rules as the tinpot mayor of Fayette. It was Evers who came to Tupelo as the "great compromiser." He appeared with Robinson and Tupelo mayor Clyde Whittaker on October 4, when Robinson credited Evers with working out a deal in which a few token jobs would be offered to blacks in the city government along with an "investigation" of the police force in exchange for calling off the boycott. Robinson then urged his organization to vote for Evers in the November senatorial contest (won by Eastland).

Evers "hates welfare with a passion," opposes union organizing, has "never believed in busing all the way cross town" and wants "a strong defense" of America (*Capitol Reporter*, 7 September). He supported George Wallace in Alabama and Richard Nixon in his final days. It will be a terrible repetition, indeed, if the early militancy in the ranks of the UL is turned into political capital

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 221 15 December 1978

Nicaragua, Peru, Iran, Portugal

Why a Revolutionary Constituent Assembly?

In recent articles on Chile and Nicaragua we have raised the demand for a "revolutionary constituent assembly." This demand has provoked a number of inquiries from our readers. Do we believe that a constituent assembly can be a possible organizational basis for proletarian socialist revolution? If not, what exactly do we mean by a revolutionary constituent assembly?

The parliamentary form of government, based on an atomized electorate and giving equal weight to petty-bourgeois and working-class voters, cannot be the representative organ of the dictatorship of the proletariat. However, the proletariat seeks to rally the petty-bourgeois masses around it by being the best defender of democratic rights and aspirations. In backward countries under autocratic or military bonapartist rule, the struggle for a representative, democratic government—a sovereign constituent assembly based on universal suffrage—can therefore in certain circumstances be key in uniting the toiling masses behind the proletarian vanguard.

On the other hand, the demand for a constituent assembly in the mouths of various anti-revolutionary fakers can easily be given a very different meaning. A timid bourgeois opposition may seek a peaceful transition through negotiating a compromise with the old regime, which could result in a temporary legislative body going under the name of a constituent assembly. Or a hard-pressed bonapartist regime seeking to forestall a popular uprising might convoke its own phony "constituent assembly." Even where the forms of universal suffrage and freedom for all parties are employed, the government in power can strongly influence, if not determine, the composition and role of such an assembly.

The call for a constituent assembly in Marxist programs has nothing to do with such conciliationist measures, just as the communist slogan of agrarian *revolution* in the backward capitalist countries differs fundamentally from liberal bourgeois plans for agrarian *reform*. Our call for a constituent assembly is one of a series of revolutionary democratic demands, raised in the context of a program for proletarian revolution, which can only be realized through the simultaneous or prior overthrow of bonapartist dictatorships. A "constituent assembly" under the aegis of a military junta or autocratic caudillo is a contradiction in terms. Where such schemes are put forward, Leninists must make explicit that their call is for a *revolutionary* constituent assembly, to be convoked by a revolutionary provisional government arising from victorious popular insurrection.

In the Nicaraguan case, some of the more conservative elements of the anti-Somoza opposition, frightened at the prospect and then the reality of a massive popular revolt, have tried to arrange a deal removing the ruling clan from political power while leaving their properties and private army (the National Guard) intact. Some time later "free elections" would be held for a new legislative body to replace the present puppet "Congress." In the face of these plans to ease out the hated dictator through deals at the top, we raised the demand for a revolutionary constituent assembly, in order to mobilize the peasantry and urban petty bourgeoisie behind a proletarian vanguard in the struggle to smash the Somoza regime. At the same time we called for a workers and peasants government based on soviets (see "Nicaragua in Flames," *WV* No. 215, 22 September, and "Mass Graves in Nicaragua," *WV* No. 216, 6 October 1978).

Are these demands contradictory? What would happen if a petty-bourgeois electorate were mobilized by the right, resulting in an anti-revolutionary majority in a constituent assembly which confronted organs of workers power? Would revolutionists then simply bow to the "democratic will of the majority" and dissolve their soviets? In the German revolution of 1918-19, where the proletariat was under the leadership of the majority and "independent" social democrats, something quite similar happened. A national congress of workers and soldiers councils was held in December 1918 in the first flush of the proclamation of a "socialist republic" following the overthrow of Kaiser Wilhelm on November 9. But the workers councils (under reformist leadership) voted to abdicate to the national assembly, which was elected a month later with a bourgeois majority. And the "democracy" which this organ of capitalist rule embodied was none too liberal: it was built on the bones of thousands of workers killed in the January 1919 "Spartacist uprising" in Berlin (among them revolutionary leaders Luxemburg and Liebknecht).

But this was not the program of the Bolsheviks, who fought for the qualitatively higher democracy of soviet power, representing the *class* interests of the working people. The same conflict between institutions of bourgeois and proletarian rule was posed even after October 1917, as the Socialist Revolutionaries, Kadets and Mensheviks achieved a majority in a constituent assembly elected shortly after the victory of the soviets in Moscow and Petrograd. The Bolsheviks had fought throughout the spring and summer of 1917 for elections to a constituent assembly at a time when the bourgeois provisional government refused to hold them out of fear that this would lead to an uncontrollable peasant uprising. But now this stage had been passed as the workers had seized power in the capitals.

The Bolsheviks did not simply call off the elections, for a pro-soviet majority might well have emerged in the wake of the peasant land seizures. This in turn could have reinforced the authority of the revolutionary government in Petrograd and greatly reduced the bloodshed of a civil war initiated by White generals counting on the peasants' religiosity and tsar-worship to aid their cause. So instead they demanded that the constituent assembly recognize the victorious soviet power as its first act. Only when the Kadet/Menshevik/SR majority refused to do so did Red Army soldiers disperse the body.

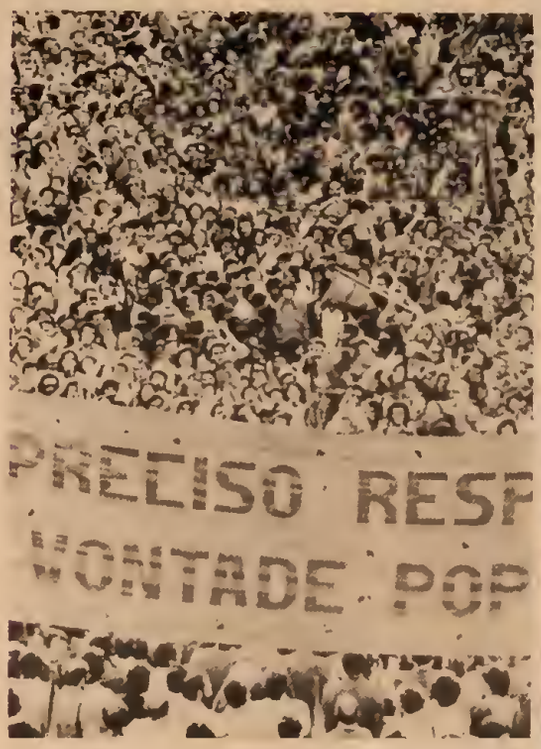
* * * * *

If the Nicaraguan bourgeois opposition has not (yet?) struck a deal with Washington and Somoza for a peaceful transition from puppet dictatorship to OAS-"supervised" democracy, the Peruvian military junta has already convoked its fraudulent "constituent assembly."

In the first years after its 1968 takeover, the nationalistic regime of General Juan Velasco Alvarado had enjoyed wide support among the masses due to its land reform policy and some initial nationalizations. However, the military's class loyalties soon led to bloody clashes with striking workers. As the generals became ensconced in the administrative apparatus, corruption mushroomed on a grand scale, while a whopping foreign debt was run up through purchases of the latest weaponry. The overthrow of Velasco in 1975 by a more right-wing general, Morales Bermúdez, further tarnished the junta's "progressive" image. So when, in July 1977, the Peruvian government attempted to implement a savage austerity program dictated by the imperialist bankers of the International Monetary Fund, it was answered by a massive general strike.

Morales' response was to order the firing of strike "agitators" and call for a "constituent assembly" to give the military regime an appearance of popular support. The basis for the convocation was a gentlemen's agreement with the main bourgeois parties and pro-Moscow Stalinists that the generals would stay in power until elections in 1980 or 1981. It was presumed that a victory of the "moderate civilian opposition" was guaranteed by the traditional Peruvian electoral law which excludes illiterates, who make up a large part of the peasantry and urban poor. And following the vote the junta would then have free rein to restore its credit worthiness with the Pentagon and Wall Street by imposing the IMF plans to slash workers' living standards.

However, everything did not work out as planned. Two "far left" dominated coalitions managed to surmount the registration barriers and presented slates of candidates headed by well-known personalities. And when in mid-May, a few weeks before the scheduled elections, the government again tried to decree the austerity program, the maneuver backfired and the masses responded with the most militant strike action in Peruvian history. When Morales thereupon exiled 13 opposition leaders, mainly would-be Trotskyists, Maoists and union leaders, this further enraged the workers. So when the



AP

In summer of 1975 Portuguese Socialist Party demonstrated for sovereignty of right-dominated Constituent Assembly (left), while leftist soldiers demanded its dissolution. SL called for generating workers commissions into soviets.

voting took place on June 18, although the right scored a predictable victory, the combined left vote totalled 25 percent, more than double any previous score. Of that, 13 percent went to the FOCEP led by the self-proclaimed Trotskyist peasant leader Hugo Blanco, far outdistancing the pro-junta Moscow-line CP.

Confronted with Morales Bermúdez' plans for a window-dressing "constituent assembly," which would have no real powers and would simply be empowered to draw up a constitution enshrining various reforms (as well as the military's bonapartist role as "guardian of democracy"), Marxists would have sought to boycott the elections, mobilizing the masses in struggle to *prevent* this sham vote from taking place or else utterly discredit it. If this were not possible due to the reformists' stranglehold, small communist propaganda groups would have attempted to present candidates denouncing the junta's plans to erect a *duma* (i.e., the hogus parliament set up by tsar Nicholas in response to the 1905 Russian Revolution), and calling instead for a revolutionary constituent assembly which would be convened over the ashes of the military dictatorship.

Blanco's FOCEP originally included as one of its four programmatic points the slogan "no submission to the government's regimented and antidemocratic constituent assembly" (*Intercontinental Press*, 3 July). However, after it did so well in the June 18 elections, the heterogeneous "far left" electoral bloc did a sudden turnabout and began calling on the "regimented and antidemocratic constituent assembly" to satisfy the demands of the working masses. On July 27, at the opening session of the constituent assembly, Blanco and seven other FOCEP deputies put forward a motion calling on the body to declare itself the government

> "Considering,
> "That the sovereign mandate of the people requires that the Assembly confront and resolve the problem of liberation from the imperialist yoke and that it accomplish the unresolved democratic and social tasks. ..
> "The Constituent Assembly assumes all legislative and executive powers of the nation in order to apply an emergency plan. .."
>
> —*Informations Ouvrières*, 9-23 August 1978

In the first place, the bourgeois majority of the assembly—headed by the pseudo-populist, violently anticommunist, CIA-connected APRA of Haya de la Torre—is not at all opposed to the government. APRA goons have recently made a habit of beating up left-wing demonstrators and strikers outside the assembly meetings. The well-informed *Latin American Political Report* (28 August) summarized APRA's tactics as, "keeping alive the hopes of the *aprista* masses that the assembly will actually do something for them, while enabling the party in practice to avoid causing the government too much embarrassment."

As for the other major capitalist party in the assembly, the right-wing Popular Christian Party (PPC), it blames the country's economic crises on deficits run up by the nationalized industries and calls for their return to the previous owners. PPC leader Bedoya is an open admirer of Chilean dictator Pinochet, moreover. Thus, the bourgeois majority of this hogus "constituent assembly" is, if anything, to the right even of the present Morales Bermúdez government, not to mention the military junta under Velasco Alvarado. Yet this is the body that the FOCEP calls upon to replace the generals and "resolve the problem of liberation from the imperialist yoke"!

Our call for a revolutionary constituent assembly in Nicaragua, Chile and Peru today takes as a historic precedent Trotsky's position in the first phase of the Spanish revolution in the 1930's. Hoping to still revolutionary discontent, the monarchy had moved to convene a Cortes (parliament) in early 1931. Trotsky advocated boycotting this body and wrote:

> "But even while boycotting [Prime Minister] Berenguer's Cortes, the advanced workers would have to counterpose to it the slogan of a *revolutionary constituent Cortes*. We must relentlessly disclose the fraudulence of the slogan of the *constituent* Cortes in the mouth of the 'left' bourgeoisie, which in reality, wants a *conciliationist* Cortes by the good graces of the king.... A genuine constituent assembly can be convoked only by a revolutionary government, as a result of a victorious insurrection of workers, soldiers and peasants." [emphasis in original]

* * * * *

In Chile, we raised the call for a revolutionary constituent assembly beginning earlier this year as the Christian Democrats began talking of removing Pinochet and replacing him with a reformed military junta. We pointed out that the demand for a constituent assembly is not an essential element of the Marxist program in countries with a bourgeois-democratic tradition, but rather a device to exploit the ruling class' fear of unleashing the working masses in the streets; and that it in no way negated or conditioned our call for workers revolution to smash the junta:

> "Counterposed to reformist adaptations to the bourgeoisie's program, as Trotskyists we raise the demand for a constituent assembly with full powers, directly and secretly elected by universal suffrage. A genuine constituent assembly by definition could only be convoked under conditions of full democratic liberties, permitting the participation of all the parties of the working class. Thus it requires as a precondition the revolutionary overthrow of the junta, something which the DC [Christian Democrats] and the reformists, despite their lengthy list of democratic demands, fail to mention....
> "In countries with a bourgeois-democratic tradition and a politically advanced working class, such as Chile, the demand for a constituent assembly is not a fundamental part of the proletarian program. Thus following the junta takeover, the iSt [international Spartacist tendency] did not raise this slogan. We raise it tactically at present against the bourgeoisie's efforts, aided by their agents in the workers movement, to make a pact with sectors of the military. Our purpose is to expose the bourgeoisie's fear of revolutionary democracy."
>
> —Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria de Chile, "Condemn Pinochet Plebiscite!" *WV* No. 190, 27 January 1978

* * * * *

Another qualification to the constituent assembly slogan arises out of the current crisis in Iran, where we call for a sovereign, *secular* constituent assembly. The powerful Muslim fundamentalist opposition led by Ayatollah Khomeini is demanding the restoration of the Constitution of 1906, which includes a 1907 amendment establishing a board of Islamic notables to insure that the laws passed by the majlis (parliament) conform to the Islamic legal code, the *sharriyat*. Such a theocratic constituent assembly would in effect outlaw working-class, ostensibly Marxist parties as infidels and would constitutionalize the barbaric oppression of women in Muslim culture.

The entire rest of the American and European (not to mention Iranian) left, however, has simply tailed after the mullahs, covering up their reactionary program of Muslim clericalism in order to be with the masses. Thus they also adopt Khomeini's program, including the call for a return to the 1906-07 constitution. This is particularly true of the ostensibly Trotskyist American Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which has lately become the champion of constituent assemblies anywhere and everywhere as the universal "consistent democratic" solution to the oppression of the masses.

In a recent article comparing the current situation in Iran to Russia in 1917, the SWP portrays the soviets as simply a *means* for obtaining democratic demands, notably the constituent assembly:

> "They [the Bolsheviks] called for an end to Russian participation in the imperialist war and for the immediate divison of the land among the peasants. And they campaigned for the speedy convocation of the constituent assembly to assure the replacement of the tsarist regime by a democratically chosen one.
> "In order to fight for these demands the Bolsheviks called for extending the soviets, factory committees and other organs developed by the masses in their struggle throughout the country."
>
> —*Militant*, 1 December 1978

Nowhere in the article did the SWP even mention that Lenin and Trotsky fought for the soviets to take power; instead it simply writes that workers and peasants representatives in a constituent assembly would call for a workers and peasants republic. This is a thinly disguised call for the traditional Menshevik/Stalinist perspective of "two-stage" revolution: first the constituent assembly, later for the workers and peasants government.

While the SWP chases after holy man Khomeini, forgetting about "all power to the soviets" and replacing it with "speedy convocation of a [theocratic] constituent assembly," the Spartacist League has demanded: Down with the shah! Down with the mullahs! For a sovereign, secular constituent assembly! For a workers and peasants government based on soviets in Iran!

* * * * *

The most blatant example of the SWP's constituent assembly cretinism in recent years, however, was at the high point of the working-class upsurge in Portugal in the summer of 1975. At that time—when workers commissions, popular assemblies and various other localized, embryonic forms of dual power were springing up everywhere in the country—these pseudo-Trotskyists made defense of democracy against military dictatorship the axis of their program for Portugal. In particular they called for defense of the "sovereignty" of the constituent assembly against the leftist officers of the bourgeois Armed Forces Movement (MFA), allied with the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP). Yet at that very moment the international bourgeoisie was furiously mobilizing support for counterrevolutionary forces in Portugal on precisely the same theme.

In its position paper on Portugal, adopted on 30 August 1975, the SWP-led Leninist-Trotskyist Faction of the United Secretariat (USec) wrote:

> "The fundamental task is to bring the workers to break from subordination to the Armed Forces Movement and to assert their right to put a workers and peasants government in power.
> "This fight at the present time centers on the sovereignty of the Constituent Assembly, in which the workers parties have a substantial absolute majority and which is the only national body thus far elected by the populace. This is counterposed to the sovereignty of the unelected military hierarchy which constitutes the present government."
>
> —"The Key Issues in the Portuguese Revolution," *Intercontinental Press*, 20 October 1975

The call for defense of the sovereignty of the constituent assembly is repeated throughout the document. Conversely, nowhere did the SWP-led faction call for generalizing the embryonic forms of workers power and centralizing them in soviets. On the contrary, all such talk was denounced as a diversion:

> "The revolutionary processs has not reached the point where clear forms of workers power have emerged....
> "The ultraleftist schemas of 'revolutionary councils' projected in *opposition* to the Constituent Assembly play into the hands of the military demagogues."

Was it really a case of military dictatorship vs. parliamentary democracy? This resolution was written at the point where counterrevolutionary mobs in northern Portugal were sacking PCP offices (something it took the *Militant* three weeks to even mention, whereupon it sought to excuse them by arguing that since the PCP was the military's main supporter "it was inevitable that such mass mobilizations would express anti-Communist feelings"), and Socialist Party (PS) leader Mário Soares was fulminating against "parallel powers"

continued on page 13

Bulloz

Parisian masses disperse reactionary National Assembly, May 1848.

Marka

Peruvian constituent assembly last August.

Spartacist League Gets SWP's Goat

"Next Week ... The Strange World of James Robertson and the Spartacist League: An American Sect Heads for Outer Space" announced a display ad in the 13 November issue of the Socialist Workers Party's (SWP) *Intercontinental Press*. Our appetites whetted, we counted the days until we could send a comrade to SWP headquarters to buy 150 copies of the 20 November *IP* with the promised article.

We were still brooding about asking for our money back when the 8 December *Militant* arrived with another SWP diatribe against the SL, this one titled "Iran: Is Struggle Against Shah's Tyranny Reactionary?" Though neither piece provides much food for thought, the very fact that the social-democratic SWP—which usually feigns total unconcern about the activities of the SL—has felt impelled to publish two lengthy articles about us in two and a half weeks indicates we must be doing something right.

WV self-exposure? Our communist line isolates us from the rad-lib milieu the SWP appeals to. But Shcharansky was guilty. The mullahs are no better than the shah.

IP in the Gutter

The *IP* opus by Will Reissner is an uninspired echo of a spate of attacks by several minuscule groups against an allegedly "chauvinist" speech given by SL National Chairman James Robertson in New York in 1977 (see "Hate the Truth, Hate the Spartacist League—New Left Moralists' Big Lie Campaign," *WV* No. 217, 20 October 1978). The SL has never minded polemicizing against obscure fringe cliques when they present a useful foil, but the SWP is always ever so sensitive to questions of scale. Yet Reissner relies on what *IP* terms "a gaggle of groups that revolve around the Spartacist League" to such an extent that he can find no better way to close than by quoting CommunistCadre, a group which was already down to four members when its founding leader dropped out this fall! Why? We charged in our 20 October article that "The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), reformist big daddy of all the fake-Trotskyist apologists for 'consistent nationalism,' calls the tune." Obliging of the SWP to step forward so promptly to take the credit.

Perhaps attempting to add his own angle, Reissner tries hard to present the SL as some kind of personality cult (apparently of the L. Marcus sort—note the references to "outer space," "a universe of negative gravity," etc.). At every point, the politics of the SL are personalized into emanations of Robertson: "Robertson-thought," "would Robertson today support...," "in the Spartacist paper *Workers Vanguard* the author (Robertson?)," "acres of innocent forest have been destroyed over the past decade to provide the paper to print Robertson's constant attacks on the politics of the Socialist Workers Party." This is yellow journalism of the most cynical sort. For instance, the notion that the entire SL press is actually ghostwritten by Cde. Robertson must be a subject of mirth in the inner circles of the SWP. Those in the know are surely aware that, though Cde. Robertson does write a bit for our press, he is hardly a literary *lider màximo* à la Tim Wohlforth. As one SL leader overstated it in an internal bulletin, "Robertson can't write ten lines." So much for the SL as a personality cult!

Because we are not a personality cult, it does not come naturally to us to complain about the vile epithets and outright slanders that have been thrown at Cde. Robertson personally by those who hate our politics. We are more likely just to note the "crudely falsifying editing" of the CommunistCadre version of the Robertson speech and leave it at that. But now that we are on the subject, we want to protest Reissner's attempt to make of Cde. Robertson a man from nowhere.

When the SWP was seeking defense among respected socialist spokesmen against the Healyite slander campaign directed at Joseph Hansen, it had no hesitation about soliciting Robertson's signature and playing it up in the pages of *IP*. But with the exception of one parenthetical reference to Robertson's Shachtmanite days, there is no way to tell from the present article (in which Robertson's name appears some 40 times) that the SL national chairman is not some skulking creature of unmentionable origin but a former member of the SWP and co-founder of its youth organization. No, Cde. Reissner, we are not heading for "outer space," nor did we originate there; in fact, the founding Spartacist cadre were expelled in 1964 from your organization, the SWP.

When those few dozen communists were tossed out of the SWP for the crime of opposing its deepening drive toward reformism, the SWP perhaps expected we would shrivel up and die. Instead, we have become the single credible Trotskyist alternative to the social-democratic SWP. The SWP finds itself compelled to take us on in *IP* not because of any purported motion away from this planet but because the SL and the SWP continue to butt heads in the real world—in the trade unions, on the campuses, in the international movement.

"Racist and Chauvinist"

The *IP* broadside has as its central intent isolating the Spartacist tendency from the radical/liberal milieu. The strategy is big-lie "racist"-baiting, e.g., the claim that Robertson and the SL support a line "bordering on subtle apology for imperialism." The tactic is to selectively quote paragraphs from the forum where Cde. Robertson discussed subjects like race and sex which are taboo in liberal polite society while ignoring, distorting or falsifying the political content of his remarks.

Naturally enough, *IP*'s Cde. Reissner begins with the comments on Albania which stirred up such a storm in the pages of the obscure publications of the Anti-Spartacist League:

> "And the harder Maoist types, looking for a spiritual homeland that has state power, are now looking at Tirana. We have had our comrades checking, and it is not yet assured, but we believe that Marx referred to the Albanians as 'goatfuckers.' Is that true? But then he was prone to ethnically pejorative phrases. And it must be pointed out that, to this day, and under conditions of the fourth 5-year plan, the production of goats is still the principal activity in Albania."

Reissner goes on to bait Marx and Engels as soft-core racists, ducks the question of whether they were correct in supporting European expansionism during capitalism's progressive period, then goes on to claim that "such characterizations today ... smack of the 'white man's burden'."

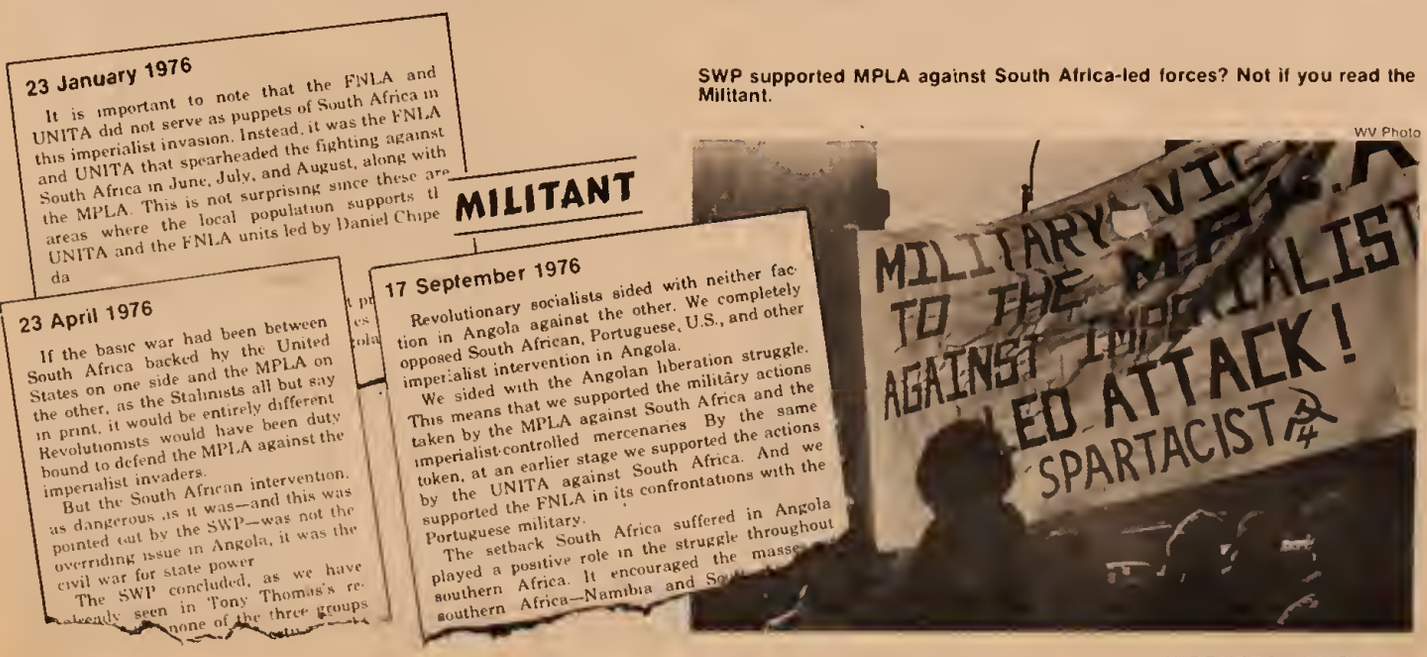
We are glad *IP* has raised Albania again, since it gives us an opportunity to defend Karl Marx. In his classic nine-volume work on sex, Havelock Ellis noted that bestiality as a general social practice is common among peoples who live in primitive proximity to nature:

> "Bestiality flourishes among primitive peoples and among peasants. Three conditions have favored the extreme prevalence of bestiality. (1) primitive conceptions of life which built up no great barrier between man and the other animals; (2) the extreme familiarity which necessarily exists between the peasant and his beasts, often combined with separation from women; (3) various folk-lore beliefs. . . "The significance of the factor of familiarity is indicated by the great frequency of bestiality among shepherds, goatherds, and others whose occupation is exclusively the care of animals."
>
> Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (1936 edition), Vol. II, Part One, pp. 79-82

Those who prefer a less scholarly source

SWP supported MPLA against South Africa-led forces? Not if you read the Militant.

WV Photo



are referred to the recent film, *Padre Padrone*, set among the peasants of Sardinia.

For those capable of looking past titillation, there is a point to the phrase attributed to Marx: a comment on the economic backwardness of Albania. It is a powerful reflection of the political bankruptcy of contemporary Maoists that they look not to the world industrial proletariat but to primitive Albania as the vanguard of human progress.

How is it that Cde. Robertson's comments on Albania so tweaked the SWP's tail? The indignation is sham. *IP* hopes its readers will be in such a state of shock from Robertson's 11-letter word that it can slip past them the absurdity of the SWP lecturing the SL on... "anti-imperialism"! It is obscene that the SWP, like the Communist Party, thinks it can get away with manipulating Marxist categories when such suits it. The SWP cut its reformist teeth in the antiwar movement in the 1960's where it was indistinguishable from the pro-imperialist, pro-Democratic Party "doves" in baiting SDS and the rest of the old New Left as "terrorists," "Stalinists," "ultraleftists" (see accompanying article). Over Portugal in 1975 the SWP hailed the CIA-funded Socialists as they burned Communist Party offices in the name of "democracy." It hid behind orthodox criticisms of the MPLA nationalists in Angola to avoid siding with the MPLA/Cuban forces against U.S./South African imperialism (until this neutralism became a scandal among black nationalist students in this country). Today it falls into step with Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade, hailing even overtly pro-tsarist Russian dissidents as they plead with U.S. imperialism to "liberate" the USSR.

So how can *IP* hope to smear the SL as "racist and chauvinist" apologists for imperialism? It's simple—*lie*. For instance, the article notes that Marx and Engels supported the U.S. takeover of Mexican territory and rhetorically inquires, "Would Robertson today support the U.S. lopping off another chunk of Mexico?" The disingenuous question carries the unmistakable imputation that the SL would. But as a matter of fact, the Spartacist tendency is on record as advocating that a victorious workers government in the U.S. should "lop off a chunk" of American territory and return it to Mexico!

The method of the disingenuous lie is the constant in the *IP* polemic. Take for example what is done with *WV*'s remark that "the post-independence regimes in Asia and Africa are frequently more ruthless and violent in their exploitation of the workers and peasants than were the colonial governments." *IP* comments: "It would be interesting to know what political conclusions they draw from this assertion." Apparently not interesting enough to prompt the SWP to look at the article! For the sentences immediately preceding the one quoted are unambiguous:

> "For Leninists, recognition of the right of national self-determination is not based on do-goodism, and certainly isn't necessarily a good turn for the peoples involved. The strategic purpose of Leninist support to the right of self-determination is to clarify the centrality of *class* oppression by eliminating foreign domination...."

Of course, *IP* never comes right out and says the SL does not support the right of nations to self-determination. It merely wonders out loud what "political conclusions" to draw from the SL's indictment of the post-independence "Third World" regimes. Those who really want to know about the Leninist "political conclusions"—military support to nationalist formations confronting imperialism, but *political confidence only in the independent mobilization of the proletariat* to overthrow national oppression and capitalist exploitation—will not find them in *IP*.

The SWP proudly supports *nationalism*. It must therefore cover up the brutal and even genocidal reality of nationalist regimes in power. It must deny the existence of backward consciousness among oppressed strata. So when Cde. Robertson in his forum refused to pander to the national conceits of *any* people, and when he talked about such subjects as black anti-Semitism with the same frankness that he discussed the "fairly static" situation of the Spartacist League, the slanderous cries of "racist and chauvinist" were obligatory for the SWP.

We understand that the SWP, which takes national/ethnic hatreds as its starting point, has difficulty understanding our Leninist line. We would like to give them the benefit of the doubt. But it is inconceivable that even an honest reformist could do the things that *IP*'s Reissner does to Robertson's remarks. At the forum, an opponent demanded: Do you defend the morality of the Boers in South Africa? Robertson replied: "Defend the morality? The morality is the morality of nationalism." Reissner quotes only these lines and the disembodied word "Yes" which actually began the next sentence (!), hoping to leave the reader with the impression the SL supports the Boers' nationalism.

It is infuriating to have to protest that the SL, while it supports the national emancipation of oppressed peoples, supports *nobody's* nationalism, and does not call for self-determination for the white oppressor caste of South Africa. But we do maintain that the Boers have a right to exist. As Robertson explained:

> "There's a theory—it's a Stalinist theory—that all the peoples on the earth are either progressive or reactionary. If you are progressive, not only do you have the right to exist, you have the right to do *anything* to your oppressors, but if you are a reactionary people, you have no right to exist and I have the right to kill you. Now, oddly enough, the peoples of the earth—the Irish, the Biharis, the Turks, the Armenians, the Jews in Israel, the Palestinians—they all want to exist. And I think maybe you ought to start with that, as a statement that maybe capitalism is rotten ripe for a social transformation, not for a genocide...."

If that's "chauvinism," comrades of the SWP, make the most of it.

The special venom displayed by Reissner on the subject of South Africa shows that the SWP is still smarting over exposure of its own pro-FNLA tilt in Angola. Listen to *IP*.

> "Robertson seems to be particularly concerned that the racist South African regime is not getting a fair break from socialists....
> "In touching concern for the survival of the Boers, Robertson seems to forget what the struggle is really about in South Africa.... The Boers are not carrying out their present brutal repression of Blacks because their right to *exist* as a people is being threatened ... [but] because their 'right' to *exploit* is under attack."

Oddly enough, Cde. Robertson addressed precisely this question:

> "There's several million Boers in South Africa. *They have no right to exploit and oppress the blacks. They have a right to live.*"

So much for that.

We are proud to be denounced as a tendency which stands for the right of all peoples to exist. But there's more than humanitarianism at stake here. Cde. Robertson's remarks serve as a useful jumping-off point:

> "If you say the Boers have no right to exist—they have a modern industrial economy and a weapons establishment—if they have no right to exist, then they have no moral limits to follow, do they? To kill every black African (which they can do in about three days if they want to), to defend their own existence....
> "There's several million Boers in South Africa. You think they have no right to live? Well then, go try and kill them!"

The question of the Boers is not an abstract moral question, but a military one. The white South Africans, including the white workers, enjoy a standard of living many times higher than the

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Phantom Antiwar Movement Still Haunts SWP

In the 13 November *IP* polemic against the Spartacist League, the SWP presents for the umpteenth time its catechism of SL abstentionism on the Vietnam war. Perhaps hoping that memories have dimmed in the ten years since the eruption of student radicalism that reached its height over the 1970 Cambodia invasion/Kent State killings, the SWP charges that our slogan "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" was just "something to throw at the SWP," and that "the Spartacists were unconcerned about building the struggle against the imperialist war." We are getting a little tired of explaining that fighting in the labor movement and among antiwar activists for *class solidarity* with the Indochinese revolution is hardly abstentionism.

But where does this much-cherished SWP myth come from? To the SWP, it is a necessary article of faith that all those who did not abide by the etiquette of respectability laid down by the "official" antiwar leadership (bourgeois politicians plus various SWP/CP front groups) just did not exist. But when the SL walked out of the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee in 1965, refusing to submit to censorship of radical slogans (like the SL's main slogan of "Immediate Withdrawal"), perceived as a threat to the building of popular-frontist formations, we did not disappear! While the SWP was policing the "official" contingents to root out any who stood for the military victory of the Vietnamese workers and peasants, the SL—along with many thousands of New Left youth—went right on marching.

The SWP attributes its growth during this period to its involvement as the "best builders" of the peace crawls. Today as it seeks to sell itself as left cover to the NOW leaders and trade-union bureaucrats, the SWP has one and only one real credential—the donkey work which helped bring "masses" of people "into the streets" (and into the voting booths for McCarthy in 1968 and McGovern in 1972).

And what was the SL doing? Apparently we "abstained" so well that the antiwar movement, and the associated growth of the ephemeral New Left, put us on the radical map! In fact, statistics from our 1969 and 1972 national gatherings document our *fourfold* growth in membership during those three years.

The SL did not gain these militant activists merely from marching in parades. Imperialism's losing war in Vietnam created a broad petty-bourgeois layer significantly to the left of the social-democratic SWP. When spineless SWP "loyal oppositionist" John Barzman in 1969 urged the SWP to "confront" SDS, he entirely missed the point. There was a good reason why the SWP dismissed these subjectively anti-imperialist youth for the tactical adventurism and muddle-headed pro-Maoism which accompanied their disenchantment with the reformist SWP and CP: even these impressionistic kids, utterly ignorant of a Marxist world-view, knew enough to understand that they were to the left of the SWP, which they despised for its reformist legalism and its studied refusal to demonstrate for the victory of the Vietnamese revolution. Similarly there was a reason why the SWP criticized the Black Panthers as "ultraleft" and not "consistent" enough nationalists, looking instead to the Black Muslim religious cult (and later to the NAACP). *The SWP was to the right* of the best of the New Left.

Better Red than Fred

The idea that the SL abstained from the antiwar struggle is wishful thinking. In his recent book on the antiwar movement, *Out Now!*, SWP spokesman Fred Halstead recounts the story of the

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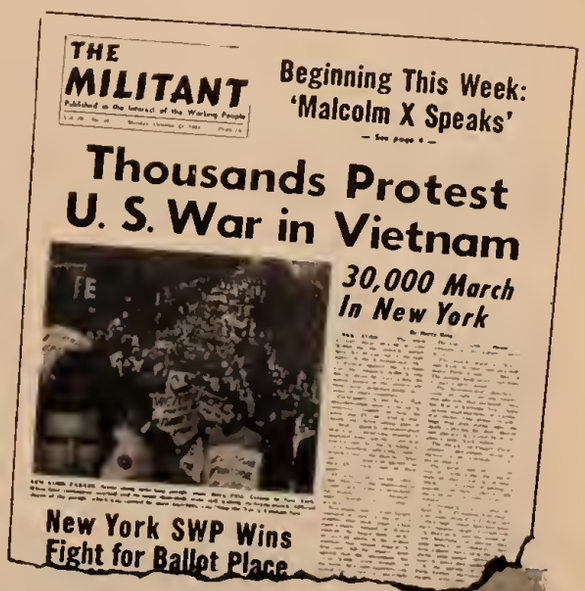
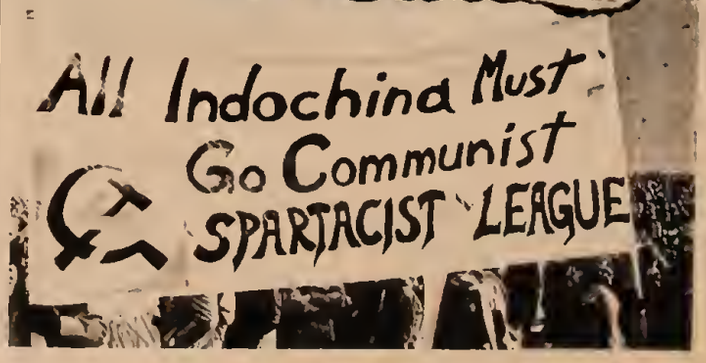

THE MILITANT
Published in the Interest of the Working People

Beginning This Week: 'Malcolm X Speaks'

Thousands Protest U. S. War in Vietnam

30,000 March In New York

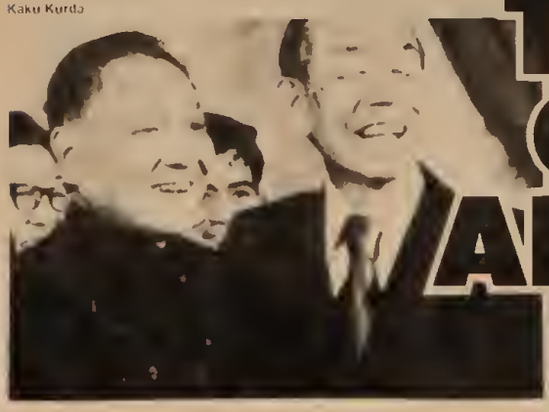
New York SWP Wins Fight for Ballot Place



Right: The Militant features the SL's "Unconditional Withdrawal" and "Victory to the Vietnamese Revolution" signs, which the SWP had tried to have excluded from the march! Below: SL response to 1970 Cambodia invasion.

WV Photo

Kaku Kurda



Der Spiegel

TENG'S CHINA APPEALS TO IMPERIALIST BANKERS

In the past several months Peking has signed trade and investment agreements with imperialist governments and banks many times in size anything it has ever done before. A $20 billion trade agreement with Japan was signed earlier in the year, and last week the Nippon Steel Corporation announced a deal to build a $2.3 billion steel plant near Shanghai. This year alone, U.S. firms have signed contracts amounting to $1.5 billion to deliver airplanes, build hotels, develop iron mines and export computer technology to China. According to the *New York Times* (7 November):

> "An American banker in Hong Kong who specializes in Chinese developments estimates that spending abroad by Peking is growing so fast that within a year China may have foreign commitments totaling $60 billion—a staggering amount for a country whose exports this year will be about $10 billion."

This surge in dealings with the capitalist powers is part of an overall economic policy spelled out by Prime Minister Hua Kuo-feng at the Fifth National People's Congress last February, to achieve "full modernization" by the year 2000. In contrast to the Maoist dogma of "self-reliance," a new ten-year plan (1976-1985) would be based on heavy importation of technologically advanced equipment. Meanwhile, the more dogmatic Maoists that the Hua/Teng regime has "taken the capitalist road." One reads headlines like, "Teng Transforming China of Mao's Era—Powerful Deputy Prime Minister Purging Old Enemies as He Spurs Sluggish Economy" (*New York Times*, 6 November); "Peking Seeks Lessons in Efficiency" (*Washington Post*, 30 October); "Economic Model—China Seeks to Emulate Japan" (*Los Angeles Times*, 30 October); "Post-Mao China Has New Look—Peking Is Determined to Modernize" (*Chicago Tribune*, 2 October)

Why this sudden interest by the American bourgeois press in China's economic policy? In part it is to alert American businessmen that there are now profits to be made in China, and they should not be caught napping by their Japanese and German competitors. But fundamentally the hullabaloo about supposedly radical—or rather anti-radical—changes in Peking's economic policies is basically ideological in purpose.

Since the onset of the Cultural Revolution in 1966, Western bourgeois analysts have presented a false, simplistic picture of a fundamental conflict between radical dogmatists represented by Mao and the "Gang of Four" and moderates or pragmatists represented by Lin Shao-chi, Chou En-lai and Teng Hsiao-p'ing. The bourgeois press has taken radical Maoist rhetoric at face value and generally presented the Chinese economy as governed by egalitarian and voluntarist principles. Bourgeois publicists are in their own way celebrating the fall of the "Gang of Four" as living proof that socialist principles cannot work. (For a debunking of the widespread notion that Mao's China was an egalitarian society, see "'Radical Egalitarian' Stalinism: A Post Mortem," *Spartacist* No. 25, Summer 1978.)

Der Spiegel

Chinese chemical factory during Cultural Revolution.

Bourgeois journalists systematically exaggerate the social and economic changes which have taken place in China since Mao's death in September 1976. One of the most extreme exponents of the "deradicalization of Mao's China" thesis is the *New York Times*' Hong Kong-based China watcher, Fox Butterfield. For example, in a recent article (19 November) on Chinese agriculture, he writes:

> "Chinese agriculture has begun what appears to be its most extensive change since Mao Tse-tung established the people's communes 20 years ago.
>
> "The new policies are also likely to reduce the functions of the commune, Mao's creation, by which rural China was to make the transition to pure Communism. To guarantee greater peasant initiative, more rural authority is to devolve down to the production teams—the smallest component of the communes—based in China's villages."

Butterfield to the contrary, the commune system was in effect liquidated during the panicky retreat from the Great Leap Forward in the early 1960's. *Since 1962*—that is, for the last 16 years—the production team has been the basic unit of management, account and distribution in Chinese agriculture. This principle is actually enshrined in the revised 1975 constitution, which also guarantees peasants the right to a private plot. These basic facts of Chinese agricultural policy are not to be found in Butterfield's thoroughly misleading article.

Butterfield also perpetuates the fiction that the Cultural Revolution has only just ended. When the new regime formally abolished the moribund "revolutionary committees" last spring, he wrote:

> "In a move to restore a stable system of administration, China will abolish the revolutionary management committees formed during the Cultural Revolution in schools, factories and farm brigades, Prime Minister Hua Kuo-feng has disclosed.
>
> "The committees, one of Mao Tse-tung's innovations of the late 1960's, were set up ostensibly to give students, workers and farmers a share in authority."
>
> —*New York Times*, 7 March 1978

The revolutionary committees in Mao's China had about as much real authority as do the soviets in Brezhnev's Russia. Even French Maoist ideologue Charles Bettelheim, who does maintain that since October 1976 China has "taken the capitalist road," admits that the forms of the Cultural Revolution were de facto liquidated well before Mao died:

> "When I returned to China in the autumn of 1975, there was only one factory where I heard anything about these groups [revolutionary committees] (after I had insisted on knowing whether such groups existed as I did in all the factories I visited), and what I was told left me with the impression that they were there only as ghosts, while everywhere else they seemed to have vanished completely."
>
> —Charles Bettelheim and Neil Burton, *China Since Mao* (1978)

The changes in Chinese economic policy since Mao's death, while significant, are far less than the change in the official ideological posture and far less than the accounts of them given in the Western bourgeois press. Economic policy under Hua/Teng has been a continuation and deepening of trends which began following the end of the Cultural Revolution period in 1971 with the fall of Lin Piao. For example, the large-scale importation of technologically advanced capital equipment did not begin this year—as the bourgeois press might have one believe—but in 1973. Between 1971 and 1974 the dollar volume of China's foreign trade *tripled*.

The fact that many of the shifts in Peking's economic policies took place some years ago underscores the fact that the Cultural Revolution was fundamentally a clique fight within the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy. Faced with the severe economic dislocations of 1966-68, virtually the entire ruling stratum agreed upon the need to restore orderly conditions in the factories and collective farms. And the "new economic policy" of the Hua/Teng regime, labeled the "four modernizations," was first enunciated by Chou in 1975, well before the purge of the "Gang of Four."

But if the economic "policies" associated with the Cultural Revolution are almost universally recognized as a disaster, the current policy seeking modernization through massive indebtedness to the imperialists will not bring peace and prosperity to the Chinese working people. In the first place, the West's willingness to make multi-billion-dollar loans depends on Peking's increasing integration in an anti-Soviet alliance with U.S. imperialism. And the capitalists do not simply display such largesse to needy countries. Given the scope of the plans, it may not be long before Chinese workers find their living standard cut in order to pay debt service to Tokyo and Wall Street bankers.

Above all, financial dependence on the imperialists on such a scale would constitute a growing threat to the collectivist economic base of the Chinese deformed workers state, won through a bloody civil war that cost the lives of millions of peasants.

Economic Zigs and Zags of Chinese Stalinism

The great-power aspiration of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy is frustrated by the material backwardness of

the country. This frustration has led to frequent radical shifts in economic policy in search of some way to achieve a "great leap forward." To understand the significance of the post-Mao economic policies, it is necessary to trace the zigzags of China's economic policy since the early 1950's.

The first Chinese Five Year Plan (1953-56) was modeled on the first Soviet five year plan with its unbalanced expansion of heavy industry. The core of this plan was a number of heavy industrial construction projects dependent upon Soviet aid and advisors. During the early 1930's Stalin's overwhelming concentration on heavy industry combined with the forced collectivization of agriculture led to a drastic cut in the food consumption of both workers and peasants.

Compared with Russia in the late 1920's, however, China in the early 1950's produced only about one half as much food per capita. A reduction in food consumption comparable to that which occurred in Russia in the 1930's would have produced mass starvation in China. The conflict between China's poverty and Soviet Stalinist-type industrialization came to a head in 1956, when expanding investment created acute shortages in the urban food supply and in agricultural raw materials. Faced with these agricultural shortages the Mao regime retreated. 1957 was a year of economic retrenchment in which urban workers were actually shipped back to the countryside.

Seeking to get around the limitation on industrial development imposed by China's very low agricultural productivity, in 1958 Mao launched the Great Leap Forward. Mammoth self-sufficient rural communes were supposed to release enormous quantities of underutilized labor, greatly increase agricultural productivity and expand industry by handicraft methods (e.g., the backyard steel furnaces). The Great Leap Forward was also conditioned by the increasing Sino-Soviet tensions. The Mao regime anticipated that the Kremlin might end or at least sharply curtail its aid, and so opted for a more nationally self-sufficient economic policy.

As is well known the Great Leap Forward led to an economic collapse unique in the history of the Sino-Soviet bureaucratically ruled workers states. It also led to Mao being edged out of real power. In the early 1960's a more conservative bureaucratic grouping, led by Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, took over the reins. The Liu/Teng regime in the early 1960's oversaw the slow recovery of industrial production and made major concessions to the individualistic interests of the peasantry. The communes were liquidated, private plots were allowed to expand and a limited free market for agricultural produce was tolerated.

In launching the Cultural Revolution in 1965-66, Mao not only sought to recapture supreme personal power but also to create the political conditions for a renewed Great Leap Forward in the economy. He used Lin Piao's army to recapture the central party leadership in mid-1966 and then mobilized the student-youth in order to purge the conservative party-state bureaucracy at the base. However, Mao was not able to carry out a mass purge of the Chinese bureaucracy, in large part because his intended victims mobilized workers against the "radical" Maoist student-based Red Guards. In 1968 the Cultural Revolution was effectively ended with the suppression of the Red Guards, most of whom were shipped off to the countryside "to learn from the peasants." The period 1968-71 was marked by an unstable equilibrium between Mao's personal group (the Chiang Ch'ing clique), the People's Liberation Army officer corps and the old-line party cadre. (For a survey of the Cultural Revolution, see "Mao's China: From Stalin to Nixon" in the Spartacus Youth League pamphlet, *Reply to the Guardian—The Stalin School of Falsification Revisited* [1973].)

The turmoil in China's cities during 1966-68 naturally severely disrupted industrial production, the impact of the Cultural Revolution in the countryside was far less. This the restoration of social peace in 1968 with the liquidation of the Cultural Revolution allowed a rapid recovery and even expansion of industry. The well-respected Far Eastern Economic Review calculated that between 1968 and 1971 industrial production increased 66 percent (*Asia Yearbook*, 1975).

Agriculture, on the other hand, did not fare so well, food grain output barely keeping pace with population growth. The regional military commanders, the real powers in the land, pursued economic policies similar to the Great Leap Forward though much less extreme. They sought to extract a greater surplus from the peasantry in order to build up small-scale industry in their own bailiwicks. The 1968-71 period was thus characterized by the relative stagnation of agriculture and a tendency toward economic warlordism.

Der Spiegel

Great leap backward: backyard steel furnaces in China.

Burnett/Contact

Self-reliance: Chinese technology decades behind the West.

Chou/Teng vs. the "Gang of Four"

The fall of Marshal Lin Piao in late 1971 marked the end of those economic policies associated with "radical" Maoism. With the military commanders pushed out of direct power, economic administration came under the control of Chou En-lai and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, who was rehabilitated in 1973 and made deputy premier. The virtues of economic development and technological modernization once again became a major theme of official Peking propaganda. In his speech to the National People's Congress in January 1975, Chou called for "the comprehensive modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and industry before the end of the century, so that our national economy will be advancing in the front ranks of the world" (*Peking Review*, 24 January 1975).

The Chou/Teng team moved to recentralize economic administration and adopted a more liberal policy toward the peasants. But the most striking change in Chinese economic policy in the early 1970's was the large-scale importation of modern technology from the advanced capitalist countries, especially Japan. Between 1971 and 1974 the dollar volume of China's imports jumped from $2.3 to $7.4 billion (Far Eastern Economic Review, *Asia Yearbook*, 1975 and 1978). In 1975, for the first time in its history, the People's Republic of China ran a significant balance of trade deficit.

This "economic growth through foreign trade" policy became a major locus of intra-bureaucratic conflict. One of the main substantive political accusations now being directed at the "Gang of Four" is that they opposed the importation of modern technology. There is much evidence that this was indeed the case. When in early 1976 Teng was purged for the second time as a "capitalist roader," one of the main political charges against him was that he laid "stress on things big and foreign." That China's imports remained constant in 1975 and fell signficantly the following year no doubt had something to do with the ascendancy of the "Gang of Four."

Their resistance to importing modern technology was *not* derived from a commitment to primitivist egalitarianism (Chiang Ch'ing's own life-style was as luxuriant as any Hollywood film star's), nor primarily from a xenophobic glorification of national isolation. Rather the bureaucrats who made it to the top through the Cultural Revolution, exemplified by ex-Red Guard leader Wang Hung-wen and polemicist Yao Wen-yuan, were individuals of little political or administrative ability. They owed their sudden rise to power *solely* to personal loyalty to Mao. Chiang Ch'ing, Yao Wen-yuan & Co. knew that the technical intellectuals were skeptical, if not outright hostile, toward the quasi-religious Mao cult and favored economic efficiency over ideological posturing. They therefore opposed those economic policies which would necessarily strengthen the technical intellectual stratum.

However, one should *not* take at face value the current regime's claim, fully endorsed by the Western bourgeois press, that the "Gang of Four" was uniquely responsible for the stagnation of the Chinese economy in recent years. No Stalinist purge is complete unless the victims are condemned for sabotaging economic construction. It's easy for Hua/Teng to scapegoat the Chiang Ch'ing clique for all of China's economic problems. After all, the latter cannot publicly defend themselves. In addition, the new regime's widening of wage differentials (efficiency bonuses were reinstituted late last year) is unquestionably unpopular with many workers. To justify its individualistic wage policy, the Hua/Teng regime is claiming that labor discipline was destroyed by the supposed egalitarianism of the "Gang of Four."

One cannot measure the degree to which the Mao/Chiang Ch'ing group may have retarded economic growth in China in the past decade. However, the period 1968-76, during which the "Gang of Four" was certainly influential, was *not* one of economic stagnation. Industrial production increased each year from 1969 to 1975 at a rate of not less than 7 percent. In 1976 the industrial growth rate did fall to only 4 percent, but the major earthquakes may have accounted for this slowdown. It is true that agricultural production has stagnated in the past decade. But while the Shanghai "radicals" are commonly accused of disrupting factory life, they had little influence in the countryside.

There is, of course, no question that Teng puts a far greater priority on economic development than did the "radical" Maoist clique. But wishing does not make it so. And all of Teng's talk about modernization may have as much relation to Chinese reality as Yao Wen-yuan's talk about egalitarianism.

Modernizing China Through Imperialist Loans?

Peking is giving much fanfare to Chou En-lai's program that a modernized China will be "in the front ranks of the world" by the year 2000. And how does the present Chinese Stalinist leadership intend to achieve this economic miracle? Teng is not so naive as to believe that widening wage differentials (bonuses, piece rates) will spur Chinese workers to be as productive as those in Japanese or West German factories. The core of Peking's new "Great Leap Forward" program is the massive importation of technologically sophisticated equipment (especially complete factories) from Japan, West Europe and the U.S. In the first half of this year alone China contracted for over $5 billion in capital equipment imports compared to a total of only $2.8 billion for the entire 1973-77 period (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 7 July)!

Just how do the Stalinist bureaucrats in Peking expect to pay for all this? Until recently the official Peking line was that it had no foreign debts but paid for all its imports in cash. This was a fiction for the sake of ideological purism. Peking

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Iran...

(continued from page 1)

shortage as a result. On November 30 Teheran refinery workers went out. The oil workers resumed their strike on December 2; oil production had been cut in half by December 7 and the major north-south natural gas pipeline closed. The BBC reported that the oil workers had formed a national union and that the objective of their strike was abdication of the shah.

Governmental authority is also rapidly eroding in the countryside, where the peasantry is heeding Khomeini's call to refuse to pay taxes. There are reports of armed clashes in Qom and Ahwaz in which policemen and soldiers were killed. There are claims that the unrest is making inroads into the army, resulting in the arrest of some 500 soldiers, non-commissioned officers and officers up to the rank of captain, as well as continual rumors of soldiers deserting or committing suicide, and even of mutinies.

In the absence of U.S. intervention, the loyalty of the army is the shah's sole remaining asset. So far the anti-shah forces have not broken, due to the combination of military discipline and material privilege (cheap food, clothing and housing, free medical care) that bind the army to the imperial throne. The shah's ultimate bastion is the 10,000-man Imperial Guard, specially trained and equipped and doubly pampered.

But the army may also turn against the "Light of the Aryans" in the wake of the failure to suppress the opposition. If the generals are too fanatically loyal or too compromised by their collaboration with the shah to oust him, their subordinates in the officer corps will likely emulate their colleagues in Pakistan by staging a coup d'état and toppling the hated monarch.

U.S. Imperialism in a Muddle

Up until last month the American community in Iran, 45,000 strong, complacently ignored the anti-shah revolt from its comfortable segregation. But as incidents of anti-foreign boycotts, vandalism and assaults escalated, and when leaflets appeared announcing that all foreigners (with the exception of the French, who are harboring Khomeini, and newsmen) remaining in Iran would be killed, American families joined Iranian capital in a panicky flight from the country.

The exodus has rapidly grown from a trickle to a flood—an estimated 20,000 have now left. American ambassador William Sullivan, who ran the covert CIA air war in Laos during his stay as U.S. proconsul there, had decreed that business would continue as usual as a gesture of confidence in the shah. It was not until December 7 that Washington agreed to subsidize the transport of families of American military personnel—whereupon three-fourths of them immediately took up the offer.

U.S. imperialism has been locked into a policy of backing the shah to the hilt. Faced with the imminent demise of the monarchy, it is not frantically assessing other options. Hardliners like former CIA chief and previous U.S. ambassador to Iran Richard Helms urge all-out support to the shah's crumbling rule. But when asked if the shah would hold out, Carter could only limply respond, "I don't know. I hope so." Complaining of the CIA's ignorance on Iran, Carter has commissioned George Ball, foreign policy advisor to both Kennedy and Johnson, to produce new policy recommendations.

The American bourgeois press continues to echo the shah's propagandists' absurd Cold War claim that Khomeini is an agent of the Kremlin. But the mullahs are vociferously asserting their anti-communist credentials. One popular religious leader in the town of Babul exclaimed, "The people are fed up with the hypocrisy of the ruling circles of this country. The Shah says that the opposition is influenced by the Communists. But he is the one who entertains Communists, sells gas to the Russians at ridiculously low prices" (*New York Times*, 9 December).

U.S. imperialism is extremely sensitive to political instability in Iran, its military watchdog on the USSR's southern flank. But the introduction of American troops would mean an immediate, sharp confrontation—the Soviets have made their position clear—a confrontation which the U.S. seeks to avoid at this time. And contrary to the claims of most of the left, Iran is not simply a banana republic or neo-colony completely under the thumb of Uncle Sam. Sullivan probably represents the consensus in the White House:

> "We ran Laos, but in Iran, which is tremendously important to us, there's not much we, or anyone else, can do. Ironically all the major powers—the U.S., Britain, France, China and the Soviet Union—are alarmed by what's going on in Iran. The Russians don't want to see an Islamic republic here. They've got 40 million Moslems just north of this country."
>
> —*New York Times*, 13 November

The latest events have not changed this sense of limitation.

Imperial riot troops in Teheran. Triunfo

Islamic "Republic" Means Social Reaction!

Revolutionary Marxists must oppose U.S. imperialism's frantic efforts to prop up the hated shah. But they also have a duty to point out that subordinating Iran's militant proletariat to the mullahs is preparing a catastrophe. The aspirations of the Iranian masses to free themselves from the grip of the shah's tyranny are being cynically exploited by the Islamic clergy's counteroffensive against the erosion of its traditional power and privilege. Khomeini is merely the "radical" representative of a caste that sees *any* introduction of Western culture as threatening the age-old superstitions that are its stock in trade.

The mullahs oppose the shah's 1963 land "reform" not because of its impoverishment and expropriation of the peasantry, but because *their* holdings were taken away and put on the capitalist market. In fact the shah's agrarian measures were part of a drive to undercut the economic power of the aristocracy and clergy, thus strengthening the monarchy.

And the hallmark of this archaic society has always been the oppression of women and their systematic segregation from public life. This is the brutal social reality symbolized by the veil, which literally gives the power of life and death over women to husbands and fathers. While his followers cry "Death or the Veil" in the streets, Khomeini delivers urbane "explanations" of Islam's subjugation of women. "It is the Shah who is dragging women toward corruption and wishes to bring them up as mere dolls," he says (*Le Monde*, 17 October). But when capitalism drags women out of the home and into the factory the Muslim reactionaries object to their being removed from seclusion, not to their exploitation as proletarians.

In moments of frankness, Khomeini drops his pose as a "liberal" religious lunatic to forthrightly advocate Saudi-style cultural repression: "We are against films aimed at corrupting our youth and destroying our Islamic culture" ([London] *Guardian*, 7 November). "Corrupting the youth" is, of course, the standard cry of religious bigots. No doubt the mullahs find advocating the class struggle or the equality of women particularly "pornographic" and in need of suppression.

Khomeini's call for a return to the constitution of 1907 is only a thinly disguised call for theocracy. Not only does this constitution subject all parliamentary legislation to the veto of a board of clerics, but it specifically bars non-Muslims from high government posts. As for the legalization of leftist parties, Khomeini told the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (24 November) that the Tudeh (pro-Moscow Communist) party would be outlawed for having "betrayed" the Iranian nation. This would be even more likely for those advocating genuine proletarian internationalism than for the apologists of Soviet foreign policy.

The religious opposition has been able to play on the shallow character of the shah's modernization of Iranian society, confronted with the brutal repression of his SAVAK torturers and praetorian guard army. Removal of the veil and an escape from poverty has been possible only for a small layer of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois women. The wealth of oil riches goes into the pockets of a tiny elite. Tragically, for many sections of Iranian society the old pre-capitalist order is seen as the only alternative to the rapacious exploitation of Iranian capitalism dominated by foreign capital.

Iran and the Muslim Revival

As the well-known Middle Eastern scholar and ostensible Marxist Maxime Rodinson points out in a recent series of articles in *Le Monde* (6-8 December), the upsurge in Iran takes place in the context of a revival of religious fanaticism throughout the Muslim world. When Nasser-style Arab nationalism's "anti-imperialist" credentials became tarnished, he argues, the Islamic fundamentalists' opposition to *all* Western cultural influence seemed the only alternative to imperialist domination.

In particular, Iran's future may well be represented by its eastern neighbor, Pakistan, where a similar Muslim-led mass revolt in 1977 produced its own "Islamic republic." As in Iran, a central component in the drive against the repressive regime of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was an attack on its "secularism." Spearheaded by the Jaamat-i Islam party, the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) called for the revival of draconian Islamic law: suppression of the use of alcohol, amputation of thieves' hands, etc.

The PNA, like the Khomeini-led forces, also had a "democratic" cover. Bhutto had combined his demagogic promises to the impoverished peasantry with an orgy of corruption and gangsterism. Just as Khomeini speaks of a popular referendum and a republic, the PNA called for the freeing of all political prisoners, Bhutto's resignation, the end of martial law and new elections. Furthermore the PNA included bourgeois liberals and was tailed by the entire Pakistani left; like the anti-shah forces, it could pass itself off as a "democratic" united front involving virtually all sections of national politics.

When Bhutto proved incapable of quelling the revolt, the army intervened installing the self-styled "soldier of Islam," General Zia, in July 1977. Pakistan remains under martial law today. Zia has proclaimed that only truly Islamic parties will be allowed to participate in the oft-promised elections. Within a few days of coming to power he announced the "Islamization of punishment," including public whippings and hangings as well as amputation. In Zia's theocracy, all government employees must pray, all shops and factories must close during Friday prayers and there is a drive to restore the wearing of the veil by all women. And naturally all "strikes, agitation or political activity of any kind" in the schools and all trade union activity are banned.

Khomeini has made clear his hopes of following the Jaamat-i Islam party in its path to the "Islamic social order." He seeks his own "soldier of Islam" in the middle ranks of the shah's officer corps: "We have not given up on the military, and put much hope in the young officers and soldiers of the army" (*Los Angeles Times*, 26 November).

Craven Opportunism Versus Revolutionary Marxism

The victory of the Khomeini-led forces would substitute a theocratic bonapartist regime for that of the shah and offers nothing to the exploited masses. Under the rule of the ayatollahs or their

NOTICE

Workers Vanguard skips a week in December.

Our next issue will be dated January 5.

military "disciples," it is even doubtful that the barbaric jails would improve. for those who escape the executioners. The workers' oppression will not be lightened under the mullahs; instead they must seek the overthrow of the shah by using their social power to establish an Iranian workers and peasants government.

The international Spartacist tendency's intransigent opposition to both the butcher shah and the reactionary mullahs has provoked howls of outrage, and even physical attacks, from the Stalinist and petty-bourgeois nationalist Iranian student left in both the U.S. and Europe. Our position has also drawn a wretched mud-slinging attack from the opportunists par excellence of the Socialist Workers Party. The 8 December issue of the SWP's *Militant* carried an article entitled, "Iran. Is Struggle Against Shah's Tyranny Reactionary?" Through a host of distortions and omissions the author David Frankel concludes that the Muslims' campaign to return Iran to the days of Muhammed is not only supportable but even a model of "democratic" struggle.

What is left out of this gem would fill up an entire newspaper, not just one article. Khomeini's name does not appear once. Frankel does not seem to have heard of the custom of wearing the veil, nor of the Muslim's drive to restore its use. In fact, the word "woman" does not appear *once* in the entire article—quite an achievement considering our emphasis on the woman question in polemicizing against support to the mullahs. Even the theocratic nature of the 1907 constitution is suppressed, and the question of what Khomeini's "Islamic republic" would mean for the left and working class of Iran is totally absent.

And not by accident. It is a difficult task painting up clerical obscurantism as "democracy," and facts would only get in the way. Far better to accuse the Spartacist League of opposing democratic slogans because we oppose the mullahs' calls for freeing only *Islamic* political prisoners and the creation of an *Islamic* republic; and because we deny that this program of clerical reaction has anything to do with the most rudimentary forms of bourgeois democracy.

The SWP, which only a few short months ago opposed the demand "Down with the shah!" as "ultraleft," now cheers on the petty-bourgeois crowds attacking cinemas, banks and liquor stores in the streets of Teheran. This, Frankel assures us, is not motivated by fundamentalist Islamic puritanism, but by militant "anti-imperialism." By rights he had better put Saudi Arabia's suppression of all things contrary to the Koran at the top of his list of "anti-imperialist" victories of the "Arab Revolution."

"Dynamic" of Reaction

In the final analysis, such "trifles" as the program and political leadership of the anti-shah movement are unimportant to the SWP. The mullahs are worthy of support simply because of the number of demonstrators they have brought into the streets. No matter that this movement stands for "Death or the Veil" and for the suppression of communists, says the SWP; the "dynamic" of the struggle is supposedly irreversible. Marching through Teheran will somehow mystically free women from their religious indoctrination, differentiate the proletariat from the obscurantist mullahs and transmute reactionary prejudice into revolutionary class consciousness.

There was an "irreversible" dynamic in Pakistan too. And the SWP mustered up the same arguments to cynically cash in on the anti-Bhutto "mass movement." The 25 April 1977 issue of the SWP's *Intercontinental Press* announced, "As the protests continued to gain momentum, women have begun to participate in them, a significant development in Pakistan, which is strongly influenced by orthodox Islam."

Then, too, the SWP considered the leadership of the struggle irrelevant: "Although the PNA leadership is dominated by rightist elements, including former military officers and Islamic religious figures, it has been able to mobilize hundreds of thousands of protesters on the basis of its opposition to the present regime" (*Intercontinental Press*, 9 May 1977). And of course, "A PNA government formed out of the present upsurge would be under strong pressure to concede democratic rights" (*IP*, 6 June 1977). Whereas now, in its shameless abasement to Khomeini, the SWP assures us that despite the mullahs' predominance the Iranian workers and peasants will not permit a return to the Middle Ages, after the Zia coup they were forced to admit that "... the whole repression is being carried out under an Islamic cover" (*IP*, 18 July 1977).

Today Bhutto rots in jail, as the Islamic despot who replaced him weighs the utility of hanging him. It will be unfortunate if Reza Shah Pahlavi suffers the same fate at the hands of Khomeini and his henchmen instead of experiencing the revolutionary justice of the victorious proletariat. The Iranian left and working class have accounts to settle with this butcher. They remember the mass executions after 1953, the grisly torture of thousands of leftists, the smashing of strikes, the famine and exploitation brought by the shah's "White Revolution." These are the shah's real crimes, not his supposed transgressions against Islam.

The strike battles now being waged by the Iranian workers could be the basis of the independent mobilization of the proletariat as a competitor for power with Khomeini, not as cannon fodder for the mullahs. In the imperialist epoch, the democratic tasks of freeing oppressed nationalities, agrarian revolution, and breaking down imperialist domination can be carried out only under the leadership of the Iranian proletariat. But these urgent democratic demands require the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship for their success, not the dissolution of the working class into the petty-bourgeois masses. Only a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party can win the proletariat to this perspective and lead it to victory.

For the right of self-determination for all oppressed nationalities in Iran!

Land to the tiller!

Full democratic rights for women! No to the veil!

No confidence in "anti-imperialist" officers—the workers must win over the ranks of the army!

Free all victims of the shah's white terror! Down with martial law! Smash SAVAK! For popular tribunals to try the SAVAK torturers!

Down with the shah! Down with the mullahs! For a sovereign, secular constituent assembly! For a workers and peasants government in Iran!

For a Trotskyist party in Iran! Reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution! ■

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Phantom Antiwar Movement...

(continued from page 7)

SL's split from what the SWP recognizes as "the antiwar movement":

> "The Spartacist League walked out of the committee over this question [of censorship], carried their own slogans the day of the march, and chastised the SWP for being party to the one-slogan agreement. It is true that this was an uncomfortable compromise for those of us in the SWP, particularly since virtually every member of the Parade Committee with the exception of the SANE representative professed to be personally in favor of immediate withdrawal from Vietnam, and those who supported the 'negotiations' slogan claimed to do so only because they thought it was a better way to appeal to broader forces. This concession went against our grain because we were thoroughly convinced—and remained so—that SANE's equivocal position on the war was not only morally unacceptable but not nearly as popular an approach to the mass of the American people as the immediate withdrawal position. But we made the agreement for October 16, lived up to it scrupulously, and never regretted having done so."

Yesterday's opportunism is always today's damaging admission, so now Halstead tells his readers how the SWP experienced anguish when it chose the bourgeois pacifists of SANE over the demands of socialist (or "moral") principle. But when it counted, the SWP certainly didn't manifest much discomfort in choosing to side with SANE. When in 1966 the SL called a counter-demonstration to protest SANE's plea that the president scale down the war because it was "making a mockery of the Great Society," the SWP responded.

> "ANTI-SANE—A manifesto was issued by the Spartacist League, an ultra-left grouplet, calling on people to picket the SANE Madison Square Garden rally to End the War in Vietnam Now because of defects in SANE's program. Maybe the name bugs them too."
>
> *Militant*, 12 December 1966

For the SWP, all those who refused to toddle along behind the *pro-imperialist program* of the "dove" Democrats became non-people. The SWP had no interest in this "phantom" antiwar movement which expressed the subjectively revolutionary aspirations of many thousands of youth. The SWP cared only for the "antiwar movement" represented by SANE. And what was SANE? An ossified social-patriotic outfit with a paper membership, a sniveling crew of pro-American pacifists who sought to speak for the "progressive" bourgeoisie. Its bloc with the SANE & Co. "moderates" against the "ultra-lefts" was the SWP's "peaceful, legal" road to its "own" ruling class.

Indonesia and Indochina

The present *IP* polemic adds only one new element to the antiwar discussion: the claim that Cde. Robertson's discussion of the Indonesian military coup of 1965 shows the SL considers the Vietnamese revolution "unimportant."

Let us look first at what Cde. Robertson said.

> "The victory took place in Vietnam and all Indochina. The imperialists—headed by the Americans—learned a thing or two and have done a pretty good job, assisted in other ways, in stabilizing, for example, South America (Latin America) and have found what is reasonably described as neo-colonialism as a way to be assured of necessary limits, at least in black Africa. And the great prototype for this phenomenon in the colonial world was, of course, the Indonesian military coup of 1965 in which not merely the Communist Party was beheaded but the masses were given a tremendous defeat, with hundreds of thousands of dead among the workers, the militant landless peasants, and of course this not very good (and very Maoist) Communist Party. And if there was any virtue in a domino theory in Southeast Asia, it was what happened in Indonesia. See, that's where the people are . . . And after that the balance of the Vietnamese war was an exercise in imperial egotism on the part of succeeding American institutions, governments, and jockeying around in an attempt to come to an understanding with the Chinese. . . ."

In fact, the stabilization of Indonesia as a rightist pro-American bulwark against Communism in Asia was a crucial consideration of imperialist foreign policy. In 1953, then-president Eisenhower worried, "If we lost Vietnam and Malaysia, how would the Free World hold the rich empire of Indonesia?" (quoted in *Pacific Research and World Empire Telegraph*, August 1969). And in an article titled "Asia After Vietnam," Richard Nixon gloated: "With its 100 million people and its three thousand mile arc of islands containing the region's richest hoard of natural resources, Indonesia constitutes the greatest prize in the Southeast Asian area" (*Foreign Affairs*, October 1967). The bloody coup which made Indonesia "safe for democracy" should have enabled the U.S. to extricate itself from a *losing* military adventure without fear for the more lucrative "dominoes." Maoist China's open diplomatic alliance with the U.S. completed the quarantine of the Indochinese revolution.

Why does the SWP feel so directly affronted by an analysis which is not even particular to the SL but a commonplace? Because Cde. Robertson's description of the factors which made the Vietnam adventure superfluous to the best interests of U.S. imperialism cuts at the heart of the SWP's sometime "anti-imperialist" pretensions. *IP*'s equation—"defense of the Vietnamese Revolution through building the antiwar movement"—is central to the SWP's effort to alibi its extra-parliamentary bloc with McGovern & Co. If the SWP admits that the leaders of the bourgeois/pacifist antiwar movement opposed the war *from the standpoint of the interests of U.S. imperialism*, the equation collapses and the SWP's refusal to defend the revolutionary struggle of the Indochinese workers and peasants is revealed as a conscious overture to its "own" bourgeoisie.

For the SWP, busy running around harassing demonstrators who carried Viet Cong flags or other symbols of support for the Vietnamese revolution, the thousands of little American flags carried by the antiwar marchers were not important because anybody opposing the war became "objectively" an anti-imperialist fighter. To preserve this comfortable fiction, the SWP must deny the existence of a section of the bourgeoisie itself which opposed the Vietnam war. After the Indonesian coup, the Vietnam war became an encumbrance and more far-sighted elements among the bourgeoisie began to say so. It was this shift in *bourgeois* opinion, not the best-building efforts of the SWP, which swelled the ranks of the "mass movement."

U.S. imperialism's military debacle in Vietnam was a powerful radicalizing force for a generation of American youth. But thanks in part to the misleadership of the SWP happily marching to "Bring Our Boys Home" (*our* boys in Vietnam were not the American army!), most of the protesters remained firmly in the grip of the Democratic "doves," while the smaller subjectively anti-imperialist layer gravitated mainly toward the Maoist milieu which was the largest force opposing the SWP from the left.

Thus the SWP's proud moment of apparent mass influence was a simple sellout. The Spartacist League's principled anti-imperialist line was much more than "something to throw at the SWP," but all the same it seems to have hit its mark. ■

SWP's Goat...

(continued from page 7)

blacks; in other words, they benefit materially from the superexploitation of black labor. As Marxists, we recognize that their immediate material interest places them in the reactionary camp and we must expect that most of them will fight against the proletarian revolution that will destroy their privileges. But as the class brothers of the black South African proletariat, we have no desire to push every last white into the trenches by a nationalist perspective of exterminating the entirety of the oppressor people. Of course such considerations are of no interest to the reformist SWP, which has about as much intention of making a proletarian revolution in South Africa as the pope has of getting an abortion.

Moreover, the apartheid system has sought as much as possible to keep technical skills in the hands of the white labor aristocracy and middle class. These skills will be of assistance to the masses of South Africa in the construction of a socialist society. The victorious Bolsheviks made use of the talents and experience of even capitalist bureaucrats and White Army officers willing to do a deal and work for the new regime. A black-centered South African workers republic will have room for whites who would rather be "race traitors" than dead reactionary heroes.

Reformists for Hire

Only in its last column does the *IP* polemic give a hint of what is really bothering the SWP, as it rails indignantly over Cde. Robertson's charge that the SWP,

> "... is all geared up to play the role of rendering less brutal, more elastic, more plausible, the trade union bureaucracy. ... And that's what the YSA is—an available 1,000 youth instantly to be hired as assistant educational directors and assistant editors of union newspapers in order to explain to the workers that black is white and this is the best of all possible worlds."

Apparently this really stung, for *IP* writes:

> "In fact, all of the SWP's work in the union movement aims at building a class-struggle left wing in the unions that can defeat the class-collaborationist policies of the current bureaucrats.
>
> "What does it matter to Robertson that there is not one single member of the YSA or SWP who is an assistant education director or assistant editor of a union or union newspaper? These are only facts. ..."

What? "A class-struggle left wing" in the unions? Is the SWP kidding? Whatever happened to the "democratic labor movement" which normally accompanies the thousands of pages of turgid *Militant* prose in praise of dissident union bureaucrats? When polemicizing against opponents to its left, the arch-reformist SWP of today shamelessly borrows the language of the revolutionary SWP of the 1930's. But anyone who bothers to check will find that the SWP's idea of a "class-struggle left wing" is the liberal wing of the labor bureaucracy, such as embodied by strikebreaking Mine Workers leader Arnold Miller.

The trade-union policies of the SWP are so obviously an effort to apply for a job as left cover to the less discredited bureaucrats that to admit the SWP has not made it to "assistant education directors" is to boast of spectacular non-success. Comrades, this is perhaps not wise; Ed Sadlowski might be listening. You would not want anyone to know you are satisfied to serve merely as unpaid mimeo operators for those assistant editors. Perhaps Cde. Robertson erred in trying to quantify the present level of SWP trade-union work; perhaps we should have stuck to a more elastic formulation. How about "water-boys for the bureaucracy"?

In fact, when the SWP with appropriate hoopla made its "turn" toward trade-union implantation a couple of years ago, it explicitly justified its new "proletarian orientation" (long a dirty word in the SWP) on the basis that it discerned a change in the trade-union bureaucracy:

> "It is interesting to compare what we are doing to the path followed by most of our opponents the last years. Almost without exception, they made their various 'turns to the working class,' not on the basis of real openings, but on abstract theory. ..."
>
> —Mary-Alice Waters, "Organization Report," *SWP Discussion Bulletin* Vol. 35, No. 3, June 1977

And what were the "new political openings" as defined in the document? They were "developments like Steelworkers Fight Back"—in other words, Ed Sadlowski.

The Spartacist League is of course the example of those who undertook systematic union work on the basis of "abstract theory," and years before the SWP "turn." But for the purposes of the present *IP* polemic, the SL exists only as an individual named Robertson and a newspaper. Nowhere is there a hint of the things that really get the SWP's goat: the SL-supported trade-union caucuses with authority gained through years of principled struggle, something which the SWP discovered when it finally started putting its own people into industry; the recent New York election campaign which sharply highlighted the reformist parliamentary cretinism of the SWP and Communist Party; the SL's recent success in seeking to influence local groupings breaking to the left from the Socialist Party.

Yesterday's Opportunism

"... most of the ultraleft groups support the MPLA.

"... Still another element in the situation is the imperialist support given to the UNITA and the FNLA, including the use of South African troops. Does this automatically require us to support the MPLA?

"... In Angola we must begin by checking the strands of the three groups in relation to imperialism. Here again we find no basic difference. ..."
—*Militant*, 23 January 1976

"... the Maoists raise very ultimatistic and ultraleft demands. They demand, for instance, that all should unite on slogans like 'Down with the Shah ...'."
—*Militant*, 13 January 1978

The omission is necessary. *IP* cannot tell the reader about the SL's real fight for a real class-struggle alternative to the sellout bureaucracy if it wants him to believe the SL is a "sect" headed for "outer space."

In fact, the only real political substance to be found in the *IP* article is the graphic, a photo of two *WV* headlines ("Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs!" and "Sheharansky Is Guilty as Hell!") whose uncompromising proletarian line does tend to isolate us from the liberals and the social-democratic left. Unfortunately, *IP* did not choose to take up its prostration before the clerical-reactionary leadership of the "movement" in Iran or its de facto abandonment of the Trotskyist policy of defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism.

We can sympathize with *IP*'s discreet silence. The 8 December *Militant*'s effort to defend the SWP's Iran line against the SL might be read as an unintentional object lesson on the better part of valor (for a reply see "Love the Mullahs—Love the SWP" in the present issue of *Young Spartacus*). And *IP*, the SWP's international factional organ, is perhaps not the best place to attempt a defense of the SWP's political solidarity with Jimmy Carter in emoting over the plight of Sheharansky, a man even the bourgeois press admits sought to pass Soviet military secrets to CIA conduits. The foreign radicals to whom *IP* presents the SWP's most "left" face are likely to be rather more sensitive than the *Militant*'s mainly domestic readership to the social-patriotism animating the SWP's "democratic" defense of the Sheharanskys and Solzhenitsyns.

For at bottom the gulf between the SWP reformists and the SL Trotskyists comes down to the SL's intransigent opposition to U.S. imperialist policy here and now. While the reformists give credence to Carter's sanctimonious "human rights" crusade—which aims at the moral and military rearmament of U.S. imperialism after Vietnam and Watergate—the SL stands with Lenin in declaring: the main enemy is at home! ■

SP Left Wingers Call for SL-SWP Debate

We reprint below a letter written by the Revolutionary Marxist Tendency (RMT, formerly the Debs Caucus of the Socialist Party [SP]) to the Guardian *in response to its 15 November article "Socialist Party: What Is To Be Done?" and a subsequent letter from SPer Dave McReynolds. Both the* Guardian *article and the "correction" curiously failed to notice that the recent SP convention and subsequent split had anything at all to do with the question of Trotskyism. Since the* Guardian *follows the Stalinist tradition of distorting or suppressing anything to do with this taboo subject, we have good reason to expect that the RMT's letter will never see the light of day in their pages. We therefore undertake to publish it here.*

As part of the process of investigating the ostensibly Trotskyist groups, the RMT has proposed a debate between the Spartacist League (SL) and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Whereas the SL accepted the proposal enthusiastically, the SWP has been trying to duck the debate challenge. So far they have come up with three contradictory responses, all of them phony and/or cowardly:

1. *We're too busy to debate.*
2. *Fred Halstead refuses to talk to the RMT with the SL in the room.*
3. *We might "debate" if the SL and SWP present their arguments on alternate weeks!*

We can only conclude that the SWP, which misses no opportunity to dismiss the SL as "ultra-left sectarians," is afraid to face a genuinely Leninist organization before the probing questions of a group moving leftward from social democracy. No doubt it remembers the political drubbing it received at the recent SWP-CP-SL debate during the New York City elections (see "Class Struggle or Race War?" WV No. 218, 3 November). But the price of political cowardice is high. Will the SWP be content to let a substantial number of potential revolutionists walk on by without attempting a parting shot to save them for its brand of "left" social democracy? The SL and RMT are waiting to see.

* * * * *

Revolutionary Marxist Tendency
1824 N. Arlington Pl.
Milwaukee, WI 53202

Guardian
33 West 17th St.
New York, NY 10011

Dear Guardian:

We would like to respond to a recent letter by Socialist Party member Dave McReynolds which appeared in the *Guardian* (22 November 1978) and referred to us, the former Socialist Party (Debs Caucus), now the Revolutionary Marxist Tendency (RMT).

While the left opposition which emerged at the 1978 SP Convention only took out about 40 people when it split from the SP on 11 November, a little under half of the active membership of the SP (not the "dozen" that McReynolds states) we did frighten the right-wing SP leadership into revoking the charters of the SP's largest local, Milwaukee, as well as those of locals Manhattan and Racine (Wisconsin) and the entire Michigan state party in order to escape the political threat posed by the left-wing.

The reference in the letter to the National Caucus of Labor Committees is a slander which had its origins deep within the mind of David McReynolds, a slander which he has pushed steadily for the past two months on the theory that if you throw enough mud, some will stick. Moreover, contrary to McReynolds' allegation, the former Debs Caucus had no connection with either the Communist Cadre (CTC) or the Communist Cadre-Marxist (CTCM). The CTCM is a politically irrelevant Mareyite 1972 split from Workers World Party which entered the SP's Manhattan local after the formation of the Debs Caucus. CTCM has distinguished itself as a sect with the most rotten entry policy on the left. Prior to their intervention in the SP they were involved with the psycho-therapy cliquist International Workers Party in 1975. McReynolds' allegations concerning the CTCM's supposedly undemocratic practices, however, are complete fabrications.

To put things in their proper perspective, McReynolds' own political background needs to be examined. McReynolds, who poses as a pacifist and claims to "respectfully" disagree with Lenin has nevertheless remained "more than 25 years" in the Socialist Party of strike-breaking Frank Zeidler (former mayor of Milwaukee and present chair of the SP) and DSOC chair and Democratic Party member Mike Harrington (SP chair until 1973). The SP supported not only the Korean and Viet Nam wars throughout their durations, but also the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba. McReynolds' life-long presence in this rotten fragment of the social democracy displays his cynical yet unserious attitude toward politics.

The RMT's exclusion from the SP is merely the latest in a long series of Leninist and Trotskyist splits from the hopelessly bankrupt Socialist Party going back to 1919. We are glad to be free of the stagnant political swamp which the SP has been since the historic betrayals of the Second International parties in World War I. Our future political orientation as a tendency will be toward the revolutionary Marxism of the Spartacist League which embodies the continuity of the Leninist and Trotskyist program for proletarian revolution.

Revolutionary Marxist Tendency
Milwaukee, WI
27 November 1978

Constituent Assembly...

(continued from page 5)

such as soldiers committees and workers militias. In fact what was occurring was an internationally coordinated attack on the MFA-PCP government *from the right*, bankrolled by U.S. imperialism (which later admitted it was pumping several million dollars a month to Soares' PS at the time), *and whose real aim was to crush the first signs of dual power which were proliferating.*

The SWP went right along with this anti-Communist offensive, putting forward as the cental slogan All Power to the Constituent Assembly! (They object to this interpretation of their slogan, but that is what defense of the "sovereignty" of the constituent assembly actually means.) Of course, they added a fig leaf, arguing that "the concrete expression of popular sovereignty through the Constituent Assembly" would be by "establishing a workers and peasants government," or more specifically a PS-PCP government. However, in fact the operational majority in the assembly was that of Soares' PS allied with the right-wing bourgeois parties against the PCP. The SWP argued that the Socialists would be exposed when they refused to form such a government; in the meantime, however, the actual majority in this organ of bourgeois rule whose sovereignty the SWP defends would proceed with its measures directed against the gains won by the workers movement!

* * * * *

As elaborated earlier in this article, on various occasions we, following Trotsky, have been obliged to specify that our call is for a *revolutionary* constituent assembly, in order to contrast this with conciliationist maneuvers of sundry bourgeois opposition forces. One place where we did *not* call for such a body was Portugal in July-August of 1975, a fact which brought us the criticism of the Revolutionary Marxist Committee (RMC), a Shachtmanite grouping which has since gone on to the reformist big time in the SWP. In a collection of essays entitled "Problems of the Portuguese Revolution" (*Revolutionary Marxist Papers* 7, March 1976), written before its social-democratic fusion with Jack Barnes & Co., the RMC found the SWP's capitulations to Soares too much to stomach but criticized the SL for condemning the Socialists' despicable role in spearheading a reactionary mobilization (a "defacto red-brown coalition" as we called it).

The answer, said the RMC, was for Portuguese revolutionaries to center their agitation on the demand for a revolutionary constituent assembly. They devote several pages to the transcendental powers of this slogan, at one point asserting:

> "If the workers' parties had consistently fought for all democratic rights—including and especially the revolutionary Constitutent Assembly—then none of the CP headquarters would have been burned."

Actually, this *des ex machina* was only a cover for its real policy, identical with the SWP's, of defending the "sovereignty" of the existing constituent assembly; the RMC was only looking for a way to claim it did not limit itself to the demand of all power to the anti-Communist PS/bourgeois majority of the assembly.

In any case the issue was not one of calling for new elections for a more radical legislative body based on universal suffrage. The potential basis for revolutionary opposition to the bonapartist tutelage of the MFA was not a constituent assembly but developing and linking the potential soviet-type bodies then appearing. Thus we demanded:

> "Build and unite workers councils nationwide, drawing in the workers commissions, popular vigilance committees, soldiers committees, neighborhood and agricultural workers commissions for the struggle for power!"
>
> —"Program for Workers Power in Portugal," *WV* No. 80, 10 October 1975

But for the social democrats of the RMC this was "tragically misled." Since "there are no actual soviets in existence in Portugal today," the task was to support the forces of "democratic reaction" in defense of bourgeois parliamentarism against military bonapartism. When they admit the existence of "meager embryos of future soviets" (how prosaic—as if such organs of struggle are an everyday occurrence!) it is only to argue that they should "become the organizational expression of the struggle to convene a revolutionary Constituent Assembly." It is thus not surprising the RMC eventually joined the SWP. Their marriage was consecrated on the altar of parliamentary cretinism and hostility to soviet power.

There is another, more curious aspect of the SWP's fascination with the constituent assembly demand in Portugal: the call for a workers and peasants government based on a constituent assembly. At about this time their Portuguese supporters published a little book collecting various writings by Leon Trotsky on the question of the constituent assembly. And in several articles on China, Trotsky does indeed raise the possibility of a soviet government convoking a constituent assembly:

> "If the proletariat has assembled the poor peasantry under the slogans of democracy (land, national assembly, etc.) and in a united onslaught overthrows the military dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, then, when it comes into power, the proletariat will have to convoke a national assembly in order not to arouse the mistrust of the peasantry and in order not to provide an opening for bourgeois demagogy."
>
> —"To the Chinese Left Opposition," January 1931

But Trotsky does not here, or elsewhere, postulate the constituent assembly as a possible organizational form for the dictatorship of the proletariat; this is an invention of the ex-Trotskyists who distort the Bolshevik slogan of a workers and peasants government into a call for a reform government of the bourgeois state. Trotsky speaks of a national/constituent assembly as an additional *support* to the proletarian power: "The advantage would be that the soviet system would be formally sanctioned by the national assembly...."

Moreover, this hypothetical case referred to China where a vast peasant majority could be mobilized against its warlord/landlord/comprador bourgeois rulers by a Leninist leadership that knew how to employ revolutionary democratic slogans. In Portugal, on the other hand, the bulk of the peasantry (*not* the PCP-led agricultural workers) is made up of small property owners who have been frequently mobilized by the right wing against the radical working class of the Lisbon region.

The Spartacist League called for a constituent assembly in Portugal in order to mobilize the aspirations for democracy of a population which had suffered almost half a century of Salazarist-corporatist dictatorship, and as an expression of opposition to military bonapartist rule even under the leftist rhetoric of the MFA. But in the concrete case of the rightist mobilization for "democracy" in mid-1975 we supported neither the populist captains-turned-generals nor the right-wing majority of the Constituent Assembly, instead calling for united working-class defense of left-wing offices and extension/centralization of the nascent organs of workers power (see "SWP/OCI Tail Counterrevolution in Portugal," *WV* No. 75, 29 August 1975).

* * * * *

The events in Portugal were not an isolated occurrence, nor was the conflict between something called a constituent assembly and the workers commissions/soldiers committees unique. In fact, as proletarian revolutionaries (and not bourgeois democrats) we do not always demand the sovereignty of a particular constituent assembly. In a revolutionary upheaval, a weak provisional government may be forced to make economic concessions to the workers and to temporarily tolerate organs of dual power. A constituent assembly could then become a tool for the bourgeois derailing of the revolution. The votes of a backward rural population might produce a constituent assembly far to the right of the provisional government, which is under the direct pressure of the urban-centered, combative sections of the working class. And by claiming to represent the democratic popular will, the constituent assembly might be better able to mobilize against the proletarian vanguard than an unauthoritative provisional government. This was the situation in Portugal in the summer of 1975.

Similar situations occurred in the classic French revolutions of 1789-92 and 1848. In June 1789 the National Assembly was born when the Third Estate summoned by Louis XVI refused to be dismissed by royal order and retired to the tennis court at Versailles to hold independent sessions. But this was only a gesture. The assembly was not recognized as a ruling body until following the plebeian Paris revolt which culminated in the July 14 storming of the Bastille. Thus from the time of the classic bourgeois revolutions onward, the demand for a constituent assembly has always had a popular revolutionary-democratic content, directly counterposed to all attempts to temporize with or reform the old regime.

However, by the summer of 1792 the National Assembly had become a choking fetter on the further development of the revolution and a protector of the monarchy. On August 10 of that year the representatives of the Parisian people formed a Revolutionary Commune as columns were marching on the Tuileries Palace to expel the king. The Commune under the leadership of Robespierre forced the Assembly to "suspend" the king and call elections for a new, truly democratic and revolutionary constituent assembly based on universal suffrage, the Convention. Yet the parliamentarist cretins of the SWP would no doubt have denounced the action of the Commune as the undemocratic action of an ultra-leftist minority isolated in Paris. Luckily, Robespierre was a revolutionary rather than a worshipper of bourgeois legality.

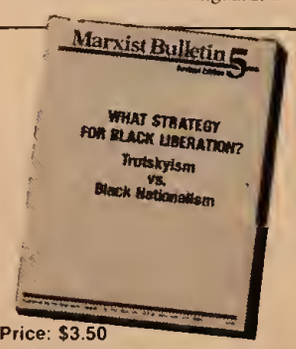
The frustrated French revolution of 1848, on the other hand, provides an example of how a constituent assembly can become an organ of "democratic counterrevolution." The provisional government set up following the February revolution was directly under the pressure of the Parisian proletariat, and was far to the left of the Constituent National Assembly elected in April. Reflecting the more backward views of the peasant majority of the nation, this body was dominated by the Party of Order and drawn mainly from the old monarchists. After the workers representatives were purged from the executive committee, in the decisive June days the reconstituted government provoked an insurrection by the Paris workers which was bloodily suppressed by the butcher Cavaignac, who executed more than 20,000 in the name of the Assembly (see "The French Revolution of 1848," *Young Spartacus* No. 50, January 1977).

Here, as in Germany in 1918-19, the working class found itself on the opposite sides of the barricades not from absolutist dictatorship but from the champions of bourgeois democracy. Marx and Engels stood on the side of the proletariat against the forces of democratic reaction, and it was the experience of 1848-49 which first formed Marx's concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin deepened the Marxist understanding of the class difference between bourgeois and proletarian democracy, while Kautsky continued to talk of abstract democracy, condemning the Bolsheviks for dispersing the constituent assembly in Russia in January 1918.

As Trotskyists we hold that the constituent assembly is only one of several revolutionary democratic demands, subordinate to the overall interests of the proletarian revolution. In contrast to the social-democratic SWP we stand with Lenin in his December 1917 "Theses on the Constituent Assembly," which starkly synthesized the Marxist viewpoint on bourgeoise democracy:

> "1. The demand for the convocation of a Constituent Assembly was a perfectly legitimate part of the programme of revolutionary Social-Democracy, because in a bourgeois republic the Constituent Assembly represents the highest form of democracy and because, in setting up a Pre-parliament, the imperialist republic headed by Kerensky was preparing to rig the elections and violate democracy in a number of ways.
>
> "2. While demanding the convocation of a Constituent Assembly, revolutionary Social-Democracy has ever since the beginning of the Revolution of 1917 repeatedly emphasised that a republic of Soviets is a higher form of democracy than the usual bourgeois republic with a Constituent Assembly.
>
> "3. For the transition from the bourgeois to the socialist system, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Republic of Soviets (of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies) is not only a higher type of democratic institution..., but is the only form capable of securing the most painless transition to socialism....
>
> "14. ...The course of events and the development of the class struggle in the revolution have resulted in the slogan 'All Power to the Constituent Assembly!'—which disregards the gains of the workers' and peasants' revolution, which disregards Soviet power, which disregards the decisions of the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, of the Second All-Russia Congress of Peasants' Deputies, etc.—*becoming in fact* the slogan of the Cadets and the Kalediniites and of their helpers....
>
> "16. The result of the above-mentioned circumstances taken together is that the Constituent Assembly, summoned on the basis of the election lists of the parties existing prior to the proletarian-peasant revolution under the rule of the bourgeoisie, must inevitably clash with the will and interests of the working and exploited classes which on October 25 began the socialist revolution against the bourgeoisie. Naturally, the interests of this revolution stand higher than the formal rights of the Constituent Assembly....
>
> "17. Every direct or indirect attempt to consider the question of the Constituent Assembly from a formal, legal point of view, within the framework of ordinary bourgeois democracy and disregarding the class struggle and civil war, would be a betrayal of the proletariat's cause, and the adoption of the bourgeois standpoint...."

This is the revolutionary program which unites our call for *revolutionary* constituent assemblies in Chile, Nicaragua and Peru; our call for a sovereign, secular constituent assembly in Iran; and our refusal to call for defense of the sovereignty of the Portuguese constituent assembly or for a "revolutionary constituent assembly" in Portugal in July-August 1975. It is the program of Marxist independence from all wings of the class enemy, and of militant devotion to the revolutionary interests of the exploited and oppressed, led by the proletarian communist vanguard. ■



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Mao Cult "Rectified"...

(continued from page 16)

Stalinization campaign. But the purposes of the two are very different. For the Kremlin bureaucrats, denunciation of Stalin was necessary to re-establish an aura of legality as opposed to Stalin's increasingly arbitrary mass terror. By the time he died the Russian population was in a state of turbulence: in fact the bureaucracy launched de-Stalinization precisely to head off the kind of mass outbreak which occurred a few months later in Hungary. The Khrushchev "revelations" were also accompanied by an increase in consumer goods and agricultural production in a direct attempt to buy off the population. In other words "de-Stalinization" was a self-amnestying by the entire bureaucracy—trying to direct the anger of the population at the "errors" or even "crimes" of one (dead) individual.

Nor was Khrushchev's attack on the "cult of the personality" aimed at any particular faction. While he found it necessary to purge the "anti-party group" in the leadership (Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov) in order to carry it out, de-Stalinization was mainly associated with the posthumous rehabilitation of those of Stalin's victims who had been part of his own faction (like Ordzhonikidze) or had not been directly involved in the inner-party struggles (Tukhachevsky). The bureaucrats did not touch the oppositionists—Bukharin, Kamenev, Zinoviev, let alone Trotsky.

The Soviet bureaucracy was able to carry out a cosmetic "de-Stalinization" relatively painlessly because it could still make a cult of *Lenin*. Stalin could be downgraded without challenging the bureaucrats' legitimacy. But Teng's Maoist Old Guard cannot disappear the cult of Mao—the principal leader of the Chinese revolution, who at one time or another backed *all* the cliques and factions in the CCP leadership—without calling into question the derivation of their own authority.

To publicly secure the power he had already won by behind-the-scenes manipulation of the October 1976 palace coup, Teng had to oust the remaining sometime allies of the Gang of Four and directly confront their one "argument"—namely that Chiang Ch'ing & Co. had the approval of Mao. To do this it was necessary for Teng to assert that Mao was not infallible—a proof that was particularly necessary because in the CCP central committee meetings following the 1976 Tien An Men incident it was Mao himself who personally stripped Teng of his positions and put in Hua as his successor.

Thus the Teng gang is prepared to criticize certain aspects of Mao's policies—the "Great Leap" and the "Cultural Revolution"—but it cannot dismantle the cult of Mao. Indeed, Teng is apparently willing to leave Hua as the figurehead prime minister as long as he has no real power. Moreover if Teng really intended to go after Mao's historic role one would expect his main demand to be rehabilitation of Liu Shao-chi—dead or alive. Instead the central demand of the present campaign has been the reversal of the 1976 central committee decision on Tien An Men, a demand directed mainly at Hua.

Thus it would be false to view Teng's short-lived wall poster/interview war as the "de-Maoization" of China. Moreover, the campaign does not appear to have significant policy overtones, and seems to be mainly a settling of old scores. Of course, with Mao's chaotic policy of periodically "turning the world upside down," there are plenty of people in China with scores to settle. Thousands upon thousands of veteran party cadre were publicly humiliated in rallies during the Cultural Revolution. A generation of idealistic Red Guard youth have spent the best years of their lives shoveling cow dung in some isolated, backward village.

It is the realization of how deep-seated are the animosities generated by the Cultural Revolution that has had *New York Times* editorials nervously warning against the dangers of "revenge seeking" in China. This worry also prompted Secretary of State Cyrus Vance to directly intervene in favor of the bureaucratic status quo in Peking, via the anonymous "senior White House official" who announced that the "Hua/Teng partnership created stability" and that another unfolding power struggle would be very bad for the U.S./China alliance (*New York Times*, 27 November).

Teng also understands the danger. Above all, Chinese leaders are seeking to stabilize bureaucratic domination and certainly do not enjoy the idea of millions of people going around demanding full accountability for 30 years of arbitrary, parasitic Stalinist rule. So far the actual changes have been quite modest. The central committee has revised the formerly "correct verdict" on Tien An Men, the earlier attempt by Teng (through the supposedly spontaneous forces of Chou En-lai's mourners) to regain power in the bureaucracy.

This disguised Tengist demonstration had been foiled by the military intervention of then Peking mayor Wu Teh and by the sinister and shadowy Wang Hung-hsing. The latter (not the Wang of Gang of Four fame) was commander of the little-known PLA (People's Liberation Army) unit 8341, Chairman Mao's personal bodyguard, which was in charge of security for the Heavenly Palace compound and whose support was decisive in ousting Chiang Ch'ing.

Whatever else does or does not happen, Teng made sure that Wu Teh got his—he was dumped as mayor late in October. Wang appears to be still on the scene, but not for long. The wall posters singled him out for special treatment as the prime exponent of "whateverism": "He blindly interfered and brought disaster to the masses," one poster said. "When the situation changed, he changed with the wind.... Blast him out, this insect."

Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom, Part II?

A number of analysts have made a false analogy between the present "wall poster democracy" and the 1957 campaign to "Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom, Let a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend." The U.S. Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), practically admitting that it is in the dark about what's up in Peking, despite holding the official Chinese franchise, wrote in a front-page editorial: "From all appearances, a great democratic movement is underway" (*Call*, 4 December). The next week they published excerpts from Mao's 12 March 1957 "Hundred Flowers" speech.

Such a comparison is simply not relevant. Initiated partly in response to the Hungarian Revolution, the "Hundred Flowers" campaign was in the main an attempt to let non-party intellectuals blow off steam in a period of economic retrenchment following the failure of China's first five-year plan. But the scope and depth of discontent which were revealed alarmed the Maoist regime. Three months after Mao's speech, the campaign was abruptly halted in mid-June 1957 with a violent counterattack in the press. The repression was extremely severe—a few months ago Peking reportedly released some *110,000* people who had been detained since that time!

What is going on in China most closely resembles the opening of the Cultural Revolution. The "GPCR" was also supposed to be the "spontaneous" and "democratic" expression of mass anger against the bureaucracy which had entered upon the capitalist road. Indeed, its initial program in 1966 called for establishing a Paris Commune-type state. But it was actually a case of Mao enlisting the support of Lin Piao, and through him the guns of the PLA, to get the Chou/Peng/Teng group, who had kept him as a mere figurehead ever since the collapse of the Great Leap Forward.

The proof of the pudding that "wall poster democracy" is not free speech is the absence of oppositional posters. Who is defending the repression of the Tien An Men demonstration? Where is there a single poster defending the Gang of Four? That the wall-posterers were acting on orders of the top leadership was so obvious that it inspired Russell Baker of the *New York Times* to write a hilarious column ending with the question: "Where *do* the wall posters come from?" Elsewhere on this page we reprint one of his imaginary (?) scenarios. And by the way, since the CP-ML is so crazy about the "Hundred Flowers" parallel, we challenge them to explain to their readers what happened when the Maoist bureaucracy decided to nip the flowers in the bud.

Where Do Wall Posters Come From?

Scenario 3. We are in the office of Peng, Chinese Government biggie. "This is big, Wang. Really big. And you're the boy to do it."

"If it's wall posters you want, you've got the right guy," says Wang. "Just tell me what the biggies want on the wall and posters will appear there tomorrow morning."

Peng puts a fatherly arm around Wang. "You're going to criticize Old Number One himself. You're going to be the boy that goes after old Mao-baby."

Wang recoils. He has a wife and a nice prose style to live for. Peng is giving instructions. "We want you to just put the needle in a little bit. You know the kind of stuff: 'If Mao was so great, how come America still produces all the best musical comedies?' 'If Mao was such hot stuff, why don't most Chinese houses have powder rooms?' That kind of stuff."

"Not a chance, Peng," says Wang. "I know you guys too well. Let a hundred flowers bloom today — prune them all tomorrow. That's the way you work. But I'll tell you one thing. You're not going to prune Wang. I'm gonna blow the whistle. I'm gonna tell the masses what you guys are ..."

Wang drops through a trapdoor in the floor, which is sprung by the push of a button on Peng's desk. No wall posters appear.

Russell Baker, "A Chinese Puzzle," *New York Times*, 5 December 1978

Cultural Revolution Revisited

One thing that both the Tien An Men demonstrations and last month's burst of orchestrated "democracy" did show is that Teng actually enjoys a degree of genuine, although mainly negative, popularity. Probably the one truly spontaneous element in all the rigged shows of the last decade has been the deep-seated hatred of the capricious, vengeful and wantonly repressive Chiang Ch'ing crowd. When following the October 1976 palace coup Teng compared Chiang to the Empress Dowager, the label immediately stuck.

For years there have been endless books praising the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution—from the bucolic musings of Pennsylvania dirt farmer William Hinton to the "Third World" slumming of Swedish mod photographer Jan Myrdal to the aristocratic Parisian radical economist Charles Bettelheim. But at a time when virtually the entire left was enraptured by the Red Guards, we wrote:

> "The Cultural Revolution was in its origins and its essence a faction fight between two wings of the Chinese bureaucracy.... It was in 1959 as a result of being saddled with the consequences of the Great Leap that Mao lost the chairmanship of the government to Liu and was allowed to hold only the largely honorific title of Party Chairman. The Cultural Revolution was Mao's successful recapturing of the Chinese state and the Army, which incidentally included the destruction of the CCP by the Red Guard Youth."
>
> —"Chinese Menshevism," *Spartacist* No. 15-16, April-May 1970

Today our unique analysis of the "Cultural Revolution" is being confirmed by a number of recent accounts of life in China under the GPCR. Among them are two books by the Belgian Sinologist Simon Leys, *Chinese Shadows* and *The Chairman's New Clothes*. In his major work, *The Chairman's New Clothes*, Leys powerfully shows how Mao mobilized the army and youth against the party bureaucracy. The book begins with the following capsule summary:

> "The 'Cultural Revolution' had nothing revolutionary about it except the name, and nothing cultural about it except the initial tactical pretext. It was a power struggle waged at the top between a handful of men and behind the smokescreen of a fictitious mass movement."
>
> —*The Chairman's New Clothes*

One of the most evocative sections of this book is the description of the deep hatred of the Chinese population toward the "Gang" and the rejoicing which broke out with the downfall of Chiang Ch'ing. Leys writes:

> "Such a reaction was understandable: for the people, radical Maoism meant the substitution of an austere and fanatical political mysticism for the legitimate material, intellectual and emotional demands of human nature, the imposition of a permanent state of quasi-military mobilization, the ruthless destruction of all traditional values, an all-pervasive drabness of life, the creation of a cultural desert, universal bigotry, aridity and boredom, relieved only by periodic explosions of violence and hysterical activism. For the cadres, constantly exposed to criticism, harried, scared, worn out, maoism meant permanent menace and uncertainty, continuous struggle, tension and insecurity, and they aspired to a stabler, safer and more conventional system of government."
>
> —*Ibid.*

As one could expect from such a description, lacking a revolutionary perspective Leys is strongly sympathetic to Teng and the bureaucratic Old Guard. This is also the view of the Western press, which wants a stable Chinese component of the grand anti-Soviet alliance. Thus the glowing newspaper accounts of "Hyde Park on Tien An Men" involuntarily recall World War II coverage of Stalin's Russia. Teng the Chinese Stalinist hack par excellence is suddenly the liberalizer, the democrat, the pragmatist with a salty sense of humor and country boy ways. Of course—for Wall Street wants to do business with him, the State Department wants an anti-Soviet alliance and the Pentagon is talking of massive arms aid to the Chinese army.

All this American "good will" is

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actually an ominous threat to the working people of China. For the Chinese deformed workers state is far less stable than the USSR, and the threat of imperialist-inspired counter-revolution correspondingly greater. With all the musical chairs in the Kremlin following Stalin's death, Moscow never saw a military coup—which is how Lin Piao was deposed in 1970 and how Teng ousted the "Gang" in October 1976. Teng's rule will be more stable, but which way will the next coup go?

The plodding Russian bureaucracy awakens immense frustrations in the Soviet population with its irrationalities and heavy-handed rule. Yet it is not about to be overthrown because Pepsi Cola licenses a bottling plant or Chase Manhattan establishes a branch office on Karl Marx Square. But if the Russian degenerated workers state is still significantly behind the leading imperialist powers economically, the gap between "People's China" and its U.S. ally is immense. The concerns which move Washington to strike a deal with Peking amount to the constant imperialist desire to reverse the social conquests gained by the overthrow of capitalism on one-third of the globe. This counterrevolutionary drive threatens China as much as the Soviet Union, and only through proletarian political revolution, throwing out the entire bureaucracy—Tengs, Chiangs, Brezhnevs and all—can the threat be averted and the road opened to socialism on a world scale. ■

Teng's China...

(continued from page 9)

accepted normal trade credits on its imports. In 1976 China's deferred payments owed capitalist exporters totalled $1.3 billion, equal to over 20 percent of its hard currency earnings that year (*Current History*, October 1978). However, standard trade credit granted by the exporting firm is generally short-term and for a quite limited amount. A "Great Leap Forward" in China's capital equipment imports requires very large, long-term bank loans.

This October Peking came out of the financial closet in a big rush. It borrowed $4 billion from West German banks to improve its coal industry, then borrowed another $2 billion from Japan's Export-Import Bank. According to the Western business press the sky is now the limit on Peking's borrowing. Japan's trade minister Toshio Komoto estimates that by 1985 China will spend $350 billion on capital equipment imports (*Business Week*, 6 November)! This is an absolutely fantastic figure considering that China's total imports in 1977 were only $5 billion. But the fact that a responsible Japanese economic official is even handying about such astronomical figures indicates that Peking plans to increase its debt to imperialist bankers many, many times over.

The change in Stalinist China's economic relationship with the imperialist world is fundamentally dependent upon the change in its political/military relationship. It was Mao's anti-Soviet alliance with U.S. imperialism which laid the basis for Teng's access to international capital markets. If in the early 1960's the Chinese bureaucracy had wanted to stimulate economic growth through large-scale loans from the Rockefellers and Japanese *zaibatsu*, it would not have been given the money. The Chinese Stalinists openly admit that anti-Sovietism was and is the ticket for "obtaining external assistance." Teng recently told Japanese Democratic Socialist Party leader Ryosaku Sasaki:

> "In 1972, through the Shanghai communiqué between the United States and China and through normalization of Chinese-Japanese relations we produced the conditions for obtaining external assistance."
>
> —*New York Times*, 27 November

The large capitalist loans being granted to China today are in one sense blood money for Peking's support to U.S. imperialism against the bureaucratically degenerated Soviet Russian workers state.

Teng's program of placing China's economy "in the front ranks of the world" by the turn of the century through massive capital imports is in its own way no less utopian than Mao's claim at the beginning of the Great Leap Forward that China would catch up with the West in 15 years. While Peking's anti-Sovietism is a condition for its present large-scale borrowing from the imperialists, Japanese and German bankers are not *giving* money to China to build up its industrial-military strength. If the imperialist bankers do not grant unlimited credit to their own neo-colonies like Turkey, Zaire and Peru, they certainly will not do so for People's China, a non-capitalist, deformed workers state. The large loans now being granted the Chinese Stalinist bureaucrats are expected to be repaid on time at the going rate of interest.

If the scale of Peking's borrowing reported in the bourgeois press is approximately correct, China cannot repay this amount through expanded export earnings. *Business Week* (6 November) warns that Peking's capital goods spending program appears financially unsound

> "For a nation with less than $5 billion in foreign reserves and a foreign trade last year less than that of Hong Kong ($14.6 billion vs $21 billion), the lavish spending now envisaged ...seems imprudent if not downright reckless."

In a few years' time in order to meet its rapidly increasing debt service, the Chinese government will have to severely cut back investment, workers' wages or peasants' incomes. Teng's capital spending spree may prove as damaging to China's economic development as Mao's communes or the "Gang of Four's" anti-import prejudice.

How a Stalinist regime can produce an economic disaster through an ambitious importing-cum-borrowing policy is well illustrated by Poland. Following violent worker revolts in 1970, the new Gierek regime simultaneously undertook a crash industrialization program while significantly raising both industrial wages and peasant incomes. This explosion of expenditure was financed with Western loans. Between 1972 and 1976 Poland ran a balance of trade deficit with the advanced capitalist countries of $7 billion and racked up over $10 billion in debt to the imperialist states and bankers (*Economist*, 18 December 1976). It is estimated that this year about one half of Poland's hard currency earnings will go to pay interest and amortization on its foreign debt.

In order to meet its increasing debt service, in 1976 the Gierek regime attempted to extract a greater surplus from the workers by sharply raising consumer prices. This led to riots and strikes and the price increases were rescinded. Since then Poland's investment plans have been scaled down, the official price freeze has led to an ever-widening black market and the regime is under continual pressure to impose a severe austerity program.

Teng's economic strategy looks rather like Gierek's in the early 1970's and could lead to even worse consequences. In meeting its foreign debt Poland has an asset that China does not. To preserve social peace in its important East European satellite, the Soviet Union is willing to subsidize the debt-ridden Polish economy.

The Stalinist doctrine of "socialist modernization in one country" must generate utopian programs of one sort or another. Neither Mao's backyard steel furnaces nor Teng's deals with the Japanese *zaibatsu* will enable China to make the great leap forward to the economic level of the advanced capitalist world. Certainly a revolutionary workers government basing itself on soviet democracy could secure a higher rate of economic growth than has the oppressive, corrupt and reckless Maoist bureaucracy. However, the fundamental transformation of China into a modern industrial society requires proletarian political revolution at home and socialist revolutions in the imperialist centers in order to establish *globally* integrated socialist economic planning. ■

Tupelo...

(continued from page 3)

for Evers and his Democratic Party. Yet that is the lesson of the civil rights movement, either the labor movement or the Democratic Party and defeat. It is even more obvious today when the basis for a liberal *mass* movement does not exist.

The Tupelo boycott has been praised to the skies by the left, particularly by the various Maoist groupings. But they never mention the Evers connection or the Democratic Party maneuverings. The Maoists of the CP-ML (formerly October League), in fact, have found ideological "strength" in the fundamental weakness of Tupelo's consumer boycott, estrangement from the labor movement, localism and rural setting. For these reformists, it is a basis for justification of their notion—borrowed from the Communist Party of the 1930's—that the South is a "black belt" needing national self-determination. Robinson says, "We talk about jobs but, to me, the land should be number one. Without having a place to set on, without any capital, we are just waste material" (*Southern Struggle*, September-October 1978). "Forty acres and a mule" may have been a progressive demand in 1865, but it bears little relation to real needs of the black masses today.

Mississippi still has the lowest per capita income in the nation, although in Carter's "New" South even Tupelo has seen some industrial development in recent years as companies seek cheaper non-unionized workers. But the problems of Tupelo blacks cannot—and need not—be solved in the narrow framework of rural northern Mississippi. Next door is Memphis, which was recently rocked by a firemen's strike and ten years ago by the militant garbagemen's strike. Across the river in Louisiana are new auto plants of the Big Three, ripe for unionization. What is required is a strong and united, South-wide trade-union organizing drive as the basis of a fight for jobs and better conditions for blacks and poor whites. But it is precisely reactionaries like Evers—supported by Robinson and the UL—who most strongly oppose unions and hope to build the "New" South in a union-free environment.

The trade-union bureaucracy has largely ignored the fight to unionize the South, withholding its vast resources from a militant, all-out organizing effort. Instead it has favored northern-based consumer boycotts like that of J.P. Stevens or upper-echelon negotiations like the UAW's just concluded deal with General Motors to hire UAW workers first when it builds new plants in the South.

The development of a militant, integrated union movement can break the stranglehold of the Mississippi capitalists and their Democratic Party politicians. As part of that development labor must aggressively champion the democratic rights of black people and defend them against racist attack. Not long ago when the Nazis threatened to march in Skokie, Illinois, the home of thousands of Jewish concentration camp survivors, the labor movement responded by preparing to mobilize its ranks in protest. If Tupelo becomes a Skokie of the South, then the labor movement must go there and crush those hooded vigilantes on the streets. ■

ILWU...

(continued from page 2)

Mandel told *WV*:

> "We didn't do as well as we had hoped. At the same time, during the campaign, we found substantial interest in our program. Recognizing from the IBT strike that the unemployed can be recruited as scabs unless the unions fight for jobs for all, our call for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay to provide jobs for all gained more currency. In light of Carter's strike-breaking attacks on the miners, postal workers and railway workers, many members have also come to question the union's ties to the capitalist parties. Militants were particularly receptive to our proposals for strike tactics against government injunctions and police attacks
>
> "We have won a solid victory in turning back the leadership's attempts to throw us off the union's Executive Board, and we look toward the future with confidence. The key task for us now is to consolidate around us those militants who rallied to our support and prepare the ILWU for a real counteroffensive, in conjunction with Teamster warehousemen, against the union-busting tactics we saw in the supermarket strike and which the bosses are now aiming at us." ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Where Do Wall Posters Come From, Anyway?

Mao Cult "Rectified"

It was over before you could blink an eye. But China's carefully orchestrated "campaign for democracy" had a tremendous impact on the West. To hear the English-speaking press tell it, the last two weeks in November had been "Hyde Park on the Tien An Men." Peking's street-corner soap-boxers were advocating free speech and demanding secret-ballot elections. Wall posters (the famous *dazibao*) were taking on China's newest evil "whateverism" those who took "whatever" Mao said as the gospel. Meanwhile, thousands of street demonstrators chanted "Long Live Teng Hsiao-p'ing and Hua Kuo-feng" but never once mentioned the Great Helmsman's name. And a 62-page wall poster, the "Manifesto of Human Rights" signed by the so-called "Democratic Forum" group of Kweichow Province declared life was better in the U.S. The U.S. imperialist press was positively rhapsodic.

"You are witnessing the greatest event in the People's Republic," *Newsweek* (11 December) quoted a street demonstrator explaining things to a foreign journalist. "Great Democratic Debate Sweeps China," echoed the newspaper of Teng's American followers. But what did it all mean? Theories were churned out in the press as fast as the analysts could think them up—almost all of them wrong. For some it was Moscow 1956 and de-Stalinization all over again. For others it was a replay of the Hundred Flowers campaign. Most incongruous of all were the versions that had the durable old Stalinist hack Teng Hsiao-p'ing cast as China's Dubček.

But for all the prattling about China's "experiment in free speech," all the Pekingologists had to agree that the "spontaneous" outpouring had been turned on and off like a spigot by none other than Teng himself. From its November 15 opening to its abrupt closing ten days later, the entire show with its well-spaced radio spots, newspaper articles, wall posters and soap-box rallies could not have been carried out without the approval of the top levels of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP).

The closest parallel, though few made it, was to the Cultural Revolution itself. Teng was not adverse to borrowing a few pages from the "Little Red Books" of those who twice purged him as a "capitalist roader." So with wall posters and obscure literary criticism, "spontaneous" demonstrations and secret "big party meetings," Teng declared war on his clique enemies in the Chinese bureaucracy, those who had stood in the way of his second rehabilitation or threatened his status as the de facto strongman of the Forbidden City.

And then he called it off. But unlike Mao, the cautious Teng did not wait until the masses began to look like they might really "storm the headquarters" or economic chaos threatened the regime with collapse. As soon as his limited purpose was achieved, the wily "deputy" prime minister/"deputy" party chairman waived his baton and "Chinese democracy" was no more. When the posters came down, Hua was left as a figurehead, but his few remaining allies left over from Mao's last days were either gone or about to disappear.

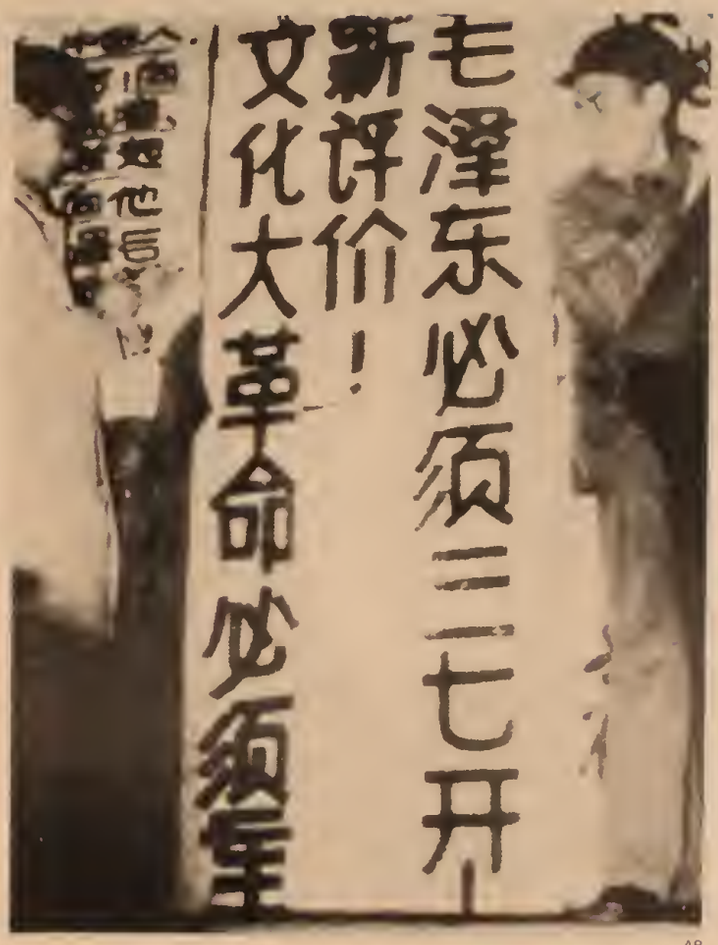
The attention of the press has focused not so much on Teng's consolidation of power, but on the appearance of open criticisms of Mao, long a sacrosanct figure in the CCP pantheon. The leading U.S. journalist-China watcher, Hong Kong-based Fox Butterfield, sees the present campaign as Teng's attempt to "Settle a Score with Mao" (*New York Times Magazine*, 10 December). And the Socialist Workers Party entitled the front-page story in its 4 December *Intercontinental Press*, "The Mao Cult Begins to Shatter." This is pure impressionism. While Mao will be transformed back from an idol into a mortal "seventy-thirty man" ("70 percent right and 30 percent wrong"), and Teng may now praise practice as "the supreme criterion of truth," there will be no burial of the Mao cult. The present bureaucratic ruling clique in Peking is the heir of Mao no less than the deposed "Gang of Four." Thus when the recent criticisms of Mao's "mistakes" threatened to get out of bounds, they were abruptly stopped by Teng.

Gang of Five

For some time Teng has been putting the finishing touches on the close of the Cultural Revolution. In late October the Red Guards were formally abolished, and a few weeks later it was announced that the policy of relocating urban youth to the countryside had earlier been substantially cut back. The short-lived "campaign for democracy" was launched on November 15. Ironically, to dot the i's and cross the t's of the Maoist Old Guard's epitaph for the Cultural Revolution, it ended as it had begun. Thus the article in the Peking *Kwangming Jih Pao* on that date carried a virulent attack on the writings of Yao Wen-yuan, the Gang of Four member whose 1965 article attacking then-Peking mayor P'eng Chen signaled the start of the Cultural Revolution. The original article, said Teng's mouthpiece, was "a reactionary signal to practice fascist dictatorship."

The article went on to announce the decision of the Central Committee reversing the official verdict on the April 1976 Tien An Men incident when 100,000 mourners of late premier Chou En-lai clashed with troops under the orders of the Gang of Four. As a result a CC plenum, under the personal direction of the ailing Mao, decided to strip Teng (whose supporters had organized the demonstration) of all party posts and to promote Hua Kuo-feng to the post of prime minister. The article announced that the Tien An Men incident would henceforth be considered "completely revolutionary" and all those who were persecuted for "honoring the memory of Premier Chou" would be rehabilitated.

A few days after the article was published the wall posters went up. They were remarkable—for the first time in China Mao was publicly linked to the Gang of Four. The posters



AP

Wall poster proclaims Chairman Mao 30% off.

charged that Mao had been out of touch with reality in his final years, that during the fateful decision concerning Tien An Men he had been under the thumb of a "family-style fascist dictatorship." The first of the new wall posters, an extensive 14-page treatise, declared "Chairman Mao, because his thinking was metaphysical thinking during his old age and for all kinds of other reasons, supported the Gang of Four in raising their hands to strike down Comrade Teng Hsiao-p'ing."

Following these spectacular events came a scant two weeks of the "campaign for democracy." On November 19, for instance, Hsinhua, the official Chinese press agency, announced that 388 people arrested after Tien An Men had been exonerated and rehabilitated. There was soaphoxing calling for free speech. Wall posters went from criticizing Mao to demanding democracy. On November 25 thousands marched in Tien An Men Square chanting "Long Live Democracy" and "Down with Feudalistic Fascism."

The posters had shattered the quarter-of-a-century myth of Mao's infallibility, accusing the Great Helmsman of making "mistakes" during the Cultural Revolution and the Great Leap Forward, in specific. The *New York Times* (28 November) reported Teng's interview with anti-communist American journalist Robert Novak. "Asked about one wall poster that said Mao had been 70 percent right and 30 percent wrong, which was how Mao used to appraise Stalin, Teng responded, 'I myself am only 60-40'." He added: "Every Chinese knows that without Chairman Mao there would have been no new China."

Suddenly it was all over. On November 27 Novak reported that Teng said he and Hua had "always been in complete agreement over everything." He wasn't after Hua's job as premier: "I turned down that job when I was 73 and I have no intention of taking it at 75." By November 29 soap-box speakers were calling for "democracy with discipline." The next day a scheduled rally was small and disorganized because expected party leaders did not show up. Wall posters praised Mao as the "Lenin of the Present Day" and warned that if the "bad eggs" continued to attack Mao's legacy, someone would "smash your dog heads."

De-Maoization of China?

Many have seen a precedent for this wave of officially-sponsored attacks on the cult of Mao in the 1956 Soviet de-

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SUBJECT INDEX

GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX

- This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 1978, from Issue No. 187 (6 January) through the end-of-the-year Issue No. 221 (15 December). During this time, *WV* was published weekly from issue No. 187 through Issue No. 208 (2 June) and biweekly beginning issue No 209 (16 June). This single index covers two volumes: No. 8 (6 January-5 May) and No. 9 (12 May-15 December).
- The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically. Entries are listed chronologically with two exceptions: all entries comprising a series are listed together immediately following the first entry of the series, corrections immediately follow the relevant entry. An asterisk (*) after the page location of an entry indicates that a correction follows.
- Entries are listed under subject heads. In some cases, subject heads are broken down into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head end preceded by a dot (•). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article. Thus:

  Miners on the Attack, #192, 10 Feb (12)

  means the headline of the article, Issue No 192, 10 February 1978, page 12.
- No entry is listed twice; refer to cross references for guidance in locating the subject head for particular articles. Cross references are of two types: those following the word "see" deal centrally with the subject head; those following the words "see also" are related articles. Subject heads in cross references are separated by a semi-colon, while subcategories of subject heads are separated by a comma. Thus:

  Carter, Jimmy—See **U.S.: General, International Relations.**

  means that articles on Carter can be found by going to the subject head **UNITED STATES** and looking under the subcategories **General** and **International Relations**. Likewise,

  Teamsters—See **Supermarket Workers; Truck Drivers.**

  means that articles on the Teamsters can be found by going to the subject heads **SUPERMARKET WORKERS** and **TRUCK DRIVERS.**
- Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately unless the article is primarily about the given person.
- Entries relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not necessarily under any other subject heading. Unless listed separately for some unusual reason, all foreign political organizations are listed under appropriate countries, while U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names.
- Specific defense cases (e.g. Philip Allen) will be found under **CIVIL LIBERTIES: Cases.**
- Articles on historic aspects of the Marxist movement are listed under **HISTORY OF THE MARXIST MOVEMENT**, while reprints from writings of particular individuals are listed under **ARCHIVES OF THE MARXIST MOVEMENT.**
- Abbreviations used in entries are

C:	Correction	R:	Review
L:	Letter	Sup	Supplement
S:	Series		

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